

Materials on Forest Enets,
an Indigenous Language of Northern Siberia

SUOMALAIS-UGRILAISEN SEURAN TOIMITUKSIA
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Florian Siegl

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He used often to say there was only one Road; that it was like a great river: its springs were at every doorstep, and every path was its tributary. "It's a dangerous business, Frodo, going out of your door," he used to say. "You step into the Road, and if you don't keep your feet, there is no knowing where you might be swept off to [...]"

(The Fellowship of the Ring, New York: Ballantine Books, 1982, 102).

Acknowledgments

As every monograph, also this one has its own history, and of course, various supporters. The current monograph is a corrected and enhanced version of my PhD thesis submitted to and defended at the University in Tartu in June 2011 (Siegl 2011a). The print run which was needed to fulfill local publication requirements was deliberately kept small as the description was not finalized. Further, during the compilation of the dissertation text I anticipated that several topics might allow for a different and perhaps a better interpretation, and in most instances these suspicions turned out to be justified during fieldwork in the summer of 2011. This monograph incorporates both corrections and new data and replaces its predecessor Siegl (2011a).

Along the road to the final version of the dissertation and its transformation into this monograph, I have been supported by many individuals and institutions which deserve to be mentioned. As this monograph grew larger and larger, my personal acknowledgments have to be restricted to those whose immediate support, effort, and just criticism have made this piece of writing possible. First and foremost, the Forest Enetses¹ in both Potapovo and Dudinka² are without a doubt the most important, as without their efforts nothing could have been collected, analyzed, or written. As Forest Enets has no way to say thank you, a hearty *cnacuĭo* goes out to my major consultants Zoja Bolina, Leonid Bolin, Nadežda Bolina, Vitalij Bolin, Anatolij Paččin, Viktor Paččin, Darja Bolina, Nina Bolina, Ivan Silkin, and Ekaterina Glebova for finding both time and will to share their language and teach it to me. Unfortunately, my thanks will not reach Elizaveta Bolina; her untimely and sudden death in March 2008 deprived the tundra around Potapovo of a Forest Enets who tried to live the old way of life until her last breath. Nor will my thanks reach Nina Borissova, whose *kuči* was the first Forest Enets fairytale I heard.

Surely as important as the Forest Enets community has been Oksana Dobžanskaja (formerly City Center of National Affairs in Dudinka, now Professor at the Department of Humanities and Social Studies at the Taimyr branch of Leningrad State University), who helped me obtain the necessary invitations and permits and whose current employer, but also her former employer, the City Center of National Affairs and its former co-workers, as well as her family, made my stays in Dudinka a pleasing experience. I would also like to thank the Taimyr Center of National Affairs in Dudinka for granting me working space, and especially the section of ethnography, for providing help and support in so many ways that it would be impossible to list all of them. Individually, again Zoja Bolina has to be mentioned here. Further, *naacuĭa* to Anna Barbolina for

1. The following conventions apply throughout this monograph. The non-English plural Enetses is used when referring to the Enets people. Forest Enets in the singular refers either to one ethnic Forest Enets or to the language. The same applies to other Siberian peoples mentioned throughout the text.

2. Romanization of Russian is based on scientific transliteration. Names of Russian authors which have been used in a different spelling in international publications are preserved. Reasonably well-known geographic names, for example the river Yenisei, are used in their English form and not in transliteration.

her lobbying behind the scenes, for her hospitality on the weekends, for teaching me her mother tongue Dolgan and for opening the way to the Dolgan community.

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Whereas revision of the text started in early 2012 in Tartu, this process continued and was finalized after my moving to Helsinki. *Kiitoksia paljon* to Janne Saarikivi who gave me the time to continue the revision during my participation in the MINOREUS project in the spring of 2012. The text was finalized in the summer of 2012 in the first month of my post-doc position at the Department of Finno-Ugrian Languages.

Finally, I would like to thank two institutions for their substantial support. First, I am grateful to Volkswagenstiftung for financing the DOBES Tartu-Göttingen “Documentation of Enets and Forest Nenets” project, without whose support the whole enterprise would not have been possible. Second, I am equally grateful to the Finno-Ugrian Society in Helsinki for inviting me to participate in the *Manuscripta Castreniana* project and for providing financial support for a pilot study on Castrén’s unpublished Tundra Enets grammar. Although a detailed study is in preparation, the initial comparison with Castrén’s data on Tundra Enets increased my understanding of the differences between both Enets varieties and assured me of the existence of two independent Enets languages. Further I want to thank them for the financial support for consequent fieldwork in Dudinka in the summer of 2011 and for accepting this monograph in the MSFOu series. Individually, I want to thank Paula Kokkonen, Anna Kurvinen, Niko Partanen and Alexandra Kellner for their work which transferred the manuscript into this monograph.

Last but not least, Helen, since the summer of 2009 Marie, and since winter 2012 Ida have been supporting me on this long and winding road towards this monograph. Once in a while words cannot describe what one wants to say...

With the publication of this monograph, I hope to have fulfilled a central wish of my consultants to present their voices to the world outside the Taimyr Peninsula. This has been a constant wish of many consultants and I hope that I have fulfilled their expectations to show the world how Forest Enetses lived and live, and how wonderful their language is.

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Abbreviations, symbols and conventions

Sources on Forest Enets

[Consultant, field diary, page] = data from elicitation

[Consultant, title of narrative] = data from transliterated and annotated narrative

- ES Sorokina & Volina 2009 = Сорокина, И. П. & Д. С. Болина: *Энецкий словарь с кратким грамматическим очерком*. Институт лингвистических исследований. Российская Академия Наук. Санкт-Петербург: Наука
- ET Сорокина, И. П. & Д. С. Болина 2005: *Энецкие тексты*. Институт лингвистических исследований. Российская Академия Наук. Санкт-Петербург: Наука.
- ERRE Сорокина, И. П. & Д. С. Болина 2001: *Словарь энецко-русский и русско-энецкий*. Санкт-Петербург: Просвещение.
- RS Лабанаускас, К. И. 2002: *Родное слово – Энецкие песни, сказки, исторические предания, традиционные рассказы, мифы*. Санкт-Петербург: Просвещение.
- T65 Терещенко, Н. М. 1965. *Ненецко-русский словарь*. Москва: Издательство Советская Энциклопедия.
- T66 Терещенко, Н. М. 1966. Энецкий язык. – *Языки народов СССР*. Т. 3: Финно-угорские и самодийские языки. Москва: Наука. 438–457.
- T73 *Терещенко, Н. М. 1973. Синтаксис самодийских языков*. Ленинград: Наука.

Some Forest Enets examples are provided without any further specification. They have been constructed by the author on the basis of his active knowledge of the language.

Sources on Dolgan

[consultant] – data from elicitation

Morphological conventions

- morpheme boundary
- . morphologically unsegmentable element
- = clitic boundary
- v unspecified vowel in morphemes
- CX case
- VX verb suffix

PX	possessive suffix
CN	connegative stem
[]	compound
{ }	segmentable underlying forms
PP	postposition
I	inflection class
II	inflection class
IIa	inflection subclass
IIb	inflection subclass
LINK	linking morpheme with several kinship terms

Phonological conventions

C	consonant
V	vowel
//	phonemic representation
[]	phonetic representation
GS	glottal stop

Syntactic categories

A	subject of transitive verb
S	subject of intransitive verb
P	object of transitive verb
SUB	Subject
OBJ	Object
<>	Clausal complement

Glossing conventions for pronouns

1SG	First person nominative
1SG.ACC	First person accusative
1SG.LAT	First person lative
1SG.LOC	First person locative
1SG.ABL	First person ablative
etc.	

Number

SG	singular
DU	dual
PL	plural

Case

[NOM]	Non-possessive nominative case
[GEN]	Non-possessive genitive case
[ACC]	Non-possessive accusative case
NOM	Nominative
GEN	Genitive
ACC	Accusative
LAT	Lative
LOC	Locative
ABL	Ablative
TRSL	Translative-essive
COM	Comitative
PROL	Prolative
PART	Partitive

Possession and possessive case

PX.1SG	singular possessum, first person possessor, nominative
PX.DU.1SG	dual possessum, first person possessor, nominative
PX.PL.1SG	plural possessum, first person possessor, nominative
PX.GEN.1SG	singular possessum, first person possessor, genitive
PX.GEN.DU.1SG	dual possessum, first person possessor, genitive
PX.GEN.PL.1SG	plural possessum, first person possessor, genitive
PX.ACC.1SG	singular possessum, first person possessor, accusative
PX.ACC.DU.1SG	dual possessum, first person possessor, accusative
PX.ACC.PL.1SG	plural possessum, first person possessor, accusative,
(etc.)	
LAT.SG _{POSS} +PX _{GEN}	possessive lative, singular
LAT.PL _{POSS} +PX _{GEN}	possessive lative, plural

Benefactive declension

BEN	benefactive
-----	-------------

Derivational morphology

INDEF	indefinite
NEG	negative
LIM	limitative
SIM	similaritive
DIM	diminutive

PEJ	pejorative-augmentative
AUG ₂	augmentative in <i>-ita</i>
AUG ₃	augmentative in <i>-rka</i>
CAR	caritive
TOP	topicalizer

Conjugation types

Conjugation I (trad: intransitive conjugation)

e.g. -2SG = verb in first conjugation, second person singular, etc.

Conjugation II (trad: transitive conjugation)

e.g. SG.3SG = verb in second conjugation referring to a singular 3rd person object
 DU.3SG = verb in second conjugation referring to a dual 3rd person object
 PL.3SG = verb in second conjugation referring to a plural 3rd person object

Conjugation III (trad: reflexive-medial conjugation)

e.g. R.1SG = verb in third conjugation, first person singular, etc.

Verb suffixes

ASS	assertative mood
ASU	assumptative mood
AUD	auditive evidential
CAUS	causative
COND	conditional mood
CTF	counterfactual mood
CUM	cumulative aspect
DEL	delimitative aspect
DETRS	detransitivizing morpheme
DISC	discontinuative aspect
DUB	dubitative mood
DUR	durative aspect
FREQ	frequentative aspect
FUT	future tense
HAB	habitual aspect
HORT	hortative mood
IMP	imperative mood
INCH	inchoative aspect
IRG	interrogative mood
NEG.AUX	negative auxiliary
NESS	necessative mood

PASS	passive
PERF	perfect tense
POT	potential mood
PROB _{PST}	past probabilative mood
PURP	purposive marker
PST	general past tense
RES	resultative aspect
SPEC	speculative mood

Non-finite verb forms

PTCP.IPF	imperfective participle
PTCP.PFT	perfective participle
PTCP.FUT	futuritive participle
PTCP.FUT.NEG	negative futuritive participle
PTCP.CAR	caritive participle
CON	converb

Particles and Clitics

FOC	focus particle
EMPH	emphatic clitic

Verbs of movement (VoM)

UDI	unidirectional movement (<i>d'adaš</i>)
MUDI	multidirectional movement (<i>d'adud' ~ d'odud'</i>)

Other

/	short pause in speech turn
//	longer pause in speech turn
TN	Tundra Nenets
NG	Nganasan
FE	Forest Enets

A note on translation

- All English translations are my own. In case of translations from Russian, the Russian original is reproduced in the text or in the footnotes.
- As definiteness and gender are not grammatically marked in Forest Enets, translations refer to contextual information.
- The unmarked aorist tense may have past or present tense implication; the choice of tense translations into English is dependent on the context.
- Several lexemes allow for more than one possible translation, e.g. *aga* ‘big, old’, *kasa* ‘man, person, companion’, *mooš* ‘take, buy’. Therefore, the English equivalent has been chosen according to the context.
- Several terms denoting animals, traditional materials, ethnographic artifacts, transportation, etc., which lack English equivalents, were taken from Russian and are used in their Anglicized variants, e.g. *chum* for the conical tent of Siberian nomads (Ru: *чум*) or *argish* for moving in a reindeer caravan through the tundra (Ru dial: *аргушумь*). A full list is provided in Appendix III.
- Throughout the text I refer to the Taimyr Peninsula following Russian usage as ‘on the Taimyr Peninsula’ or ‘on the Taimyr’ and not in Taimyr.
- The plural forms of Enets and Nenets throughout the text are Enetses and Nenetses when referring to the speakers of the language.

Transliteration of Cyrillic script

Generally, transliteration follows the so-called principles of scientific transliteration with two major exceptions. Cyrillic *ц* is transliterated as *ts* and not as *c*, and Cyrillic *э* is not marked separately as *è*. Personal names which have been used with a different spelling in non-Russian publications are preserved. Geographic names which are reasonably well known outside Russia are used in their English form, e.g. *Yenisei* and not *Jenissej*; *Enets* and not *Ènec*. Examples in Forest Enets from earlier sources are preserved in their original orthography or transcription. In instances where transliteration was necessary, I have corrected the transliteration (where possible). In instances where the phonemic value of a given grapheme is disputable or unclear, the transliteration follows the principles of Russian transliterations.

0. The Forest Enets language and its remaining speakers

This introductory chapter provides general data on Forest Enets and Forest Enetses. This includes genealogical information on their linguistic classification, basic sociolinguistic data, ethnographic and historical surveys and a concentrated overview of research history.

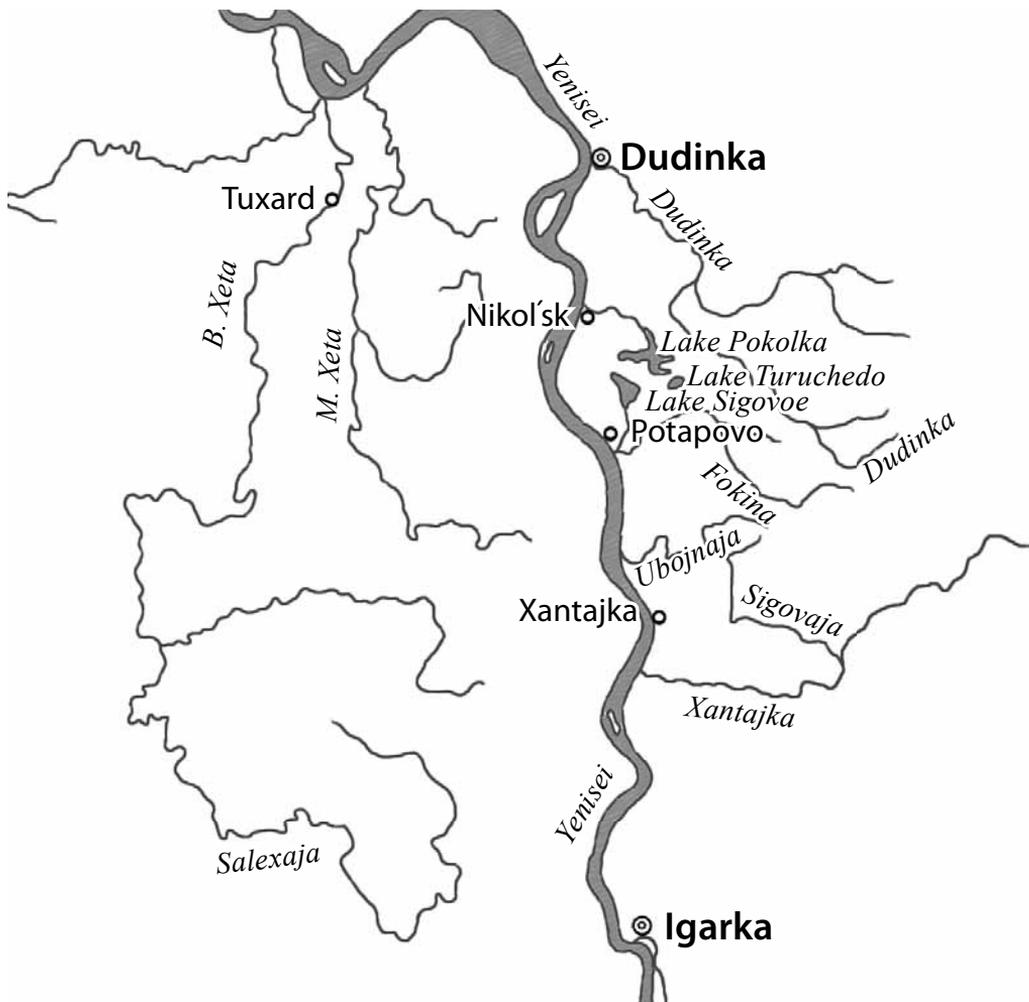
0.1 Remaining speakers of Forest Enets and their territorial distribution

This grammatical description presents the language of the last speakers of Forest Enets, a Samoyedic language of subarctic northern Siberia. The language which will be described here represents the variety of Forest Enets encountered during documentation fieldwork on the Taimyr Peninsula between 2006 and 2011.³ Forest Enets must be considered functionally extinct and moribund. The language has fallen out of daily use with the death of the speakers from the parental generation about 10–15 years ago. This unfortunately means that Forest Enets has arrived at a point of no return. Whereas the number of potential speakers is around 40 individuals, I have encountered fewer than a dozen fluent and semi-fluent speakers. Good language skills are attested only among Forest Enetses aged 50 and older, while the youngest potential speakers are 40 years and older.

Today, the majority of the remaining Forest Enets speakers live on the Taimyr Peninsula in the Taimyr Municipal District (Ru: *Таймырский (ненецко-долганский) муниципальный район*), which administratively belongs to Krasnojarskij kraj (Ru: *Красноярский край*).⁴ The majority of Forest Enets speakers live in the district capital Dudinka (69°24 N, 86°1 E), and in Potapovo (68°41 N, 86°1 E), a small village situated on the right bank of the Yenisei roughly 100 km south of Dudinka. Both Dudinka and Potapovo are located in the Dudinskij rajon (*Дудинский район*), a sub-area of the Taimyr Municipality District.

3. Tundra Enets, which is the closest relative of Forest Enets, lies beyond the scope of the present study.

4. Several individuals have left the core area over the past 30 years and reside in other places, such as other villages on the Taimyr Peninsula, but also in other areas of the Russian Federation.



Map 1 – Forest Enets territories in the 20th century – adapted from Vasiľev (1963)

0.2 Materials on Forest Enets – prologue

In comparison to other Samoyedic languages, the Enets languages had remained comparatively unknown, and this made me think of engaging in a descriptive synchronic enterprise around 2004. With the fortune of having been awarded a DOBES grant, fieldwork began in 2006, which resulted in this grammatical description of contemporary Forest Enets, based on a period of roughly a year spent in the field. Although I initially intended to work on both Enets varieties, the situation on the Taimyr Peninsula turned out to be complicated and I deliberately concentrated on Forest Enets (see also Siegl 2007a, 2010 for further background information). As my attempts to contact Russian researchers who had worked on the same language or adjacent languages did not result

in even basic contacts until late 2008, I simply continued working on Forest Enets from the perspective of language documentation (see Gippert et al 2006; Himmelmann 1998, 2006). In this respect, this study is a radical departure from the traditional, philological approach to the Samoyedic languages, which analyzes existing data gathered by earlier researchers. As Forest Enets had remained underdocumented and prior published data presented a variety spoken 20–40 years ago and now almost gone, I decided to compile a linguistic description from scratch. This decision should **not** be understood as a step ‘to be the first to write on Forest Enets in English without relying on earlier research’. Instead, a coherent description of the language at this point in time, as long as the language is still remembered by its speakers, is mandatory. As Forest Enets is functionally extinct and moribund, it is very likely that the grammar of the generation of the last speakers may already have undergone some change. As grammars do change, a detailed description is needed before one should begin evaluating the descriptions of earlier researchers. Consequently, this grammatical description of the core grammar of Forest Enets is an attempt to provide an overview of the most central aspects of phonology, morphology, and morphosyntax based on a theory-low descriptive approach, in spirit close to what in recent years became known as Basic Linguistic Theory. Second, this study presents data from an area which is not yet well known in general linguistics and, as a matter of fact, remains little known even in Samoyedology. The description is not aimed at an audience consisting of Samoyedologists but tries to reach a larger audience that is interested in the languages of northern Eurasia or the structure of human language in general.

Occasionally, materials from earlier resources are brought into the discussion for comparative reasons, but the majority of the data is derived from my own fieldwork. Although I have tried to employ a theory-low approach to the grammar of Forest Enets, for obvious reasons it is impossible to write a grammatical description without any specialized terminology, and occasionally I have incorporated terminology used in functional approaches to grammar. As I am more concerned with the function of structures than with structure itself, the chapters on phonology and morphology are shorter than traditional practitioners of Samoyedic linguistics would like to see them. On the other hand, I have put much effort into the description of morphosyntax and syntax – topics that are still largely neglected in standard Uralic and Samoyedic studies. Although I have tried to present as many examples from transcribed narratives wherever this was possible to minimize ‘artifacts of elicitation’, there are topics where I had to rely much more on elicited data than I would have liked to.⁵ Although this description of Forest Enets is rather lengthy, I still consider it an extended sketch grammar and not a reference grammar. There remain quite some topics which desperately call for further work in the future. And even having tried to minimize errors, I am convinced that despite my attempts, there are passages for which better interpretations might be found.

5. I was able to record a little more than 100 narratives during my fieldwork out of which around 60 are fully translated and 47 are transcribed and annotated in ELAN. Linguistic materials (both narratives and elicitation) make up about 9 GB of wav files and archiving at the DOBES archive has only begun. The preparation of a text collection is intended for the future.

As for the content of this monograph, its structure is quite straightforward. The remainder of this chapter offers a condensed overview of language classification, attested linguistic contacts, ethnology, and several sociolinguistic topics, and ends with a short history of Enets linguistic studies. The content of the following chapters is as follows: phonetics and phonology (chapter 2), morphonology and morphology (chapter 3), parts of speech (chapter 4), nominal morphology (chapter 5), structure of the noun phrase (chapter 6), verb morphology (chapter 7), and non-finite verb forms (chapter 8). This description is followed by several more detailed syntactic topics, namely, an inventory of clause types (chapter 9) and word order (10), a description of the benefactive (traditionally predestinative declension – chapter 11), passive (chapter 12), and complex sentences (chapter 13), which offer some more detailed investigations of topics that have been largely neglected in traditional Samoyedology. Finally, a collection of texts is provided.

All examples are presented in phonological transcription, though some marked phonetic features have not been eliminated.⁶ I have decided against both an abstract phonological transcription and normalization in order to preserve the encountered picture. At present normalization would be counter-productive; idiolectal variation in pronunciation, e.g. realization of glottal stops, alternating vowel length in identical forms, or the impossibility to identify a single underlying form which would be representative of ‘Forest Enets’, do not justify any abstract normalization from the point of view of language documentation.⁷ Where possible, examples contain morpheme breaks, and glossing has been added.⁸ This choice has added more volume to the description, but as I have decided to describe Forest Enets for a wider audience I have found no other solution that would guarantee readability.

0.3 Materials on Forest Enets vs. Sorokina’s *Enetskij jazyk* (2010b)

As mentioned above, despite trying to contact Russian researchers who have been working on Enets and other Taimyrian Samoyedic languages, all initial attempts remained without results. Finally, in fall 2008, I was able to meet Irina Sorokina during a conference in Saint Petersburg and it became obvious that both of us were working on a similar task, a grammatical description of Forest Enets. Whereas I had heard rumors about a Forest Enets grammar of hers in manuscript form being around since the 1990s, a new draft was said to be in preparation to be submitted for publication in the near future.

6. E.g. palatalization is marked in instances where its phonological nature has not been finally settled. Further, /u/ is occasionally followed by a short glide and where attested, it has been preserved as *u^w*.

7. The propagated abstract phonological transcription of Tundra Nenets practiced in the works of Tapani Salminen and recently transferred to Forest Nenets (Salminen 2007) remains incomprehensible even to most Samoyedologists working on the same languages. Such transcriptions are counterproductive and reserve data for the few chosen ones who are initiated in its principles.

8. I have tried to follow general glossing conventions wherever possible, but I have not opted for any special system.

In late 2010, Irina Sorokina's grammar appeared in print, around one month before my thesis went into pre-review. Consequently, I could neither react to nor introduce Sorokina's data into my description, which was published in a small print run (Siegl 2011a). With upcoming fieldwork after my defense and planned reworking and corrections to the work, a fundamental decision became necessary – should a reworked version include and discuss data from Sorokina (2010b) or should I continue to produce a corrected and improved version of my 2011 dissertation? After a close reading of Sorokina (2010b) I have opted against taking on the challenge of rearranging my grammatical description; instead I offer an alternative approach to the grammar of Forest Enets, as the grammatical descriptions differ fundamentally from one another – the only uniting feature is the fact that both grammars are based almost entirely on field data gathered by their respective authors.⁹ Further, Irina Sorokina's grammar describes the language of the current, parental and grandparental generation which she documented during her four fieldtrips (1969, 1974, 1977, and 1985), plus additional work with speakers from the current generation studying or residing in Leningrad / Saint Petersburg. In contrast, this monograph is almost entirely based on the language of the generation of the last speakers of Forest Enets. Data was collected over roughly 12 months of fieldwork and informant work in Potapovo, Dudinka, and Tartu.

Fieldwork and consultant work	Location
02.02.2006 – 16.02.2006	Dudinka (together with Kaur Mägi)
21.11.2006 – 22.04.2007	Dudinka & Potapovo
01.05.2008 – 23.05.2008	Dudinka
20.06.2008 – 26.07.2008	Dudinka & Potapovo
03.08.2011 – 6.10.2011	Dudinka (together with Lotta Jalava)
12.12.2007 – 23.12.2007	Consultant work in Tartu

Table 0-1: Fieldwork and consultant work

Another difference can be found in both the organization and the representation of data. Irina Sorokina's grammar follows the traditional morphosyntactic approach, thereby excluding a separate discussion of syntax. Examples are not glossed, nor is it possible to identify individual speakers or the origin of the data (e.g. whether a particular example is derived from elicitation or transcribed speech). One would prefer to have at least some information on the latter because Irina Sorokina has worked with bilingual Forest Enets-Tundra Nenets speakers, and unusual forms could be better explained if the speakers were identified. In contrast, the present description marks examples for origin (whether elicitation or transcribed speech) and for consultant; furthermore, every consultant can be identified and all examples are glossed, at least wherever clearly segmentable morpheme boundaries occur. In this respect, the present monograph is not primarily targeted at specialists of Samoyedic and Siberian languages, but should also be readable by linguists who are interested in language in general.

9. A detailed overview on research history follows later in this chapter.

0.4 Genetic affiliation

Forest Enets belongs to the northern branch of the Samoyedic language sub-family. On the macro level, Samoyedic itself is classified as one of the principal branches of Uralic; the other branch consists of the generally better known Finno-Ugric languages.¹⁰ In recent years, a new proposal for the internal classification of Samoyedic has been proposed on the basis of Nganasan and Mator; the following figure shows the conventional taxonomy:¹¹

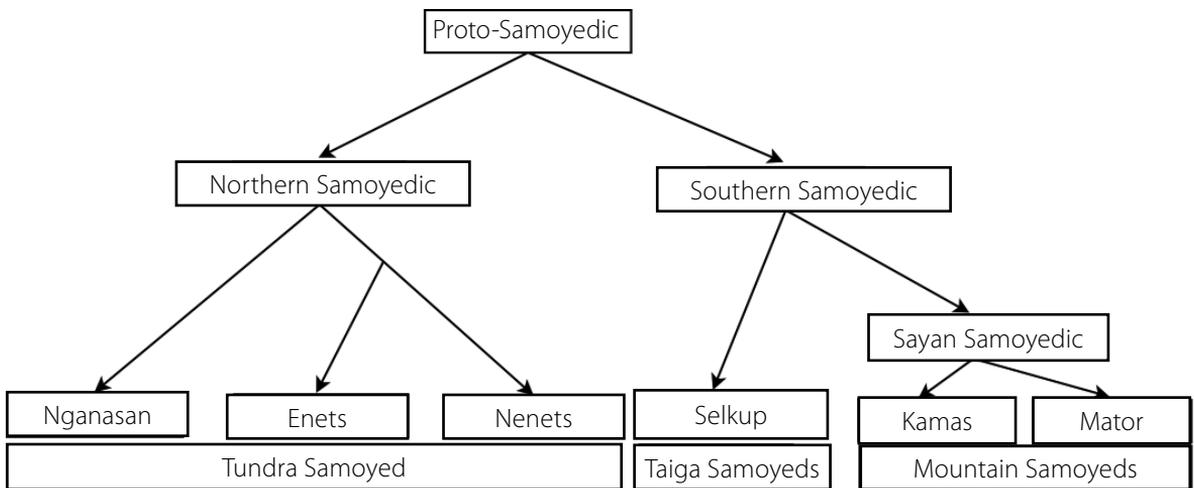


Figure 0-1: Genetic affiliation of the Samoyedic languages (Janhunen 1998)

In contrast to the Finno-Ugric branch, the Samoyedic branch is much more homogenous, and historical-comparative studies assume that Proto-Samoyedic dissolved ‘as recently as the last centuries BCE’ (Janhunen 1998: 457). Among the language represented in the traditional taxonomy, Sayan Samoyedic is nowadays extinct. While Kamas died out in 1989 and has been documented to a good degree (for a survey see e.g. Künnap 1999b or Helimski 2001), Mator is only known from 18th-century sources (Helimski 1997). Concerning Northern Samoyedic, there is some evidence for a former transitional idiom technically called Yurats, whose position has not yet been settled due to the scarcity of material available. This variety, usually assumed to be a dialect of Tundra Nenets, is known only from handwritten materials from the 18th century (Helimski 2001b).

10. The relationship between Yukaghir and Uralic is still unclear and far from being settled. Although there have been numerous approaches to prove or discard this relationship, these attempts have not produced any significant historical-comparative evidence (see Janhunen 2009: 61). I personally assume that further research on this topic should first deal with the question of whether the similarity between Uralic and Yukaghir could not be attributed to influence from earlier contacts between Samoyedic and Yukaghir. Although nowadays speakers of Samoyedic and Yukaghir are separated from each other, this seems to be due to the expansion of speakers of Tungusic and Yakut.

11. Both taxonomies can be found in Janhunen 1998: 459.

Concerning the internal history of Northern Samoyedic, there is no doubt that both Enets varieties, Tundra Enets and Forest Enets, have to be considered the closest linguistic relatives of Tundra Nenets. Despite being very close as represented in their historical-comparative classification, both Enets varieties have been under strong pressure from Nenets for at least 150 years, and also this may have contributed to their ‘closeness’ to Tundra Nenets.¹²

As this monograph is concerned with the synchronic description of Forest Enets, interested readers are referred to the major sources of historical-comparative Samoyedology for further background information (e.g. Hajdú 1963, 1989; Mikola 1988, 2003; Janhunen 1977, 1998; Helimski 1982).

0.5 Forest Enets and its linguistic neighbors

From an areal perspective, Forest Enets has been surrounded by a variety of languages throughout its history as an individual language. Although Russian has been the most dominant contact language since the 1950s, Russian actually replaced Tundra Nenets, which dominated the Lower Yenisei since the arrival of Tundra Nenetses to this area in the 18th century. The dominance of Tundra Nenets is reflected in the Forest Enets lexical stock via borrowed lexemes.¹³ Offspring of interethnic Tundra Nenets-Forest Enets marriages were brought up bilingually. However, even among the oldest fluent speakers of Forest Enets born into Forest Enets marriages, good Tundra Nenets skills were preserved. In their case, such skills were usually acquired during childhood. Although the traditional homelands of Forest Enets in the 20th century were surrounded by Evenkis towards the south and perhaps some Dolgans too, no direct traces of even moderate linguistic contacts can be attested for the time being. This is not surprising, as there is good evidence that Taimyr Pidgin Russian ‘Govorka’ was used for interethnic communication with non-Samoyedic peoples and apparently especially with Evenkis until the 1950s.¹⁴ In earlier days, probably still in the 18th century when Forest Enetses roamed south of the Taimyr Peninsula¹⁵, there is some evidence for contacts with Yeniseian people, most probably Ket. This contact situation has left some highly unusual traces in Forest Enets as apart from the pronominal stems for 2P, *uu*, and 3P, *bu*, no lexical material was borrowed (Siegl 2008, 2012b).

12. Speakers of Enets (regardless of variety) usually had good skills in Tundra Nenets, but knowledge of Enets among speakers of Tundra Nenets was generally low if not absent.

13. At present it is hard to evaluate the degree of syntactic influence as this topic has never been approached. Further, Taimyrian Tundra Nenets is little covered in the standard literature.

14. Since the first scientific documentation of Taimyr Pidgin Russian in and around the Nganasan settlement Ust-Avam in the 1970s, research on this pidgin (Helimski 2000c; Stern 2005, 2009) has suggested that this pidgin was used locally in the northern areas of the Taimyr Peninsula. Several Forest Enetses and Tundra Nenetses confirmed that their parents and grandparents had spoken a kind of ‘broken Russian’ when they had to deal with Evenkis in the tundra. At least my major consultant Zoja Bolina could remember a few phrases, which are similar to those presented in the papers by Helimski and Stern.

15. This topic will be elaborated on in more detail below.



Map 2 – The Taimyr (Dolgano-Nenets) Municipal Area

As some Forest Enets place names and surnames are found in territories which are now occupied by northern Selkups (Prokof'ev 1935: 10; Helimski 2000d), initial evidence for another possible contact area in earlier periods is available but awaits further research in the future.

0.6 Enetses among Taimyrian indigenous peoples

Officially, five indigenous peoples are recognized on the Taimyr Peninsula. Based on official data from 2008,¹⁶ they are listed according to their numerical prominence: Dolgans (Turkic) – 5517 individuals, (Tundra) Nenetses (Samoyedic) – 3486 individuals, Nganasans (Samoyedic) – 749, Evenkis (Tungusic) – 270 and Enetses (Samoyedic) – 168. Administratively and statistically, Forest Enetses and Tundra Enetses are subsumed as Enetses in official data, although from both an ethnographic and a linguistic perspective, there are good reasons to keep them distinct. As already mentioned above, the vast majority of Forest Enets speakers live in both Potapovo and Dudinka, although local statistics also report Enetses in other villages.¹⁷

0.7 How many Enetses are left?

Throughout the 20th century, demographic data on Enetses has been chaotic (see Siegl 2005), and even at present it is not possible to provide a reliable estimate. There are multiple reasons for this, which have been addressed elsewhere in more detail (Siegl 2005, 2007a). The following condensed overview is meant to address the most important topics for the purpose of this introduction.

0.7.1 The ethnonym “Enets” and its origin

Nowadays, Forest Enetses usually call themselves *onai enči?* ‘the real people’; in Russian they refer to themselves as *энец / энка*, PL: *энцы*. The designation was created for the Soviet authorities by the linguist-ethnologist G. N. Prokof'ev as part of the early Soviet nationality policy of the 1930s.¹⁸ Before the 1930s, Enetses were called either Yenisei-Samoyeds (German *Jenissej-Samojeden*, Russian *Енисейские самоеды*, or occasionally by the fur-collection places where they paid their fur tribute, *jasak* (Ru: *яск*), to the Russian czar, e.g. ‘Chantai-Karassiner’ and ‘Baicha’ (Castrén 1854: VII). From a modern perspective Castrén’s labels are misleading, as the ‘Chantai-Karrasiner’, the

16. <http://www.taimyr24.ru/about/index.php?SECTION_ID=122&ELEMENT_ID=646> (last visited 19.04.2011)

17. The majority of Enetses in other villages in the neighboring Ust-Jenisejskij rajon are predominantly descendents of Tundra Enets speakers. Several speakers of Forest Enets are said to reside Karaul; these speakers are not native to this area but come from Potapovo.

18. A similar case of ‘state ethnography’ is known for the creation of the Dolgans, a Turkic-speaking neighbor of the Enetses (see Anderson 2000).

equivalent of Tundra Enetses, now live 400 km north of the lake *Xantajskoe ozero* in the tundra areas around Vorontsovo and in this village. Actually, nowadays the lake *Xantajskoe ozero* is located south of even the area where the remaining Forest Enets live; the label ‘Baicha’, which is the equivalent of Forest Enetses, referred to those Enetses who paid their fur tributes as south as Turuxansk, which is located around 400 km south of Dudinka on the right bank of the Yenisei in Evenkija.

Before adopting the ethnonym Enets, Forest Enetses apparently had no general self-designation and referred to themselves by their clan as either *mugadi*, *bai*, *juči*, or *čor*. Occasionally, Forest Enetses also used the same ethnonym as the neighboring Tundra Nenetses *jurak*, though pronouncing it in a nativized form, *d’urak*.

0.7.2 Census data on Enetses

Neither the Soviet censuses nor the first All-Russian Census in 2002 produced any accurate data on Enetses, regardless of the fact that both Tundra and Forest Enetses were lumped together. Enetses were counted in the first polar census in 1926/1927, which yielded 378 individuals. For the 1959 and the 1979 censuses no data on Enetses was available as they were subsumed as Tundra Nenetses. The 1989 census, again, counted Enetses, but throughout the literature two figures have been competing ever since – namely, 198 vs. 209 individuals. The first All-Russian Census conducted in 2002 reported 237 Enetses.

In contrast to the official census, the local Taimyrian administration in Dudinka has collected data independently. However, the existing data suggests that the number on the okrug level was much smaller: in 1959 – 18; 1966 – 179; 1992 – 105; 1997 – 130; 2002 – 147; 2008 – 167.

0.7.3 How many Forest Enetses are left?

Although some sociolinguistic data is available for the 1989 census, it is of no use for linguistic purposes because no difference was made between Forest Enets and Tundra Enets.¹⁹ No such statistics have ever been collected on the regional administrative level. In the summer of 2008, I gathered data which resulted in 41 potential speakers; several of them have died in the meanwhile. The label ‘potential speaker’ includes individuals who were either L1 speakers of Forest Enets or bilingual in Forest Enets and Tundra Nenets before entering the boarding school in Potapovo. This generation of speakers was also the last generation to enter the boarding school in Potapovo not knowing any Russian.²⁰ All 41 potential speakers of Forest Enets are aged 40 and older. Medium and good language skills are characteristic of individuals aged 50 and older, and the oldest speakers of Forest Enets are now approaching their mid-60s. Following the current de-

19. The last 1989 Soviet census reported that 44.5% of all Enetses were speakers of Enets (Pika 1999: 180).

20. The next generation already entered the local boarding school in Potapovo and schools elsewhere as monolingual speakers of Russian.

mographic trends characteristic of Siberian minority peoples (e.g. Pika 1999, Pivneva & Funk 2005 (eds)), it is apparently a matter of one generation before the language will be gone forever. No semi-speakers are in the generation younger than 40. As far as I know, only two men of about 30 years of age have some passive knowledge of the language.

According to the underlying definition of fluent speaker²¹ I regularly worked with five fluent speakers in the period 2006–2008.²² In 2011, two new consultants found time to work with me.²³ I assume that there are probably three to five more good speakers who for one reason or another did not want to work with me during my fieldwork. The exact number of semi-speakers is hard to determine, but it is safe to assume that the majority of potential speakers of Forest Enets have not used their language for a rather long period, and it appears that these speakers, together with the semi-speakers, form the majority.

0.8 Forest Enetses in early historical accounts

The first intensive contacts between Russians and Enetses date back to the early 17th century, when Czarist Russia began its expansion to Siberia. Whereas early contacts between Old Believers²⁴ and Samoyeds seem to be very likely, as the influence of Old Believers on Dolgan is well attested, the first clear encounter between Russians and the Enetses followed the erection of the fortification Mangazeja (Ru: *Мангазея*) on the lower reaches of the Taz River in the early 17th century²⁵ and the introduction of fur tributes to the new subordinates of the Russian Czar in the subsequent years.²⁶ Soon, however, the Taz River proved to be difficult for the organization of transportation to eastern Siberia. Around the same time, another fortification, Turuxansk (Ru: *Туруханск*), was

21. As I have met with a variety of Enetses during my fieldwork, I have arrived at a rather unorthodox classification of a fluent speaker. A speaker was judged as fluent if he or she could produce a short narrative in Forest Enets without preparation. For the sake of completeness, the work of Krasnojarsk sociologist Krivonogov (1998, 2001) must be mentioned as his demographic data (including assumptions on the number of potential speakers) have been widely cited throughout Russia in recent years. A review on the (un)trustworthiness of his data was published in Siegl 2007a.

22. Elizaveta Bolina, who was judged to be the best remaining speaker, died unexpectedly after my first visit to Potapovo at the age of 51 in March 2008. Elizaveta Bolina was apparently also the last Enets who spoke Enets on a daily basis. As she spent most of her life in a reindeer brigade in the tundra, she kept on speaking Forest Enets to her brother and her two sons. Whereas her brother used both Russian and Forest Enets, her sons generally answered only in Russian. In this respect, it is understandable that Elizaveta Bolina, who was younger than other fluent consultants, preserved extraordinarily good language skills. However, Elizaveta Bolina did not speak Tundra Nenets, which made her akin to other younger speakers. The other major consultants were Leonid Bolin, his wife Nadežda Bolina, Leonid Bolin's oldest half-sister Zoja Bolina and the youngest half-brother of Leonid, Vitalij Bolin. All of them also speak Tundra Nenets, though to varying degrees. Other speakers who helped me with different tasks were Anatolij Paľčin, Ekaterina Glebova and Nina Bolina.

23. These were Dar'ja Bolina, who now belongs to the generation of the oldest speakers, and Anatolij's younger brother Viktor Paľčin. Apart from them, Zoja and Nina Bolina as well as their brother Vitalij helped with a variety of tasks.

24. The articles in Pentikäinen (ed. 1999) offer an introduction to Old Believers in English. On Old Believers in Siberia, see Golovko, Vaxtin, Švajtser (2004).

25. On older maps, Mangazeja seemed to be located in the area of the settlement Tazaovskij (Ru: *Тазовский*). Müller wrote that Mangazeja was located 200 versts (one verst = 1067 m) from the estuary of the Taz on its right bank (Müller I 305).

26. According to Müller, the first Russian officials arrived at the estuary of the Yenisei in 1610 and soon after started to collect fur tributes among the locals (Müller II 30).

erected on the Yenisei on the estuary of its tributary Lower Tunguska (Ru: *Нижняя Тунгуска*). Rather early on, due to its location, Turuxansk became instrumental for the Russian conquest of eastern Siberia and the Far East, and Mangazeja gradually lost its importance. In 1672 Turuxansk was granted city rights, and on the orders of the Russian Czar the remaining inhabitants of Mangazeja were sent there. Although after this forced resettlement Turuxansk should have been renamed New Mangazeja (*Новая Мангазея*), the name Turuxansk was preserved (Müller II 99).

As both fortifications, Mangazeja and Turuxansk, were responsible for collecting fur tributes, tax registries listing the surrounding indigenous people were created. Although many tax lists have been lost, a fair number of them have been preserved and analyzed by a variety of Soviet ethnographers (Dolgix 1970, Vasílev 1979).²⁷ Many surviving tax lists contain data on both Tundra and Forest Enets clans, names, and surnames, and Dolgix assumed on the basis of these documents that by the time of the Russian conquest, the number of Enetses was around 3100 (Dolgix 1970: 116). However, diseases appeared already shortly after the arrival of Russians, and the first recorded devastating epidemics among the Mangazeja Samoyeds broke out in 1642 (Müller III 86).

From the early 19th century onward the Taimyr Peninsula, and occasionally also its people, was described by several Russian geographers and travelers.²⁸ Better known descriptions, at least from a Western European perspective, appeared after the expeditions undertaken by Alexander von Middendorff in the 1840s (for a recent survey see Tammiksaar and Stone 2007) and M. A. Castrén in the late 1840s. Castrén's effort will be dealt with in more detail later.

Concerning the traditional territories of Forest Enetses, all existing data shows that in the 17th and 18th centuries Forest Enets lived much more in the south, and their drift towards the Taimyr Peninsula occurred in the centuries to come. Numerous ethnological publications have addressed the so-called 'southern elements of Forest Enets culture' (see e.g. Dolgix's survey 1970: 221–240; Vasílev 1979: 29–45).

0.9 Traditional Forest Enets culture

In contrast to other indigenous peoples of Siberia, the Forest Enetses have never been subject to a monograph-length description. This, however, does not mean that Forest Enets ethnology is terra incognita, and a large number of specialized studies of traditional Forest Enets culture have been published.²⁹ Many studies describe the traditional life of Forest Enetses as encountered in the early days of Soviet power, when the transition of a nomadic people towards becoming Soviet citizens took place. Recently, an

27. Many tax lists were preserved especially by the historian Müller, who traveled through Siberia as part of the second Kamchatka expedition. Even nowadays not all of the documents are published, and a particularly important unpublished manuscript for Taimyrian studies was made available by Helmski (Helmski 2002).

28. Most of these are mentioned shortly in an article by Попов (1944). For reasons unknown, a rather early account by Stepanov was not mentioned, though (Степанов, А. 1835. *Енисейская губерния*. Санкт-Петербург). Unfortunately, most of these earlier publications were not available for a thorough analysis.

29. Essentially, the ethnology of the Forest Enetses was known in much more detail than their language throughout the 20th century.

ethnographic overview (Narody 2005), which subsumes most of these papers, was published. Thus, instead of giving a detailed overview based on the original papers, I will present several topics shortly referring to the chapters in this recent compilation.

0.9.1 Reindeer breeding, foraging, and traditional diet³⁰

In contrast to both Tundra Nenetses and Tundra Enetses, the Forest Enetses were never engaged in large-scale reindeer breeding. Although every family owned a small herd of reindeer (usually not exceeding 40 animals), a tradition not even broken in the Soviet days, these were almost exclusively used for transportation. Only in times of acute hunger were reindeer slaughtered if other means of subsistence failed. As herds were rather small, their pressure on the local ecosystem was less drastic; consequently, Forest Enetses, in contrast to Tundra Nenetses, did not need to migrate large distances with their herds and practiced nomadism in a relatively small area. In the eyes of the surrounding Nenetses, who generally owned large reindeer herds, Forest Enetses were regarded as a poor people, a recurrent stereotype in Taimyrian Tundra Nenets folklore.³¹ As Forest Enetses did not rely on large-scale reindeer breeding, also native reindeer terminology was much more restricted and made fewer distinctions.

<i>te</i>	domesticated reindeer (generic)
<i>nebl'ui / nabl'ui</i>	new-born reindeer
<i>pižik</i>	reindeer of a young age up to one year ³²
<i>kate</i>	castrated reindeer bull
<i>d'aba</i>	two-year-old male reindeer
<i>siri</i>	two-year-old female reindeer
<i>kora</i>	reindeer bull
<i>neđi</i>	reindeer calf
<i>kora neđi</i>	young reindeer bull
<i>đotiđ neđi</i>	young female reindeer
<i>đoxođi</i>	female reindeer
<i>bagiđ</i>	reindeer that is no longer able to calve
<i>auka</i>	pet reindeer for children (sometimes even fed with bread and fish soup)
<i>keđar te</i>	wild reindeer ³³

Table 0-2: Fragments of Forest Enets reindeer terminology

30. See Tixonova 2005a.

31. See the relevant stories in Labanauskas (2001b).

32. In the early 1960s a large number of reindeer were transferred from the Yamal to Potapovo to introduce industrialized reindeer breeding to this area. Several Komi reindeer breeders (probably Izva Komi) accompanied this transfer, and some Komi families stayed for a longer period in Potapovo and continued to work in the brigades. It is highly possible that *pižik* (phonetically *pižik*) was introduced by these Komi reindeer breeders, as it is not accepted among all Forest Enetses. For a possible etymology of this *Wanderwort* and related discussions, see Anikin (2000: 461–462).

33. For wild reindeer, extraordinarily extensive phonetic variation has been attested, with variants such as *kādar*, *keđar*, *keđir*, *kāđer*; the form given above is given as a kind of consensus form.

Although I certainly could not collect a comprehensive vocabulary, what could be collected showed that Forest Enets reindeer terminology clearly made fewer distinctions than Tundra Nenets as presented in Tereščenko (1965: 929). Tundra Nenets has two different lexemes for reindeer no longer able to calve: *ваңгы* ‘a dry reindeer cow’ (Ru: *яловая важенка*) and *хабтърка* ‘an infertile reindeer cow’ (Ru: *бесплодная важенка*), but both are subsumed as *bagiđ* in Forest Enets. Also, several other kinds of reindeer in Tereščenko’s list do not have an equivalent in Forest Enets.

As the traditional diet of Forest Enetses depended on the annual cycle, fishing was the cornerstone of nutrition. Hunting was seasonal and added meat of wild reindeer, ptarmigans, and other fowl. In summer, women and especially children collected eggs and berries.³⁴ The role of staples was small due to missing storage possibilities, yet meat and fish were dried to a certain degree (FE: *poxi*, Ru: *юкола*). Other consumables, such as tea, flour and tobacco, were usually traded.

Besides hunting, trapping was important both as a source of income but also for paying the *jasak* in the olden days. While furs of reindeer were used for both trading and traditional clothing, furs of arctic foxes in particular were highly valued for trading. Still, trapping was also necessary to keep the number of wolves, foxes, and wolverines low, as they would otherwise have attacked personal reindeer.³⁵

0.9.2 Traditional clothing³⁶

Although nowadays, traditional fur coats called *malča* (Ru dial: *малица*), high winter boots known as *pää?* (Ru dial: *бокари, нумы*) and the like³⁷ are no longer used, the local museum in Dudinka preserves a large number of such artifacts from the area of Potapovo. Concerning traditional clothing, the influence of the surrounding Tundra Nenetses is probably best seen as Forest Enetses wore the same type of fur clothing as their more numerous neighbors. It appears that even traditional ornaments and other techniques of decoration were shared.

0.9.3 Traditional way of life

A distinguished target of the Soviet minority policy was to discourage traditional nomadic life in the tundra and to make indigenous peoples live in villages. In the area of Potapovo it was achieved in the early 1960s, yet the majority of my consultants still spent most of their childhood and adolescence in the tundra. Traditionally, Enetses, as

34. Traditionally, mushrooms were not collected. Although now it is a popular activity during the summer, it has been introduced by Russians in recent decades.

35. It appears that this aspect of trapping became even more important during the second part of the 20th century. As the number of reindeer in the brigades around Potapovo increased after the introduction of industrialized reindeer herding, this also attracted many more predators.

36. The chapter on traditional clothing in *Narody* is unreliable, as it mixes both Tundra and Forest Enets dressing. Forest Enetses in Potapovo stood under intense cultural pressure from their more numerous neighbors Tundra Nenetses, such as Tundra Enetses living together with Tundra Nenetses. A smaller number of Tundra Enetses who lived with Nganasans in and around Ust'-Avam seemed to have shared the same kind of fur coats. In this respect, it seems trivial to speak of ‘Enets clothing’ as Enetses took over the same style of clothing from their locally dominating neighbors.

37. The terminology is much richer, however this must be postponed for future lexicographic work.

is the case for the majority of Siberian and other northern indigenous peoples, lived in a *chum* (Ru: чум), a conical tent that was covered with reindeer skins (Forest Enets: *d'ii*, Ru dial: *нюк*). This type of conical tent, called (*onai*) *mā?* ‘real/Enets chum’, was usually shared by family members and close kin and could provide space for up to a dozen individuals. Occasionally, a different type of dwelling, known as *balok* (Ru dial: *балок*), was used. A *balok* is a tent-like wooden construction covered with reindeer skins and nowadays with a plastic sheet, which was and continues to be erected on runners so that it can be transported easily as a whole by a handful of reindeer. On the other hand, a *balok* offers less space and instead of one big *chum*, several *baloks* are needed to host an extended family. Again, after the beginning of industrialized re-organization of reindeer herding, the *balok* started to replace traditional *chums*, yet seemingly all consultants lived most of their childhood days in the latter.

0.9.4 Social organization

Nowadays, the remaining Forest Enetses belong to four major clans: *mugadi*, *bai*, *juči*, and *čor*. The function of the former clans, including the accompanying marriage rules, has fallen into oblivion.³⁸ The *mugadi* clan was further subdivided into two sub-clans. Whereas the remaining speakers speak only of *mugadi* and *kodeo mugadi* (owl-*mugadi*), Dolgix (1946: 117 but also later) mentions that in earlier times there seemed to be *d'otu mugadi* (goose *mugadi*) and *kod(d)eo mugadi*. Further, historical documents mention several other Forest Enets clans (see Dolgix 1970: 202–221) which are no longer known today. From a linguistic perspective, Helimski (2000d: 88–90) demonstrated that both *juči* and *čor* should not be considered original Forest Enets clans. These ethnonyms are apparently originally Tundra Nenets and point to intermarriage and ‘Enetsization’. Even today, several Tundra Nenetses who belong to the *čor* clan reside in the tundra around Tuxard north of the Forest Enets homelands of the 20th century. As for the *juči* clan, the last Forest Enets around Potapovo who belonged to this clan died in the 1970s, which means that all remaining speakers are representatives of *mugadi*, *bai*, and *čor*.³⁹ As social organization and earlier marriage rules revealed much variation and many contradictions, which were addressed in great detail in Soviet ethnology, space considerations do not permit the author of the present study to address this topic, and Tixonova (2005b) should be consulted instead.

0.9.5 Religion and taboo

While social structure is among the best-researched topics, religious practices have been largely neglected. The overview in Narody (Tixonova 2005c) freely mixes data on both Tundra Enets and Forest Enets religious beliefs and is therefore not very informative.

38. The same clan names are also known, at least historically, among Tundra Enetses.

39. Throughout the history of research it has been assumed that the name of the fortification Mangazeja should have been related to the Forest Enets *mugadi* clan as a kind of territorial designation (Helimski 2000d: 87)

Whereas most of my consultants knew that their parents still used idols and fed them, and remember minor sacrifices of reindeer fat, I could no longer document any special knowledge about religious practices. While historically shamanism must have played a decisive role in earlier society and its most central terms are still remembered (e.g. *tađib* ‘shaman’, *peđa* ‘shaman drum’), shamanism and shamans were fiercely attacked by early Soviet power, and such practices were stigmatized.⁴⁰ Although I could collect several narratives on *d’udigađa enči?* ‘clairvoyants’, with whom several consultants had had contacts, the last great Forest Enets shaman Olxo (Andrej) Bolin disappeared suddenly in the early 1930s and was apparently shot, perhaps already in the nearby Noriľsk gulag.

In contrast, the sphere of taboo is remembered quite well; however, for reasons of space only some superficial comments can be made here. Taboos concerning the sphere of death are remembered well and have served as topics of several narratives. Relatives who had died in the *chum* needed to be transported out of the *chum* by lifting the rear part of the *njuk*; they were never transported out via the door-like opening. By choosing this practice one tried to assure that the soul of the deceased would not find its way back to the living relatives. As due to permafrost no special underground burial methods were possible, the deceased was placed on a sled together with his or her personal belongings and clothes and left in the tundra. In subsequent years, during annual wandering, one tried to avoid any route which would lead by the place. Also, the name of the relative was usually avoided, and other references were used instead. Whereas personal clothing and clothing were left with the deceased, metal gear, such as knife and axe blades, could be inherited, but wooden hafts and shafts had to be destroyed and replaced by new ones.

Another well-remembered sphere of taboo concerns the bear. Although I did not hear any taboo forms for the bear and *bogľa* was used openly and without hesitation, Forest Enetses had to avoid bears whenever possible. Whereas local Potapovo Evenkis were proud of bear hunting and consumed bear meat, this was considered *kebi* ‘sin, misbehavior’ among Forest Enetses. Also, attacks by bears on personal belongings⁴¹ or personal reindeer were usually considered a kind of punishment for earlier misbehavior.

0.9.6 Warfare

The last point, warfare, leads us away from recent history. However, warfare is indirectly connected to the decline of Enetses and must therefore be addressed in more detail. Throughout the past 150 years, the area of Potapovo was clearly dominated by Tundra Nenetses, yet Tundra Nenetses are not native to the Taimyr Peninsula. In contrast to the Forest Enetses, Tundra Nenetses had been engaged in large-scale reindeer herding long

40. In this respect, the remoteness of the Nganasan helped to preserve shamanism much better. This allowed for good descriptions of techniques and rituals even in the 1970s.

41. While practicing nomadism in the tundra, winter gear was never taken to the summer camp areas but was left close to the *kodela* lake (lit. transport sled lake, a lake on the left side of the Yenisei), which was conveniently located on the way from the winter camp area to the summer camp area. To a certain degree extra bags of flour and sugar were also occasionally left on these sleds, which attracted roaming bears once in a while.

before the advent of Soviet-style industrialized reindeer herding. It is generally assumed that this change in traditional foraging in Tundra Nenets society occurred in the 17th or 18th century. The Forest Enetses continued small-scale reindeer herding typical for the taiga area.⁴² As the traditional pastures of the Tundra Nenetses could no longer cope with the increasing numbers of domesticated reindeer, this triggered their well-known expansion. In the east, this expansion led Tundra Nenetses to the Taimyr Peninsula, and in the west to the Kola Peninsula. This expansion, however, resulted in frequent battles with local indigenous peoples (e.g. Vasilev 1975, 1977; Golovnov 2000).

Especially in earlier folklore collections there are numerous accounts of battles between Tundra Nenetses and Enetses, as well as between Enetses and Evenkis (e.g. stories in Dolgix 1961: 89–124 and their comments). To a certain degree, several people in Potapovo are familiar (by hearsay) with the accounts of such battles between Nenetses and Enetses. Lake Turucheda on the right bank of the Yenisei close to Potapovo was said to be a place where especially fierce fighting was encountered.⁴³ The outcome of these wars resulted in Nenets domination on the left bank of the Yenisei while the right bank of the Yenisei remained Enets.⁴⁴ However, the socio-economic domination of Tundra Nenetses started to dominate the lower Yenisei, and interethnic marriages and the overall linguistic closeness between Enets and Tundra Nenets must have contributed to their assimilation. In addition to warfare between Tundra Nenetses and Enetses, wars between Evenkis and Enetses have also been reported. Stories about fighting and wars between Evenkis and their neighbors are a topic well known throughout central and western Siberia. Generally, Evenkis were regarded as a violent and military people by most if not all of their neighbors.⁴⁵

Whereas this short description offers a picture of Enetses as a peaceful people, it should not be considered proof of such an assumption, and most certainly attacks from the Enets side are equally possible. As the Forest Enetses (but also Tundra Enetses) have gradually wandered northward, it could well be that leaving the taiga belt characteristic of the Taz area for the subarctic tundra dominated areas on the Taimyr Peninsula was somehow conditioned by the expansion of other indigenous peoples from the south and by the Russian conquest of Siberia. The Taz area, where the first contacts between Russians and Enetses took place, was an area of intensive multiethnic contact in the 17th century.⁴⁶ Besides the pressure from the west by expanding Tundra Nenetses and pressure from the south by the arriving Selkups, further pressure from the east by Evenkis

42. See e.g. Krupnik (1993: chapter 5) and Khazanov (1994: 111–114).

43. See e.g. Vasilev (1975, 1977)

44. Only in the early 20th century, several Forest Enets families decided to resettle on the left side again and the area around the ‘Dry lake’ (FE *kas to*) became increasingly attractive.

45. Similar to the Nenetses, also Evenkis started to expand rapidly, and they finally reached the Taimyr Peninsula. Whereas one part of the Evenkis reached the Taimyr Peninsula through the Xeta river and over the mountains from the Jessej area, this part assimilated with both Nganasans and Dolgans (and perhaps also with Tundra Enetses); however, apparently it did not affect the Forest Enetses. The latter must have come into contact with Evenkis from the Lower Tunguska who followed the Yenisei and Taz downstream (Vasilevič 1969: 4, 41).

46. This is also reflected in the previously mentioned tax list, which offers data for several indigenous peoples of western and central Siberia.

must have pushed the Enetses further to the north. This retreat to remote areas required adaptation to new living conditions, and as such, nomadism in the subarctic tundra could have been a forced choice.⁴⁷ As the number of Enetses has dropped drastically since they were first encountered in the 17th century, both epidemics and warfare have been responsible for dwindling numbers before the final phase of linguistic assimilation in the 20th century.

0.10 The advent of Communism on the Taimyr Peninsula

The advent of communism in remote areas of Siberia started later than similar efforts in the European part of Russia. Although the general history is covered by Slezkine (1994), a detailed account for the Taimyr Peninsula compiled after the collapse of the USSR is still lacking.⁴⁸

0.10.1 Early Forest Enets supporters of Communism

As Potapovo is situated on the bank of the Yenisei, 100 km south of the district capital Dudinka, it is and has historically been conveniently reachable via the frozen Yenisei or through the tundra. It is therefore understandable that the advent of communism and collectivization in and around Potapovo preceded the Soviet effort in other more remote areas by several years. Among the first native supporters of communist power, two Forest Enetses appear frequently: Pëtr Bolin was involved with the introduction and spread of communism on the Taimyr Peninsula and is probably the best-known Enets throughout the whole region. On the local Potapovo level, Nikolaj Paľčín⁴⁹ was a devoted promoter of communism, which led to his election as the first head of the kolkhoz *Труженик* in 1929.⁵⁰ Also, Kuperjan Bolin, a Forest Enets, was among the first members of the Young Communist League (Ru: *Комсомол*).

47. Khazanov (1994) has convincingly argued for such an interpretation of nomadism on a general level. Nomads usually try to occupy areas with less interference with the predominant people, yet this choice of remote areas enforces their further dependency on trading with their dominating neighbors. (Khazanov 1994: 205.) Although, as noted, Forest Enetses owned only few reindeer which were used for transportation, their way of life was clearly nomadic.

48. The most comprehensive account (albeit a politically biased one) can be found in Eremina (1975). Anderson (2000) provides some more data, although from the perspective of the Taimyrian village Xantajskoe ozero, which is located south-east of Potapovo.

49. Nikolaj Paľčín served as a major consultant for apparently all researchers (both linguists and ethnologists) in Potapovo after the Second World War until his death in 1997.

50. The role of both men has been discussed in numerous articles in the local newspaper *Советский Таймыр* and *Таймыр* e.g. 18.2.1966; 07.11.1967; 08.07.1975; 16.04.1998; 22.06.2000.

0.10.2 The Volochanka uprising in 1932

The advent of communism in Siberia was far from being a smooth process, and several areas witnessed local uprisings against collectivization, the imprisonment of shamans, and the introduction of compulsory education in distant boarding schools. A major uprising also occurred in the northern part of the Taimyr Peninsula, where about two dozen early Soviet activists were killed. This uprising is generally known as the Volochanka uprising.⁵¹ Although available sources on this uprising assume that the uprising was a reaction of Dolgans, Nganasans, and several Evenkis against the approaching collectivization, it turns out that this uprising was generally supported by all Taimyrian indigenous peoples (including Nenetses and Tundra Enetses). Whereas there is no safe evidence for Forest Enets participants, both Pětr Bolin and Nikolaj Paľčín were involved in the abatement of the uprising, either representing or supporting Soviet Power. Pětr Bolin tried to interfere with negotiations during the beginning of the uprising but failed; Nikolaj Paľčín guided a special division of the Red Army from Igarka to Volochanka.⁵²

0.11 Recent history – how Forest Enets ultimately became an endangered language⁵³

The decline of Forest Enets as a living language is tightly interwoven with the history of Potapovo in the 20th century and shows some features that require a more comprehensive description. Whereas the village's history until the early 1960s was subsumed by Vasilev (1963)⁵⁴, nothing comparable exists for the period after 1960. Events in this period have been reconstructed from my fieldnotes.⁵⁵

The history of Potapovo itself is little known and for times before the 20th century only vague information exists. The story of the official date of foundation has more political spirit than historical relevance:

51. The topic of indigenous uprisings against Soviet power was discussed recently by Leete (2007). However, the description of the Taimyrian uprising is particularly incomplete because it is entirely based on secondary sources, which to a certain degree are not even correctly cited.

52. This episode was part of a narrative by Anton Paľčín about his father, which I recorded in summer 2008.

53. This description follows an earlier one published as Siegl (2007a) with slight corrections reflecting results from subsequent fieldwork in 2008.

54. All of my Forest Enets consultants were born in the period which Vasilev describes in his seminal paper on Forest Enets ethnology. Many details presented by Vasilev came up independently in the narrations of consultants which back up Vasilev's account. As Forest Enetses have never been the subject of a classic ethnological monograph in contrast to their neighbors, Vasilev (1963) remains one of the most important sources.

55. The reconstruction presented in this chapter is based on fieldnotes, discussions with various inhabitants, and stories I recorded in Forest Enets about the history of the area as well as *Istorija*, an article by Pětr Bolin in *Советский Таймыр* (18.02.1966) and Vasilev (1963). The account is by no means comprehensive but is adequate enough for the purposes of this study.

“In 1881 a merchant from Krasnojarsk called Aleksandr Ivanov built a winter camp at this place which would become Potapovo in later years. This merchant was said to be greedy and was not loved by the indigenous population of the area. In 1886, a revolutionary called Potapov was exiled from St. Petersburg to this location, which still had no name. This brave revolutionary became a good friend of the indigenous population by offering them practical help. This revolutionary promised them a better life after the end of the Czarist period, which soon would come. This was seen as a worthy enterprise and due to his visions and his goodness the indigenous population named the yet unnamed place after the revolutionary Potapovo and not after the merchant...” (Istorija.)

Also many details in Vasilev’s account for the period prior to the Second World War are politically biased and are of no direct importance for the argumentation here.

It is, however, safe to assume that until the Second World War, the immediate surroundings of Potapovo were still inhabited mainly by Forest Enetses and Tundra Nenetses, as the majority of places around Potapovo have their own names in both languages.⁵⁶ At this time, Potapovo consisted of a handful of houses and the village population must have consisted entirely of Russians.

Concerning the recent history of Potapovo, the following dates are of importance. The late 1920s saw the opening of the first kolkhozes⁵⁷ and a primary school which first served only Russian children and later was opened to all. In 1935, a *kult-baza*⁵⁸ was opened, followed by a first-aid point. The most decisive demographic impulses for Potapovo, however, happened during and after the Second World War. In 1942, a larger number of Volga Germans and Finns from the Leningrad oblast⁵⁹ were deported to Potapovo, and many locals insist that it was only after the arrival of the deportees that the village actually started to exist.⁶⁰

In 1950, regular flight service from the district capital of Dudinka to Potapovo began to operate twice a week and this improved transportation, offering a safer and quicker form of transportation all year round (Istorija)⁶¹. Around the same time, the next wave of deportees, now mainly from the Baltics, arrived in Potapovo.

56. Some Evenki families also inhabited this area, but these families lived exclusively on the right side of the Yenisei south and east of Potapovo towards Xantajskoe ozero.

57. Collectivization on the Taimyr Peninsula was a process that differed greatly by region. Whereas Forest Enetses, Nenetses, and Evenkis around Potapovo embraced Soviet power eagerly and early on, other more remote areas of the Taimyr Peninsula resisted until the late 1930s, especially the areas affected by the Volochanka uprising (Spisok). Whereas the first attempts are reported for 1927 (also mentioned above), the introduction of kolkhozes started in the 1930s.

58. Cultural base for cultural-political agitation. In this point, Istorija and the account by Pëtr Bolin diverge, as Pëtr Bolin reports the establishment of a *kult-baza* as early as in 1927. It could well be that the official account refers to a *kult-baza* in the village. The *kult-baza* Bolin refers to was a ‘red chum’ (Ru: *красный чум*), which was sent into the tundra for agitation among the indigenous peoples.

59. These Finns were most probably Ingrians. The last ‘Finn’ by the surname Karhu had been transferred to the hospital in Dudinka shortly before I arrived to Potapovo and died there.

60. As Potapovo was not equipped to accept large numbers of deportees, many of them died during the first winter due to epidemics, scurvy, and cold. The collection of life stories of deportees (Sveča 2006) makes several references to the indigenous people in the area of Potapovo who taught deported Germans how to fish on the Yenisei or adopted children of deportees for a while to prevent them from death.

61. The Yenisei around Potapovo is frozen for almost eight months, which allows transportation by boat only from June to late September.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the policy of closing non-perspective villages throughout the USSR affected the immediate surroundings of Potapovo. Two nearby villages, Nikoľsk and (Ust'-) Xantajka, were closed, and their inhabitants (mainly Volga Germans and Russians) were resettled in Potapovo.⁶²

Sometime after the end of the Second World War, a fur farm and a dairy farm were opened in Potapovo. As a result of Soviet policy, colonists from the Ukraine, Belarus and other parts of the USSR arrived. There were also several reindeer brigades in the tundra around Potapovo, though it seems that such brigades had existed already before the war.⁶³

In the early 1960s, Komi reindeer brigades transferred several thousand reindeer from the Jamal Autonomous Region to reindeer brigades around Potapovo. As local capacities could no longer cope with these huge new brigades, several Dolgan reindeer herders together with their families came from the eastern parts of the Taimyr Peninsula (probably from the Xatanga rajon) to Potapovo. Eventually, several of the Komi reindeer herders who had transferred the herds decided to settle in Potapovo.⁶⁴ At the end of the 1960s, Potapovo had a population of approximately 500 inhabitants – a figure that remained stable until the end of the 1980s.

Although Potapovo served as an administrative anchor, not every registered inhabitant lived in the village. Vasilev (1963) claims that in the late 1950s, the indigenous population usually lived in the tundra and only once in a while came to the village to replenish supplies and to visit their children in the local boarding school.⁶⁵ However, as Vasilev noted, several indigenous families were awarded apartments in newly built houses based on their productivity, which was intended to make the nomads permanent residents of Potapovo.

In the 1960s, the ethnic map of Potapovo was far more colorful than in most other areas of Siberia, but this point was mentioned only in passing by Vasilev (1963).⁶⁶ As discourse on ethnicity is a prominent topic in Potapovo, it is not too difficult to obtain a sketch of the ethnic situation during this period. As most of the old kolkhoz inventory registers, which also included demographic data, are no longer available, the ranking of individual nationalities is based on the accounts of my language consultants.⁶⁷

62. Nikoľsk was located half way between Dudinka and Potapovo on the right bank of the Yenisei, (Ust'-) Xantajka 30 km south of Potapovo (see the map above). Although Forest Enetses lived in the tundra around both villages, it seems that the Forest Enets population around Nikoľsk was more prominent. As both villages were small, the local newspaper has sparse notes on them. However, a short article on December 1st 1946 has a short comment on the kolkhoz Kirov at Nikoľsk, mentioning several Forest Enetses, Tundra Nenetses, and Evenkis.

63. For the second part of the 20th century, there were four brigades around Potapovo, three on the right and one on the left side of the Yenisei. Occasionally a fifth brigade existed, but only when new animals were transferred to the area and needed to be divided among the four brigades.

64. One of my central consultants witnessed the transfer as a young boy and claimed that the Komi reindeer herders had been given a five-year contract in Potapovo. When their contracts expired, the majority of them returned to the Jamal Autonomous Region.

65. Almost all of my consultants were at Potapovo's boarding school during this period and independently confirmed Vasilev's account.

66. Vasilev probably avoided making a clear statement because this would have led him to mention Potapovo's close ties with deportation history, a topic not appropriate at this time.

67. After one of these instances when I went through the former nationalities in Potapovo with one of my consultants he concluded with a joke, "we never had any Japanese in our village, but who knows what the future brings."

Major nationalities	Russians, Volga Germans, Forest Enetses, Tundra Nenetses, Evenkis
Minor nationalities (usually not more than one to three families or several individuals)	Finns (Ingrians), Selkups, Koreans, Komis, Nganasans, Dolgans, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Latvians, Chuvashs, Siberian Tatars, Black Sea Greeks, Estonians, Lithuanians (?), Kalmyks (?)

Table 0-3: Ethnic makeup of Potapovo in the early 1960s

By looking at the table above one can clearly see that Potapovo has hosted a wide variety of nationalities since the 1950s and this inevitably had an impact on the sociolinguistic situation of the village. Whereas in the first half of the 20th century Tundra Nenets dominated the tundra around Potapovo as a lingua franca, the influx of non-locals with different linguistic backgrounds created the need for a new means of communication. The rise of Russian as a new lingua franca was therefore only a result of social and socio-economic changes, and especially of deportations accompanying life in Potapovo after the Second World War.⁶⁸

0.11.1 Assimilation and homogenization in Potapovo

After the Second World War, Potapovo was in need of a new lingua franca. Whereas this was inevitable in a village whose inhabitants spoke a variety of languages which were mutually not intelligible, the rise of Russian resulted in the extinction of all the other local languages, whether they were the indigenous (or heritage) languages of deportees or those of newcomers. Nowadays, Potapovo is functionally monolingual, and active command of any language other than Russian can be found only in the generation over 45 years of age, which owing to social problems, alcoholism and poor health care, is quickly dwindling.⁶⁹

Concerning the decline of Forest Enets in and around Potapovo I argue that at least three factors have contributed extensively to this setting, namely, the boarding school, the loss of marriage rules and new interethnic marriages, and finally the new way of Soviet living.⁷⁰

68. When comparing the situation in Potapovo with stories from other areas of the Taimyr Peninsula, it seems that Russian began to dominate in Potapovo much earlier on than in other parts of the Taimyr Peninsula.

69. There seems to be one exception, however. It is generally agreed that Evenki as a spoken language in Potapovo was almost extinct in the late 1970s. Nevertheless, some isolated speakers still reside in the village. Also, German has not been spoken in Potapovo since the 1990s, as many Volga Germans left for Germany.

70. It is perhaps needless to say that these processes were not limited exclusively to Potapovo. As the literature dealing with these and relating problems has become quite extensive, I refer the reader to Vaxtin (2001) for a general overview.

0.11.1.1 The role of the boarding school

Although a primary school was opened in Potapovo in the late 1920s, it was initially reserved for Russian children before indigenous children were finally admitted in the 1930s. In 1960, 101 children went to the local school; 47 of them were from indigenous minorities and lived permanently at the boarding school (Vasiřev 1963: 65). Usually native children did not know any Russian at all when entering the boarding school.⁷¹ The same holds true for many Volga Germans who did not yet speak Russian (or spoke it poorly) when they came to Potapovo. As for the Germans, already the first generation born in Potapovo was said to have switched entirely to Russian.⁷² All native children spent the next years mainly in the boarding school, where, as elsewhere in the Soviet North, the use of native languages was prohibited. Although children were clearly discouraged from speaking their native language, no physical punishments occurred or they are at least not openly remembered.⁷³ Although native children still spent their short summer vacation in the tundra, native language skills started to dwindle.⁷⁴

Instruction in the school was in Russian, and although teaching materials for primary and secondary schools for Tundra Nenets and Evenki had existed since the 1930s, no native language was taught on the Taimyr Peninsula until the early 1970s (Siegl submitted). In Potapovo, no indigenous language was taught in the boarding school during the Soviet period. Whereas the school is still in operation, it was cut down to an 8-year school and ceased its boarding school operations several years ago.⁷⁵

0.11.1.2 Loss of marriage rules and new interethnic marriages

Indigenous marriage rules have been described by Dolgix (1962: 221–224). For periods prior to extensive contact with other nationalities, a clear preference for intra-Forest Enets marriages or marriages between Forest Enetses and Tundra Nenetses was described. Marriages between Tundra Nenetses and Forest Enetses, however, usually resulted in the dominance of Tundra Nenets, which accelerated the decline in the number of Forest Enets speakers during the early 20th century. There are, however, hints that the marriage rules as documented by Dolgix with preference for exogamy might not be as old as they seem⁷⁶,

71. All consultants are from this generation and confirmed that they did not speak any Russian before entering school. Unfortunately, their generation was also the last.

72. Many older residents (regardless of ethnical background) told me that my way of speaking Russian reminded them of the way the Volga Germans had spoken Russian in Potapovo, but almost all conversations ended with the statement that their children already spoke Russian like Russians. The fact that German was given up so quickly might be explained by deportation traumas and the overall wish to be accepted as Russians as soon as possible.

73. As native families were still rather large in the 1950s, it was not unusual for several children from the same family to live in the same dormitory. Zoja Bolina remembered that in the evenings, unsupervised children did speak in their native language with their brothers and sisters.

74. Again, most of my consultants reported that teachers instructed their parents to talk to their children in Russian during their vacations, but this instruction was apparently not followed.

75. This step affected several families who still preferred to live in the tundra by that time and forced them to settle permanently in Potapovo to allow their children to attend the local school.

76. At least in an early article, Dolgix explored the possibility that an earlier existing practice of endogamy might not have been preserved (1946: 111), though as far as I know he did not mention this idea in his later works.

and that the reasons for a readjustment of marriage rules might be found in the 19th century. As both warfare and epidemics⁷⁷ severely decimated the Forest Enets population, it is questionable whether interethnic marriages are indeed an old phenomenon.

Concerning the generation of the last speakers, they were still born into either monolingual Forest Enets or bilingual Forest Enets–Tundra Nenets families.⁷⁸ This pattern abruptly ended in the 1960s and in the generation of the last fluent speakers of Forest Enets only two Enets marriages can be documented. Other marriages resulted in new constellations (e.g. marriages with Russians, Ukrainians, Dolgans, Evenkis, or Komis), but surprisingly, among the last fluent speakers, many of them had never married at all. Children born into mixed marriages were raised monolingually in Russian⁷⁹, whereas children from Forest Enets marriages at least have some – albeit very limited – passive language skills. Practically speaking, the current generation entered the local school monolingual.⁸⁰

0.11.1.3 New ways of living

The new way of living outside the tundra opened up a whole new variety of possible professions. Whereas the overall role of higher education at the Herzen Institute in Leningrad was apparently of marginal importance for Forest Enetses⁸¹, local colleges (Ru: *училище*) such as the one in nearby Igarka or the technical college (Ru: *техникум*)⁸² in Dudinka offered new professions, which meant life away from one's speech community for a longer period, and several Enetses actually ended up in other areas on the Taimyr Peninsula (and elsewhere in the Soviet Union/Russia) where Enets was not spoken. Additionally, for men, service in the Red Army meant a prolonged stay in a Russian-speaking community (by that time three years), as they were sent as far away as East Germany or Kamchatka. Whereas the stereotype I rely on here might be too naïve, the generations educated in boarding schools continued their education according to Soviet ideology in new spheres of living, where the language of the tundra was not deemed appropriate (cf. Pika 1999: 123–132). Whereas reindeer breeding and life in the tundra was seen as prestigious among men⁸³, this was not deemed suitable for women or even families.

77. The last dramatic flu epidemic raged in the tundra around Potapovo in 1927, killing about a third of the Enets population (Vasilev 1963: 64).

78. Neither Dolgix (1962) nor Vasilev (1963) reported any other marriages for the first half of the 20th century, and no Forest Enets in Potapovo could recall any diverging marriages in earlier periods, with the exception of a mixed Forest Enets–Evenki marriage in Nikol'sk. Otherwise, at least two cases are known from the early 20th century where children were born from a short-term liaison between a Russian man and Forest Enets women. However, these children were apparently reared in later Samoyedic mixed families.

79. I have no evidence of non-Enets spouses having learned Forest Enets.

80. Several older schoolteachers in Potapovo confirmed that the last children who still knew another language besides Russian or no Russian at all entered the school about 35 years ago.

81. Although several Forest Enetses have studied at the Herzen Institute during the 20th century, the number of Enetses who had studied in Igarka seems to be higher; unfortunately, no accurate figures are available. Occasionally, some Forest Enetses studied in Krasnojarsk and Yakutsk.

82. Both colleges should be understood as college-like institutions, which offered specialist instruction at the secondary level.

83. The so-called snowmobile revolution, whose impact has been described for many peoples of the North, started in the late 1970s in and around Potapovo.

0.11.2 The outcome of assimilation

“When I came to Potapovo about 30 years ago from the Altai, I still recall that people dressed in native clothes. The Evenki malitsas (traditional fur coats, F.S.) are still on my mind as they were so colorful, and people wearing them almost resembled dolls. But nowadays nobody wears any malitsas in the village. We all look the same now.”

This quote from a woman working in the local administration neatly summarizes the assimilation processes which took place in Potapovo. When walking through Potapovo, either camouflage or worn out working clothes of *Noril'skij Nikel'* dominate. Sometimes Russian fur coats can be seen, but only two permanent male residents of Potapovo, a retired Forest Enets reindeer breeder and a middle-aged Nenets, wear *malitsas*. After a closer look they turned out to be made of cloth and not of fur. Beside these two men, ethnicity was no longer visibly shown.⁸⁴

Linguistic diversity, too, is no longer shown openly, and it is very unusual to hear some sentences uttered in a language other than Russian. Once in a while, some elder inhabitants might utter a greeting in their native language when entering the local store, but even this seldom occurs. If any language other than Russian is spoken, this is usually done by the oldest inhabitants of Potapovo.

For those residents who are not born in Potapovo, this situation is unusual. A young Dolgan man who married a girl from Potapovo, now a permanent resident of the village, told me that for him this village is still a mystery.

“In the Xatanga rajon where I come from, we all speak Dolgan and you hear Dolgan everywhere. Dolgans usually marry Dolgans, but this is no longer as strict as it was during the Soviet period. But look, here you can marry who you wish, and everyone speaks only Russian.”

Whereas many criticize the process of assimilation (among them also my language consultants), it is usually understood as having become an inescapable process in Potapovo over the past 50 years. It is generally agreed among the Forest Enetses that whatever language they speak in the village, there will still be Enetses around in Potapovo in the future, despite the fact that they will not speak the language. This point of view is also shared by the Enetses living in Dudinka, and statements like *“whereas the language is dying, the people who feel themselves as Enetses will remain”* could be heard frequently. These sentiments mean that the concept of being a (Forest) Enets has already been reshaped or at least is undergoing reshaping. The concept of language as a central aspect of identity was stressed by all of my consultants who still spoke the language and saw

84. In late January 2007, several reindeer breeders from the last intact reindeer brigade came to Potapovo to restock their supplies and on these days *malitsas* could be seen in the village. Similar observations have been reported from other areas of the Taimyr Peninsula, too.

competence in Forest Enets as the most decisive factor for ethnical classification.⁸⁵ As also several younger individuals who no longer speak the languages call themselves Enetses, other factors such as heritage are employed.

0.11.3 Geography for good and worse

In one of our sessions in Dudinka, my major consultant Zoja Bolina once remarked that to a certain degree, the geographic location of Potapovo had a distinctive impact which led to the extinction of Forest Enets.

“Whereas usually not more than three to five different peoples live in villages on the Taimyr Peninsula, the situation in Potapovo is quite different. Potapovo is comparatively accessible due to its location on the bank of the Yenisei, not too far away from Dudinka and precisely this fact has made the influx of other nationalities much easier than elsewhere.”

In the village, residents of Potapovo focused on the importance of its geographic location as well. Concerning its history, this accessibility is seen as the major source of multi-ethnicity and many people regardless of ethnic background agree that this is the major fact which has contributed to this distinctive social and linguistic situation in the village.⁸⁶ Concerning the present situation, the location on the Yenisei is seen as a big advantage. Air transportation, which receives less and less local subsidy, results in astronomic prices for rides with antiquated Mi-8 helicopters.⁸⁷ When possible, many locals use or share snowmobiles for short visits to Dudinka when appropriate.⁸⁸ In summer, one can travel by ship to Potapovo on boats heading or coming from Krasnojarsk, but this service operates only as long as the Yenisei is ice-free. As transportation is a notorious problem on the Taimyr Peninsula, both the location of the village and its closeness to the area’s capital Dudinka are nevertheless seen as something positive.

85. It is perhaps worth mentioning that their classification is flawed, as the generation of last speakers is far from being homogenous. Many Forest Enets speakers are descendants of mixed marriages and are actually bilingual if not trilingual.

86. When introducing myself and my research plans to the local people at the beginning of my stay, I frequently encountered people who were eager to stress that they, too, had some Enets or Volga German ancestors. I did not make a list of these encounters, but when scrolling my notebooks and my memory, there were more than a dozen such encounters. By simply adding these encounters to the number of registered Enetses and speakers of the language, one arrives easily at a number of Enetses that clearly outnumbers official statistics. This somehow hints at the works of Krivonogov, who has claimed that actually 96 Enetses resided in Potapovo (Krivonogov 1998, 2001). Whereas I consider this number to be much too high, one should realize that official ethnicity, which does not permit multiple ethnicities, stands in sharp contrast with what inhabitants in Potapovo understand as ethnic heritage.

87. When the ice on the Yenisei and Lake Xantajka is thick enough, helicopters are replaced by a small AN-2 aircraft which offers cheaper flights. This service, principally operating on a weekly basis – but of course weather dependent – temporarily eases transportation problems. Still, this service is restricted to a later period of winter. It usually does not start earlier than February and lasts only until April.

88. This is even more understandable as one might remain stuck in Dudinka for a long period before regular transportation becomes available. Having one’s own transportation with a snowmobile clearly enhances mobility. For the 2006–2007 season, helicopter rides to Potapovo and Xantajskoe ozero were scheduled for every 1st and 3rd Tuesday, but only if enough passengers were available. When this was not to be achieved, travels were postponed for a week for another try. In my case, I had to wait for three consecutive Tuesdays before a trip was finally made. A nice example for private mobility could be observed a few days before Christmas in late December 2006, when a convoy of 13 snowmobiles left for Dudinka to buy presents and to bring some fuel.

0.11.4 The fate of a village as the fate of a language

The fate of Forest Enets as a living language is entirely connected to the fate of a single village. Whereas until the 1950s two villages served as anchors for Forest Enetses, the closing of Nikoľsk focused Forest Enets life entirely on Potapovo⁸⁹. With the influx of other nationalities, a process of cultural and linguistic assimilation started and in the course of only two generations, the emergence of Soviet power under the stewardship of the new lingua franca Russian left no other language alive. The crucial difference, which makes the fate of Forest Enets so extraordinary, is the Forest Enetses' dependence on Potapovo, both economically and socially. Whereas other Taimyrian indigenous languages (Tundra Nenets, Dolgan and Nganasan), which are also functionally extinct in Potapovo, are nevertheless still spoken in other villages,⁹⁰ Forest Enets, which is spoken only in Potapovo, has lost this struggle and stands on the verge of extinction. Functionally the language has already been extinct for at least a decade, and all attempts concerning revitalization have produced no results; children in Potapovo are unwilling to learn the language⁹¹ and have not acquired any reasonable skills in it. The college program in Dudinka has not educated any new L2 speakers either. Almost all Forest Enetses who worked with me did not see any obvious reason why one should revitalize the language, and the sporadic attempts to teach the language at the local school were judged as unnecessary.⁹² However, recently a language nest has started.

0.11.5 Potapovo today

In 2006, Potapovo had 410 inhabitants, of which about 240 were registered officially as indigenous. Apart from its highly unusual “international” conglomerate, Potapovo does not differ from other villages of its kind in the Russian North and is characterized by high rates of unemployment and alcoholism, along with the related social problems.⁹³ With the collapse of the Soviet Union, both the fur farm and the dairy farm went bankrupt; out of the four reindeer brigades, only one brigade survived the economic turmoil. Further, transportation facilities and possibilities were cut down around the turn of the millennium, and the local village administration stopped selling fuel for snowmobiles and other technical equipment, which must now be arranged independently. Most of the secure jobs in the village belong to the public sphere (hospital, school, administration,

89. Many Forest Enetses agreed with my assumption that if Nikoľsk had not been closed in the late 1950s, Forest Enets might be in a much better situation now.

90. Apparently Taimyrian Evenki is in the same state as Forest Enets. This judgment is based on a short interview with the teacher of Evenki at the local *Taimyrskij kolledž*; further cross-checking has supported this observation.

91. In recent years, Forest Enets has been compulsory for all school children regardless of ethnic background and has been taught with German as a foreign language despite the almost complete absence of teaching materials. I personally doubt that this was a good decision, as due to the multi-ethnic background of the village there were apparently many children who were forced to learn a language to which they had no immediate relationship at all.

92. See also Siegl (submitted).

93. Whereas such topics have dominated many western ethnographic studies based on fieldwork since the 1990s, until recently they received less attention in Russian ethnography. A good overview from a Russian perspective can be found in Pivneva & Funk (eds) (2005).

kindergarten, post office, house of culture, and the local library). Some more jobs are provided by the store, a Volga German family engaging in small-scale farming (of cows, pigs, and chickens) and the local diesel-generator-based power station. This situation leaves many families with no other sources of income than welfare benefits or pensions. Although many residents engage in hunting and fishing, the dividing line between legal and illegal hunting and fishing has become fuzzy, and occasional raids by officials from Dudinka, resulting in high fines, introduce more tensions. Many elderly people, regardless of ethnic background, blame the collapse of the USSR for their hardships nowadays.⁹⁴

0.12 Previous research

Until the turn of the millennium, Forest Enets was among the most underdocumented still spoken Samoyedic languages.⁹⁵ Further, the language is even absent from recent major handbooks such as Abondolo (1998). Whereas Enets is constantly referred to in Janhunen's survey of the history of the Samoyedic languages (Janhunen 1998), the handbook lacks a separate sketch of Enets. Major resources such as both dictionaries (ERRE, ES) and representative text collections (RS, ET) appeared in the first decade of the new millennium.

0.12.1 Enets in M. A. Castrén's work

The first detailed and reliable linguistic data on both Enets varieties were collected by M. A. Castrén (1813–1852) during his second journey in Siberia. In the end of 1846 and early 1847, Castrén visited the Taimyr Peninsula, where he collected material on both Enets varieties and Nganasan (Castrén 1856: 245–247; 278–279). In contrast to his work in other areas, Castrén's stay on the Taimyr Peninsula was comparatively short; nevertheless he must be rightfully given the merits of having produced the first accurate materials on these Samoyedic languages (Castrén 1854, 1855). Unfortunately, Castrén's travels in Siberia seriously damaged his health and although he still prepared his data on various languages and peoples of Eurasia for publication, he did not live to see their publication as the monumental twelve-volume series *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen von Dr. M. Alexander Castrén* (1853–1862) published by the Academy in St. Peters-

94. In this respect, the last leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, whose reputation in the West is generally positive, is blamed almost personally for the fate of Potapovo. This understanding is of course not restricted to Potapovo but reflects a general perspective shared widely throughout rural areas of Russia.

95. In Helimski's state-of-the-art report on Samoyedic studies, a certain disfavoring tone of speaking of Samoyedic languages as 'little studied' is found in the opener (Helimski 2001: 175). Whereas the Samoyedic branch as such clearly did not qualify as "understudied" around the turn of the century, Enets indeed did. Helimski's overview of Enets studies in this article is superficial, but this was apparently dictated by space restrictions and the scope of his paper. Further, there is unfortunately a certain trend in Samoyedology which assumes much knowledge simply as 'given' and orally 'passed down' by senior researchers. The following overview is therefore apparently the most detailed survey on previous studies on both Enets varieties from the perspective of linguistics.

burg. Even today several original writings of Castrén await publication, among them a separate description of Tundra Enets grammar.⁹⁶

As Castrén spent only several weeks on the Taimyr Peninsula working simultaneously with both Enets varieties, Tundra Nenets and Nganasan, this has left traces in his description:

“§530. Die Mangelhaftigkeit des Materials ist es auch, die mich verhindert für diesen Dialekt dieselbe Anzahl von Paradigmen aufzustellen, wie bei den übrigen” (Castrén 1854: 501).

Whereas the accuracy of Castrén’s work is generally well known, the quotation reveals another problem concerning Castrén’s scientific idiolect; his criteria for calling a given idiom a language (*Sprache*) or dialect (*Dialekt*) cannot be unanimously pinned down. While Castrén’s somehow inconsistent use of *Sprache* vs. *Dialekt* is a general characteristic of his writings, there are numerous references which show that Castrén considered Enets more as a dialect of Nenets rather than an independent language, e.g. already in the table of contents, where Enets is referred to as the ‘Jenisei-Dialekt’. Castrén’s assumption of Enets as a dialect of (Tundra) Nenets would prevail for almost a century.

0.12.2 Other Finnish researchers among the Enetses

In the early 20th century, the Finno-Ugrian Society decided to send researchers to different Samoyedic peoples to collect further materials. According to the original plan, Toivo Lehtisalo was supposed to work on Nenets while Kai Donner was supposed to cover the other Samoyedic languages (Salminen 2008: 78–82). By chance, sometime in 1911 near the Taz river, Toivo Lehtisalo met a Forest Enets and collected a small set of lexemes, which he later used in his research on the history of Nenets vocalism (Lehtisalo 1927). Donner, who was supposed to work on Enets, visited Dudinka in December 1912 and intended to return in 1914, which was not possible due to the outbreak of the First World War (Joki 1944: XXIII–XXIV, XXXIV). Donner’s Enets materials, a word list, were published later by Joki (1956).

0.12.3 Enets studies by Soviet and Russian researchers

With the outbreak of the October Revolution, the Taimyr Peninsula became as unreachable as any other area of the USSR for non-Soviet fieldworkers for more than 70 years. Fieldwork in these areas became a monopoly for (Soviet) Russian researchers.

96. Castrén (n.d.), Anteckningar öfver Chantaisko-karasinska dialecten. Manuscripta Castreniana. Vol. XIV. Samoiedica. Jenisei-Samoiedica.

0.12.3.1 Enets studies by linguists from Leningrad and Tomsk

The first Russian description of Enets was published by Prokof'ev (1937c) based on his fieldwork on the Taimyr Peninsula as well with students in Leningrad in the early 1930s. Although Prokof'ev's description presented data on Forest Enets (in contrast, Castrén presented more data on Tundra Enets and only occasionally data on Forest Enets), Prokof'ev followed Castrén in considering Enets a dialect, which would occupy a position between the Nganasan dialect (sic!) and the Nenets language. Concerning the syntax of Enets, he claimed that it was essentially the same as Nenets (Prokof'ev 1937c: 76). After the sudden death of Prokof'ev in 1942⁹⁷, it took a while before Enets was studied again. In the early 1960s, the Nenets and Nganasan specialist N. Tereščenko did some fieldwork in Potapovo⁹⁸, during which she gathered data for her later major publications. Whereas Tereščenko published much data on Forest Enets in almost all her articles on comparative Samoyedic studies, very few articles are dedicated entirely to Forest Enets.⁹⁹ In 1965, she published a short paper in which she intended to show that contrary to earlier assumptions (Forest) Enets must be considered an independent language (Tereščenko 1965).¹⁰⁰ In 1966 Tereščenko published a short grammatical sketch of Forest Enets (Tereščenko 1966), which was followed by another even more condensed sketch grammar published already after her death (Tereščenko 1993). Concerning language planning, Tereščenko published an article on a possible orthography for Enets in 1986. Research on Enets was continued by Tereščenko's student Irina Sorokina, who also defended the first ever dissertation on Enets in 1975. This dissertation itself remained unpublished and only the required abstract (Ru: *автореферат*) was distributed (Sorokina 1975a); several parts were published as articles later. In contrast to her predecessors, Sorokina focused her research entirely on Enets, and although she collected data on both Enets varieties, she preferred to work on Forest Enets.

In the 1970s and the early 1980s, several phonetic studies on both Enets varieties were published by Ja. Gluxij and V. Susekov from the Tomsk school.¹⁰¹ Both researchers did fieldwork in the 1970s and the early 1980s among speakers of both Enets varieties plus additional phonetic consultant work with several speakers in Novosibirsk.

97. Most of Prokof'ev's field notes did not survive the German siege of Leningrad (see Gagen-Torn 1992). Recently, some of his writings and unpublished field notes on Enets were found in the archives of *Kunstkamera* in St Petersburg (Kazakevič 2010).

98. Unfortunately, it is not known how much time Tereščenko spent among Enetses. In her 1965 paper Tereščenko stated that she had visited Enetses in 1962, but I have found no evidence for active fieldwork on the Taimyr Peninsula in later years. Instead, Tereščenko worked with Enets students from the Institute of the Northern People in Leningrad.

99. As far as I know, Tereščenko never did any research on Tundra Enets and there is hardly any Tundra Enets data in her comparative studies. During a visit to the Department of Linguistics at the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg in March 2009, I was given a chance to browse through the part of the Tereščenko archive which is preserved there. Whereas it contains published and unpublished data on Nenets and Nganasan, I could not find any *nanka* with Enets data.

100. This article was probably written for Soviet linguistics; Finnish and Hungarian specialists already regarded Enets as distinct from Nenets at this time.

101. Both Gluxij and Susekov defended their dissertations on Enets phonetics in Novosibirsk (Gluxij 1976; Susekov 1977). All dissertations defended (Sorokina, Gluxij, and Susekov) have been candidate dissertations (Ru: *кандидатская диссертация*).

0.12.3.2 Enets studies by Moscow-based researchers

In the late 1970s and again in the 1990s, several expeditions were organized by researchers and students from Moscow State University to conduct fieldwork on Tundra Enets and, to a lesser degree, also on Forest Enets. Most of the materials on Tundra Enets can be found in Helimski's 1982 monograph and his collected works (Helimski 2000), but the majority of Helimski's papers address diachrony (historical-comparative approaches and their implication for Siberian pre-history). One of Helimski's last articles (Helimski 2007) was dedicated to language death and Forest Enets.¹⁰²

In recent years, Anna Urmančieva, who attended Helimski's trips as a student but continued with more fieldwork later, has started publishing on Enets (Urmančieva 2002, 2006, 2008). Researchers representing a new generation of Moscow graduates, Andrey Shluinsky and Olesia Khanina, have also started to work on Enets in recent years. Their work will be mentioned in more detail later.

0.12.3.3 Local efforts by Kazys Labanauskas

Among local work on Enets in Dudinka, the role of Kazys Labanauskas (1942–2002) must be mentioned. Although Kazys Labanauskas is probably better known for his research on Taimyrian Nenets and Nganasan, he also published several articles on Tundra Enets and a brief grammatical sketch of Forest Enets and Tundra Enets in 2002. Whereas his role as a dedicated fieldworker as well as editor of primary materials on all Taimyrian Samoyedic languages (1992a, 1992b, 2001a, 2001b, 2002) is well known, his 2002 Forest Enets sketch grammar is basically a condensed and slightly reworked version of Tereščenko (1966), which incorporated some more materials from Tereščenko (1973). Unfortunately, it contains many gaps and repeats earlier misunderstandings.

0.12.4 Insitute of the People of the North

As primary fieldwork among speakers of Enets was impossible for non-Soviet researchers, the only possibility for conducting informant work was with students at the Insitute of the People of the North. This chance was used by several Hungarian researchers who gathered both grammatical and lexical data. Such meetings resulted in the papers by Pusztay (1978) and Mikola (1980).¹⁰³ Also, the first texts in Forest Enets ever published outside the Soviet Union/Russia (Mikola 1967) were sent to Mikola by a Forest Enets via mediation of the same institute.¹⁰⁴

102. The main topic of Helimski's article was to address questions of phonetic reduction as an index of language death, which he tried to find in the speech of the parental generation (sic!), which is now dead. The overall conception of this article, as well as a very shallow data base, makes much of his argumentation superficial and unconvincing.

103. Both Pusztay and Mikola met with the offspring (actually sisters) of a Forest Enets-Tundra Nenets marriage and presented data on Enets from individuals who have a stronger preference for Tundra Nenets.

104. Ago Künnap, too, met Forest Enetses at the Insitute ocassionally and made his notes available to me.

0.12.5 Enets studies outside Russia

Concerning the study of Enets outside Russia, work was dominated by a philological approach based on almost everything published on Enets, as no direct possibilities for primary fieldwork were available. A major effort is the dictionary of Katzschmann & Pusztay (1978) which contains most of the hitherto available Enets sources of both linguistic and ethnographic research. Also, Katzschmann's study of copula clauses in Samoyedic follows this approach (Katzschmann 1986), along with a recent paper of his (Katzschmann 2008). The data gathered by Pusztay and Mikola mentioned above differ. Later, this data was integrated into philological and historical-comparative research characteristic of the discipline (e.g. Mikola 1982, 1984, 1994–1995, 1995). Even in recent years, some Hungarian researchers have continued such approaches (Szeverényi & Körtvély 1997, Szeverényi 1999, 2001).¹⁰⁵

0.13 Some pitfalls of recent publications on Enets

Papers such as Szeverényi (1999, 2001) but also Katzschmann (2008), generally underestimate the difference between Tundra Enets and Forest Enets, on the one hand and language change on the other. Whereas the scarcity of available primary data is surely an obstacle for grammatical description, it is equally dangerous to mix data stretching over 150 years representing two closely related yet distinct languages.¹⁰⁶ The same applies for Künnap's sketch grammar (Künnap 1999b) which received some critical remarks already by Helimski (2001). Although Künnap does not mix both Enets varieties with each other and avoids too much diachronic interference by restricting himself to data from the 20th century, his sketch relies entirely on Tereščenko (1966, 1973). Interestingly, his bibliography mentions several papers by Sorokina, including some which corrected or enhanced Tereščenko's description, but these results have not been incorporated into his description. In this respect, Künnap (1999b) meant no improvement of the general status quo of Enets studies. As this sketch was published in a convenient format for typologists, it is unfortunately frequently cited.

0.14 Primary language data on Enets

Forest Enets made the transition from an oral language to a written means of communication fairly recently. To speak of literacy in Forest Enets would however be exaggerating.

105. Occasionally, references to Enets with examples usually deriving from Sorokina can be found in the work by other Hungarian researchers.

106. The same is true of some recent Russian contributions (e.g. Urmančieva 2006; Shluinsky & Khanina 2008).

0.14.1 Materials published in recent years

In 1995, some portions of the Gospel of Luke (Лыка 1995) were published by the Institute for Bible Translation. The translation was prepared by Dar'ja Bolina, the only Forest Enets with a dedicated linguistic background.¹⁰⁷ Since the 26th of March 1996, news in Forest Enets has been published in the local newspaper Таймыр roughly once a month. Although the initial orthography was based to a certain degree on Tereščenko's proposed orthography, subsequent writers have not followed this convention, and in the meanwhile several 'orthographies' have evolved. Further, Dar'ja Bolina has published a small Russian Forest Enets conversation guide (Bolina 2003) based on the initial orthography. As a joint venture with Irina Sorokina, a small school dictionary [ERRE] following the same orthography was published in 2001. As there are no published teaching materials, the conversation guide has been used for teaching the language in both Potapovo and the college in Dudinka (see also Siegl 2007b; Siegl submitted). In 2002, a text collection of both Forest Enets and Tundra Enets stories with Russian translations, two short grammatical sketches and further reading materials in Russian was published [RS]; this publication also followed Tereščenko's orthography. From a linguistic perspective, the most important text collection compiled by Irina Sorokina and Dar'ja Bolina Энецкие тексты [ET] was published in 2005. Although this text collection is intended for the academic community, the orthography is nevertheless mainly phonetic and fortunately not normalized. The publication of ET meant the appearance of the first comprehensive collection of Forest Enets texts representing the language of speakers from the parental and grandparental generations. It includes only a few narratives told by speakers from the present generation. In 2009, an extended Forest Enets Russian dictionary [ES] including a short and incomplete grammar sketch was published as a joint venture by Irina Sorokina and Dar'ja Bolina. Finally, in 2010 Sorokina published her grammar (Sorokina 2010b).

0.14.2 Primary materials published on Forest Enets before 1995

As the short survey has shown, a serious obstacle for the study of Enets has been the general lack of longer texts before the publication of the Fragments of the Gospel of Luke in 1995. Quantitatively, most primary materials could be found in Tereščenko's comparative syntax (Tereščenko 1973) but these did not exceed the sentence level. This overall lack of longer texts was even more puzzling, as researchers such as Mikola and Puszta who had no chance to conduct primary fieldwork apart from meetings with students in Leningrad published initially much more texts than Russian researchers who had a monopoly:¹⁰⁸

107. Dar'ja Bolina, offspring of an Enets-Tundra Nenets marriage, studied Nenets in Leningrad. She also served as a consultant for Puszta (1978) and has co-authored several important primary resources with Irina Sorokina.

108. The published works of Castrén do not include any Enets texts. To the best of my knowledge, Castrén's unpublished materials do not include any Enets texts either.

<i>Soviet researchers</i>		<i>Hungarian researchers</i>	
Length in lines	Published in	Length in lines	Published in
6	Prokof'ev (1937)	58	Mikola (1967)
10	Tereščenko (1965)	98	Pusztay (1978)
4	Tereščenko (1966)	25	Mikola (1981)
36	Sorokina (1981b)		
188	Gluxij & Susekov (1981)		

Table 0-4: Primary materials on Forest Enets before 1995

Finally, an early text in Tundra Enets must be mentioned for the sake of completeness. Witsen's *Noord en Oost Tartaryen* includes the Lord's Prayer in Tundra Enets. This fragment was commented on and re-published by Helimski (2000e).

0.14.3 A note on unpublished data on Enets

Although Sorokina and Bolina have published a large part of their collected narratives in 2004, this is at best just the 'tip of the iceberg'. In 2010 Olga Kazakevič communicated that parts of the presumably lost Prokof'ev archive had been found in St Petersburg at *Kunstkamera*. The archive is reported to include some Enets data (Kazakevič 2010). The whereabouts of the Enets part of Tereščenko's archive is at present unclear.¹⁰⁹ The Dułzon archive at the Pedagogical University in Tomsk holds about 16 hours of elicitation and stories recorded by Gluxij and Susekov in the 1970s and 1980s; some recordings have already been digitized. Further, the fieldnotes of Gluxij and Susekov, as well as a small Enets lexicographic card file, can be found there. Another large amount of older recordings in both Enets varieties are stored at the radio archive in Dudinka and a copy of the material could be obtained by Shluinsky and Khanina. Further Enets recordings (again in both varieties) can be found in both Helsimki's personal archive¹¹⁰ as well as in Labanauskas' personal archive (stored in Dudinka). Apparently, there are more recordings in the personal archives of other researchers who have visited the Taimyr Peninsula, but no detailed information is available. As Forest Enets is on the verge of extinction and the same must be assumed for Tundra Enets, the future will show if any of these materials, especially the sound recordings, can be transcribed and published as long as some speakers of Enets are still alive.

109. As noted, I could not find any unpublished Enets data in Tereščenko's archive stored at the Department of Linguistics at the Russian Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg or a *panka* containing her published Enets materials. Further, it is unknown to me whether any sound recordings were made, and if so, where they might be located.

110. Copies of these recordings are now archived at the Phonogrammarchiv in Vienna.

0.15 Generational variation in existing data

From the point of departure of the following grammatical description, data published on Forest Enets by Tereščenko, Gluxij, Susekov and Sorokina should represent the language of the parental and grandparental generation of today's speakers. Due to the scarcity of published data collected by Prokof'ev, the grand grandparental generation must be considered, but its representation cannot be proven for the time being as almost nothing is known about Prokof'ev's consultants. Although one is tempted to assume that almost all earlier descriptions did not incorporate the language variety which underlies this description, this impression is incorrect.¹¹¹ Effectively, there is much variation at hand and the language of the current generation of last speakers is much more present in existing grammatical descriptions than one would initially assume. In fact, it is only in the early papers of Tereščenko on Forest Enets (1965, 1966) that the description seems to contain almost no data representing the speech of the current generation.¹¹² Although Tereščenko's major consultants were never mentioned, the most central of them was Nikolaj Paľčín, a speaker belonging to the Forest Enets čor clan. Later, he served also as the major consultant for Gluxij, Susekov and Sorokina and a very large proportion of published Forest Enets data actually represents his idiolect.¹¹³ Curiously, the idiolect of N. Paľčín, as is the case for that of čor clan members in general, is always criticized by speakers of the current generation as being "very different" from the Enets they speak. This statement is justified as in phonetics and the lexicon, clear differences prevail. Among the most prominent features is the status of [ɔ], which appears in the speech of N. Paľčín but almost nowhere in my data.¹¹⁴ As is known from research history, Tereščenko's claim about the phonemic status of [ɔ] has been widely rejected and this is essentially still correct. In Tereščenko's later work on Enets, when she could no longer rely on previously gathered field materials, the role of (Forest) Enets students in Leningrad rose, first and foremost the role of Dar'ja Bolina and her elder sister Galina Boľina. As early as in Tereščenko's 1973 monograph, the language of the current generation played a very distinctive role and this would continue until the end of Tereščenko's career.¹¹⁵ The same is true of Sorokina and her work. Again, based on a look at the texts published in ET, stories from the speakers of the parental and grandparental generation dominate and only a small number of short stories told by speakers of the current generation can be found. Still, apart from material collected during her four fieldtrips to the

111. This account comes from a long and vivid conversation with Dar'ja Bolina in September 2011 in Dudinka, in which a great deal of personalized background information otherwise impossible to obtain was openly shared.

112. Apparently, only the phonetic studies of Gluxij and Susekov are indeed based on the parental generation, but this cannot be proven entirely until the sound recordings in Tomsk have been fully analyzed.

113. N. Paľčín was eventually recorded by almost all researchers who spent time in Potapovo, but this has no implication for this overview.

114. Other features, such as a high vowel in the imperfective participle *-di/-di/-ti* instead of *-da/-da/-ta*, are at least preserved in the speech of his last living children.

115. Both speakers of the current generation have also served other researchers, e.g. Pusztay (1978) was based on several meetings with Dar'ja Bolina in 1970 and Mikola (1980) on several meetings with Galina Bolina in 1968.

Taimyr Peninsula, Sorokina also relied on Dar'ja Bolina's assistance in Leningrad. As the origin of data is not made explicit in Sorokina's work, it is impossible to judge the ratio of materials obtained from different generations and their impact in her analysis and publications. Summing up this discussion, only Tereščenko's earliest work contains a different variety of Enets, while all consecutive work has always incorporated data from speakers of the current generation. In the following study, the grammatical system of Forest Enets will be described by relying on data from one generation of speakers, a generation which coincides with being the last generation of speakers. The data used in this grammatical description is based almost entirely on the knowledge of Forest Enets among the oldest speakers of the current generation. However, the study is not representative of *the last* generation of Forest Enets speakers as I have restricted myself to working with speakers who have preserved good and very good skills in their language and who were willing to work with me. An account based on the skills among the youngest members of this generation would have resulted in a different grammar; this was deliberately not attempted at the current moment.¹¹⁶

0.16 Intergenerational language change

Knowing that Forest Enets is critically endangered, fieldwork in the DOBES period (2005–2009) concentrated on creating a corpus for describing the language of the last generation of speakers from the perspective of language documentation. Therefore, language change and in particular intergenerational language change and possible signs of language attrition were not studied systematically.¹¹⁷ During consecutive fieldwork in summer 2011 I also spent much time transliterating and translating recordings of the parental generation to see how much intergenerational language change would separate the parental generation from the speech of my major consultants. Quite unexpectedly, the difference appears to be very limited at the current moment. Major differences appeared in the lexicon, but as the current generation grew up in a more Russian-dominated environment, had undergone more education in Russian and in boarding schools and had had more contact with Russian throughout their lives, this observation should not come as a surprise. Of course, the current generation has better skills in Russian and several individuals could indeed be classified as almost fully bilingual, occasionally also with clear preference for Russian.¹¹⁸ Still, almost all of my consultants entered the local boarding school not knowing any Russian, a feature they share with their parental generation.¹¹⁹

116. For illustrative reasons, two narratives from a slightly younger semi-speaker have been included in the text collection to demonstrate this variety.

117. A short collection of thoughts and possible instances of change were published as Sigl (2008).

118. Of course, palatalization is more prominent in the speech of the current generation, but no new contrasts have resulted from this.

119. Individual contact with Russian of course differs for each individual and therefore the situation cannot be generalized.

Concerning the grammar, the only marked difference concerns the use of several peripheral moods, most prominently the counterfactive mood. The latter could not be found in transliterated narratives of the current generation but was recognized in elicitation and full paradigms could be obtained. Other potential signs of language change (excluded from Sigl 2008), such as the extensive use of the *š*-converb instead of the purposive *-uč* (13.2.3) have their antecedents in the speech of the parental generation; otherwise morphosyntactic complexity in complex clauses has been preserved very well. If a really marked difference should be thought of, the speech tempo of the current generation, perhaps with the exception of the deceased EIB, is slower than of the parental generation. Otherwise, the language of the current speakers on whose knowledge this description is based is very close to the one of the parental generation.

1. A typological profile of Forest Enets

Forest Enets is an entirely suffixing, mainly agglutinative language with several fusional tendencies in noun morphology. The word order is predominantly SOV and entirely head-final. Both adjectives and relative clauses precede their head. Only postpositions are known; there are no prepositions in Forest Enets. Although the dominant word order is SOV, finite complement clauses in O position are usually placed in sentence-final position which results in SVO_{COMPL} word order. The grammatical alignment follows the NOM-ACC pattern but with some morphosyntactic peculiarities which will be addressed below in more detail.

1.1 Nominal morphology and its morphosyntax

Forest Enets morphology is entirely suffixing and primarily agglutinative. Fusion is a characteristic feature of plural morphology on nouns where no segmentable number/case morphology is attested. Nouns and verbs can be easily distinguished using morphological criteria: nouns inflect for case and possession, verbs for person, mood, tense and aspect. In predicative position, nouns and adjectives can be encoded as intransitive verbs with several major restrictions, which are presented below. Adjectives form a subclass of nouns but lack inflectional morphology.

1.1.1 Nouns – case, possession, and grammatical relations

Nouns are inflected for number (singular, dual and plural) and case. Nominative and accusative encode grammatical relations. The genitive case is mainly found with possessive attributes; further, it marks dependents of relational nouns and postpositions. The locational cases, lative, locative, and ablative, encode spatial relations. For locational cases in the dual, a periphrastic construction with an inflected postposition is used instead of synthetic case morphology. The following table presents a sample paradigm for non-possessive declension:

<i>kodu</i> ‘sled, narta’ in non-possessive declension			
	SG	DU	PL
NOM	<i>kodu</i>	<i>kodu-xi?</i>	<i>kodu-?</i>
GEN	<i>kodu</i>	<i>kodu-xi?</i>	<i>kodu-?</i>
ACC	<i>kodu</i>	<i>kodu-xi?</i>	<i>kodu-?</i>
LAT	<i>kodu-d</i>	<i>kodu-xi? nã?</i>	<i>kodu-xiđ</i>
LOC	<i>kudu-xun</i>	<i>kodu-xi? nãn</i>	<i>kodu-xin</i>
ABL	<i>kodu-xuđ</i>	<i>kodu-xi? nãđ</i>	<i>kodu-xit</i>

Table 1-1: Class I noun in non-possessive declension

A particularly interesting feature of Forest Enets is the status of possession. Possession on phrase level is inflectional for NOM, GEN and ACC but derivational for locational cases. As Forest Enets has lost case markers for genitive and accusative on non-possessed nouns, case distinctions are made only in combination with possessive suffixes; non-possessed nouns have no formal case marker. In such instances, the potential case feature other than singular nominative is represented as e.g. [ACC] in the glossing:¹²⁰

- (1) a. *te to*
reindeer come.3SG
'A reindeer came.'
- b. *šidi te-xi? to-xi?*
two reindeer-DU come-3DU
'Two reindeer came.'
- c. *te-? to-?*
reindeer-[NOM.PL] come-3PL
'Reindeer (more than two) came.'
- (2) a. *mud' te kaḏa-ḏ?*
1SG reindeer[ACC] kill-1SG
'I killed a reindeer.'
- b. *mud' šidi te-xi? kaḏa-ḏ?*
1SG two reindeer-[ACC.DU] kill-1SG
'I killed two reindeer.'
- c. *mud' te-? kaḏa-ḏ?*
1SG reindeer-[ACC.PL] kill-1SG
'I killed reindeer (more than two).'
- (3) a. *kodu iru-n*
sled[GEN] under-LOC
'under a/the sled'

Phrasal possession is marked with a set of possessive suffixes in the noun phrase. PX index both person and the number of the possessum and assign a case value to the noun. For nominative, possession appears as follows:

120. For some nouns, different stems for nominative vs. genitive, accusative are attested. This has been excluded here as the class is very small and does not bear any overt morphosyntactic information. A discussion of inflection classes is postponed until chapter 3.

- (4) a. *kodu-i?* <sled-PX.1SG>¹²¹ ‘my sled’
 b. *kodu-xuń* <sled-PX.DU.1SG> ‘my two sleds’
 c. *kodu-ń* <sled-PX.PL.1SG> ‘my many sleds’

The following table shows *kodu* ‘sled, narta’ in possessive declension with a first person possessor. The marking of the possessed lative is different from that in the non-possessive declension and a specialized allomorph appears. Periphrastic dual locational cases are based on the genitive dual form preceding the postposition; the possessive suffixes following locational cases belong to the genitive series of PX.

<i>kodu</i> ‘sled, narta’ in possessive declension with a 1st person possessor			
	SG	DU	PL
NOM	<i>kodu-i?</i>	<i>kodu-xuń</i>	<i>kodu-ń</i>
GEN	<i>kodu-ń</i>	<i>kodu-xuń</i>	<i>kod-iń</i>
ACC	<i>kodu-i?</i>	<i>kodu-xuń</i>	<i>kodu-ń</i>
LAT	<i>kodu-xu-ń</i>	<i>kodu-xuń nã?</i>	<i>kodu-xiń</i>
LOC	<i>kudu-xun-iń</i>	<i>kodu-xuń nãn</i>	<i>kodu-xin-iń</i>
ABL	<i>kodu-xuđ-uń</i>	<i>kodu-xuń nãđ</i>	<i>kodu-xit-uń</i>

Table 1-2: Class I noun in possessive declension with 1P possessor

The following examples demonstrate the glossing conventions for possessive nouns in subject and object position:

- (5) a. *te-i?* *to*
 reindeer-PX.1SG come.3SG
 ‘My reindeer came.’
- b. *šidĩ* *te-xuń* *to-xi?*
 two reindeer-PX.DU.1SG come-3DU
 ‘Two reindeer of mine came.’
- c. *tiń* *to-?*
 reindeer.PX.PL.1SG come-3PL
 ‘My reindeer (more than two) came.’

121. PX without further specification always express a possessum in the singular; in the glossing, the singular value is not marked.

- (6) a. *mud' te-iʔ kaḏa-ḏʔ*
 1SG reindeer-PX.ACC.1SG kill-1SG
 ‘I killed my reindeer.’
- b. *mud' šidi te-xuń kaḏa-ḏʔ*
 1SG two reindeer-PX.ACC.DU.1SG kill-1SG
 ‘I killed two reindeer of mine.’
- c. *mud' tiń kaḏa-ḏʔ*
 1SG reindeer.PX.ACC.PL.1SG kill-1SG
 ‘I killed my reindeer (more than two).’
- (7) a. *kodu-ń iru-n*
 sled-PX.GEN.1SG under-LOC
 ‘under my sled’

Possession is derivational with locational cases (LAT, LOC, ABL) and PX belonging to the genitive series are added after the case ending:

- (8) *mariä-xun-in* <bag-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.1SG> ‘in my bag’

The possessive lative case relies on an allomorph when used in the possessed declension:

- (9) a. *mariä-d* <bag-LAT.SG> ‘into the bag’
- b. *mariä-xu-ń* <bag-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG> ‘into my two bags’
- c. *mariä-x-in* <bag-LAT.PL_{POSS}-PX.GEN.PL.1SG> ‘into my bags’

Apart from its possessive function, PX.2SG can also be used referentially. This usage is clearly secondary and pragmatically highly restricted as it is used to maintain topical prominence in narratives:

- (10) *čiki nääčiku-r ań paḏir? neḏi-ku-ḏa*
 this woman.youngster-PX.2SG FOC spotted reindeer.calf-DIM-PX.3SG
tonä-bi
 exist-PERF.3SG
 ‘This girl had a little spotted reindeer calf (not: your girl had...).’ [NKB Auka]

1.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives form a distinctive word class in Forest Enets. In contrast to nouns, adjectives lack any inflectional morphology and show no agreement with the modified noun in noun phrases:

- (11) a. *aga to*
 large lake
 ‘a large lake’
- b. *aga to-xi?*
 large lake-DU
 ‘two large lakes’
- c. *aga to-?*
 large lake-[NOM.PL]
 ‘large lakes’

Still, adjectives attract several nominal derivational suffixes, a fact which demonstrates that they belong to the nominal sphere:

- (12) a. *te-ru* <reindeer-LIM> ‘only a/the reindeer’
- b. *aga-ru* <big-LIM> ‘only a/the big’

However, there are three syntactic features which show that adjectives behave differently than regular nouns:¹²²

a) Adjectives cannot be used without the noun they modify. The only exception to this rule is a contrastive construction with an ellipsed noun. In this situation, adjectives can be marked with PX which results in a conversion from adjective to noun:

- (13) *ibleigu-r aga kasa-da sakra*
 little-PX.2SG big child-PX.ACC.3SG bite.3SG
 ‘Your little (one) bit the older boy (and not your older one)!’ [ZNB IV 54]

b) Adjectives cannot appear as the complement of postpositional phrases. This position is reserved for nouns and nominalized verbs:

122. In general, adjectives have already been classified as a distinctive part of speech in earlier research, though all accounts failed to work out distinctive differences between nouns and adjectives.

(14) a. *soiḏa kodu ní-n*
 good sled_[GEN] on-LOC
 ‘On the good sled.’

b. **soiḏa ní-n*
 good on-LOC
 ‘On the good one.’

c) Only adjectives can be further modified by the adverb *ḡul* ‘very’:

(15) a. *ḡul soiḏa enči*
 very good man
 ‘a very good man’

b. **ḡul enči*

Although there is no doubt that Forest Enets has adjectives, it appears that this word class is closed and comparatively small. A primary count in my data produced 49 adjectives, a count in ES 79. Further support for this assumption that adjectives form a closed word class is offered by the existence of a class of stative intransitive verbs which express properties. In modifying, attributive position, such verbs are realized as participles, and in predicative position they behave verbally, as negation shows. An exact count has not yet been made; the following examples are merely intended to exemplify this class:

(16) a. *äsä-ḏa ~ äsi-ḏa osa*
 be.tasty-PTCP.IPF meat
 ‘tasty meat’

b. *osa äsä*
 meat be.tasty.3SG
 ‘The meat is tasty.’

c. *osa ní äsä-ʔ ~ äsi-ʔ*
 meat NEG.AUX.3SG be.tasty-CN
 ‘The meat is not tasty.’ [all ZNB IV 46]

(17) a. *magtu-da enči*
 be.poor-PTCP.IPF person
 ‘A poor person’

- b. *enči magtu*
 person be.poor.3SG
 ‘The person is poor.’
- c. *enči íe magtu-ʔ*
 person NEG.AUX.3SG be.poor-CN
 ‘The person is not poor.’ [all ZNB IV 46]

1.1.3 Pronouns

Forest Enets pronouns express three persons in three numbers. Gender marking and clusivity distinctions are unknown:

PERSON/NUMBER	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>modʹ</i>	<i>modʹińʔ</i>	<i>modʹnaʔ</i>
2P	<i>uu</i>	<i>uudʹiʔ</i>	<i>uudaʔ</i>
3P	<i>bu</i>	<i>budʹiʔ</i>	<i>buduʔ</i>

Table 1-3: Personal pronouns in the nominative case

Pronouns have distinctive case forms for NOM, ACC, LAT, LOC and ABL. Forms for GEN are absent; where other languages would use genitive forms (e.g. for possession), Forest Enets uses NOM instead:

- (18) a. *mudʹ kańi-dʔ*
 1SG go-1SG
 ‘I go ~ I’m going.’
- b. *mudʹ koru-iʔ*
 1SG knife-PX.1SG
 ‘My knife.’

Third person pronouns can substitute a full noun phrase but they tend to be dropped and in fact are readily omitted if their referent can be recovered from the context. In contrast to languages from the Finno-Ugric branch, Forest Enets regularly allows pro-drop in third person as well, in addition to the first and second person pronouns.

1.2 Verbal morphology and its morphosyntax

Verbs fall into three different conjugations, each of them showing a distinct set of verbal endings.

1.2.1 Verbal endings

Conjugation I is the default conjugation for the majority of intransitive and all transitive verbs.

<i>nāš</i> ‘stand’			
	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>nā-dʔ</i>	<i>nā-bʔ</i>	<i>nā-baʔ</i>
2P	<i>nā-d</i>	<i>nā-riʔ</i>	<i>nā-raʔ</i>
3P	<i>nā</i>	<i>nā-xiʔ</i>	<i>nā-ʔ</i>

Table 1-4: Sample paradigm of conjugation I

Conjugation II is possible with transitive verbs only. This means that transitive verbs can be conjugated in either conjugation I or II. Conjugation II indexes the number of a 3rd person object active in discourse.

<i>koš</i> ‘find’ with reference to singular object				<i>koš</i> ‘find’ with reference to dual objects			<i>koš</i> ‘find’ with reference to plural objects		
P/N	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>ko-u</i>	<i>ko-bʔ</i>	<i>ko-baʔ</i>	<i>ko-xuñʔ</i>	<i>ko-xuñʔ</i>	<i>ko-xunaʔ</i>	<i>ko-iñ</i>	<i>ko-iñʔ</i>	<i>ko-inaʔ</i>
2P	<i>ko-r</i>	<i>ko-riʔ</i>	<i>ko-raʔ</i>	<i>ko-xuđ</i>	<i>ko-xuđiʔ</i>	<i>ko-xuđaʔ</i>	<i>ko-iđ</i>	<i>ko-iđiʔ</i>	<i>ko-iđaʔ</i>
3P	<i>ko-đa</i>	<i>ko-điʔ</i>	<i>ko-đuʔ</i>	<i>ko-xuđa</i>	<i>ko-xuđiʔ</i>	<i>ko-xuđuʔ</i>	<i>ko-ida</i>	<i>ko-idiʔ</i>	<i>ko-iduʔ</i>

Table 1-5: Sample paradigm of conjugation II

Although the overall function of conjugation II has not been finally settled, the anaphoric maintenance of a topic in 3P is among its most central functions. This sequence from a story describing the preparation of fish for drying serves as an example:

- (19) [...] *sei-da-r* *kari-d* *točgođ* *seira-xađ-ud*
 clean-FUT-SG.2SG fish-PX.ACC.2SG then clean_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.2SG
liđiđa *kaara-da-d* *liđiđa*
 bone.PX.ACC.PL.3SG remove-FUT-2SG bone.PX.ACC.PL.3SG
kaara-xađ-ud *mo-da-r* *nu* *motu-da-r*
 remove_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.2SG take-FUT-SG.2SG so cut-FUT-SG.2SG

‘So you will clean the fish, then after having cleaned it, you will remove its bones. After having removed its bones, you will take it, so, you will cut it.’ [NKB Jukola]

Conjugation III is used for a heterogeneous set of intransitive verbs which are not assigned to conjugation I.

<i>sumoč</i> ‘fall’			
N/P	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>sumo-ib</i>	<i>sumo-ib</i>	<i>sumo-ina?</i>
2P	<i>sumo-id’</i>	<i>sumo-iđi?</i>	<i>sumo-iđa?</i>
3P	<i>sumo-id?</i>	<i>sumo-ixi?</i>	<i>sumo-id?</i>

Table 1-6: Sample paradigm of conjugation III

1.2.2 T-A-M-E

Forest Enets verbs can be inflected for tense, aspect, mood and evidentiality. The tense inventory comprises aorist, future, anterior in the future, general past, perfect, and distant past. The morphological structure of past and distant past is typologically unusual, as the past tense morpheme *-š* is found in word final position following person/number suffixes:

- (20) *kudaxai mud’ ää-kuji-i badä-đa-š*
 long.ago 1SG mother-DIM-PX.1SG tell-SG.3SG-PST
 ‘Long ago my mother told...’ [LDB Chervo]

All other TAME markers are expressed in positions between the verb stem and the person suffixes.

The aspectual system of Forest Enets contains special suffixes expressing durative, inchoative, frequentative, cumulative, and delimitative. The mood inventory in Forest Enets is very rich, but a definite number of moods cannot be given at the moment. Among the attested moods one finds imperative (commands in 2nd and 3rd person), hortative (commands in 1st person), necessative, interrogative, conditional, speculative, assertative, assumptive, counterfactive and desiderative. Two further moods whose exact function could not be determined are also attested. They are currently named past probabilative and potential.

Forest Enets has one evidential, labeled auditive, which refers to information obtained via indirect audible evidence or by hearsay.

1.2.3 Standard negation of verbal predicates

Standard negation of verbs is expressed by negative auxiliaries *ńe-* ~ *ńi-* and *i-* to which the verbal endings of the respective conjugation type of the main verb are attached. The negative auxiliary becomes the carrier of mood, person, and all non-future tenses. The future tense suffix as well as aspect suffixes remains on the negated lexical verb. The negated main verb loses finite morphology and is realized in a form called connegative which is identical with the stem used for 2SG intransitive imperatives.

- (21) a. *bu ńi kańi-ʔ*
 3SG NEG.AUX.3SG go-CN
 ‘He does not go.’
- b. *bu ńe-ďa ko-ʔ*
 3SG NEG.AUX-SG.3SG find-CN
 ‘He did not find it.’
- c. *bu ńi-iďʔ sumo-ʔ*
 3SG NEG.AUX-R.1SG fall-CN
 ‘He did not fall.’
- (22) a. *bu ńi-š kańi-ʔ*
 3SG NEG.AUX-3SG.PST go-CN
 ‘He did not go.’
- b. *bu ńi kan-ta-ʔ*
 3SG NEG.AUX.3SG go-FUT-CN
 ‘He won’t go.’

1.2.4 Non-finite verb forms

Non-finite verb forms include participles and converbs. Further, several minor nominalization strategies are known (chapter 8). There are five participles: perfective, imperfective, futuritive, negative futuritive and caritive. Several participles can be inflected for locational cases and serve as infinite predicates for several temporal adverbial clauses. Among converbs one finds a same-subject manner converb in *-š*, which also serves as the notational infinitive in both dictionaries, ERRE and ES, and a temporal-conditional converb. Non-finite forms which do not underlie same-subject restrictions maintain reference to the actor via possessive suffixes.

1.2.5 Verbally conjugated nominals in predicative position

In predicative position, nouns, adjectives, and interrogatives are marked with vx of conjugation I:

- (23) a. *uu onai enči-d*
 2SG real person-2SG
 ‘You are an Enets.’
- b. *uu iblēigu-d*
 2SG small-2SG
 ‘You are young.’

However, such verbally conjugated nominal predicatives are not fully verbal, as a variety of restrictions apply. First, only the general past tense is possible, while other tenses are blocked:

- (24) a. *to dōdīgun kasa äči-d-uš*
 that period.LOC.SG [man youngster]-2SG-PST
 ‘In those days you were a young boy.’ [LDB & NKB I 140]
- b. *uu iblēigu-d-uš*
 2SG small-2SG-PST
 ‘You were young.’ [LDB & NKB I 140]

Second, mood and evidentiality are blocked too. Finally, this construction is negated by a special negation *ni-vx ηa?* relying on a locational copula and not with the standard negation as shown above:

- (25) *mud' dūraku-đ ni-đ ηa-? mud' onai enči-đ?*
 1SG Nenets-1SG NEG.AUX-1SG be_{LOC}-CN 1SG real person-1SG
 ‘I am not a Nenets, I am an Enets
 (Lit. I am a Nenets, I’m not. I am an Enets)’ [ZNB IV 62]

1.2.6 Valency-decreasing and valency-increasing operations

Forest Enets has two morphological operations which increase and decrease valency. The causative is highly lexicalized and therefore not very productive. The passive in *-ra-*, which can only be formed from transitive verbs not denoting states, triggers conjugation III on the verb. It topicalizes the patient and demotes it to subject position. The former subject is demoted and expressed via a non-core case, namely the lative case.

Although the encoding of passive agents by a lative case (and similar cases/adpositions) is cross-linguistically rare, this strategy is, indeed, a widespread Siberian isogloss and not restricted to Forest Enets:

- (26) a. *bunik ši? sakra*
 dog 1SG.ACC bite.3SG
 ‘The dog bit me.’ [ZNB IV 37]
- b. *bunki-d sakra-r-ii?*
 dog-LAT.SG bit-PASS-R.1SG
 ‘I was bitten by the dog.’ [ZNB IV 37]

1.3 Syntax

Forest Enets is strictly head-final and basic word order is strictly SOV:

- (27) a. *busi bodun te modä?ä*
 old.man tundra.LOC reindeer_[ACC] see.3SG
 ‘The old man saw a reindeer in the tundra.’
- b. *bunik ši? sakra*
 dog 1SG.ACC bite.3SG
 ‘The dog bit me.’ [ZNB IV 37]

In accordance with its predominant SOV word order, the ordering of other elements is also head-final: GEN+N (28a), ADJ+N (28b), NUMERAL+N (28c), DEMONSTRATIVE + N (28d):

- (28) a. *mud' kasa-ń ne*
 1SG companion-PX.GEN.1SG child
 ‘My companion’s child.’
- b. *tonin enči-gid' ńob soida nă noń*
 there.LOC person-ABL.PL one good woman 1SG.LAT
biłtu-da mi?ä-š
 ticket-PX.ACC.3SG give-3SG.PST
 ‘So there, out of the crowd (Lit. out of the people) one good woman gave me her ticket.’ [ZNB Weekend]

- c. *ɲulu biširið enči käd̄ir te noʔo*
 one stupid person wild reindeer_[ACC] catch.3SG
 ‘One stupid person caught a wild reindeer.’ [ANP Stupid people]
- d. *čiki nääčiku-r ań pađir? neđi-ku-đa*
 this woman.youngster-PX.2SG FOC spotted reindeer.calf-DIM-PX.3SG
tonä-bi
 exist-PERF.3SG
 ‘This girl had a little spotted reindeer calf.’ [NKB Auka]

In accordance with SOV word order, Forest Enets has no prepositions and relies exclusively on postpositions and several relational nouns. The dependent is uniformly marked for genitive case:

- (29) a. *kasa-ń noʔ*
 companion-PX.GEN.1SG with
 ‘with my friend’
- b. *d’etšu mi-n*
 Yenisei_[GEN] in-LOC
 ‘on the Yenisei ~ in the Yenisei’
- c. *to ke-xun*
 lake_[GEN] side-LOC.SG
 ‘on the shore’

Relative clauses which are based on participle-constructions precede their head. It appears that only subjects and objects can be relativized:

- (30) *ńubuku-xin sanuku-đa kati*
 doll-LOC.PL play-PTCP.IPF girl
 ‘A girl who is playing with dolls...’ [ZNB I 61]
- (31) *tit-tu-i-ń koru-i malé*
 buy-DETRS-PTCP.IPF-PX.ACC.1SG knife-PX.ACC.1SG already
noda miä-b-uš
 3SG.LAT give-SG.1SG-PST
 ‘The knife which I bought, I have already given it to him.’ [ZNB I 66]

Coordination on clause level is usually expressed by juxtaposition:

- (32) *kasa enči id-tu-ŋa poga šiti-go*
 [man person] consume-DETRS-FREQ.3SG net_[ACC] repair-DUR.3SG
 ‘The man is smoking and repairing the net.’ [LDB II 54]

Occasionally, the Russian connector *i* ‘and’ can be found in Forest Enets. In contrast to Russian, which uses *i* ‘and’ as a connector on both phrase and clause level, Forest Enets prefers it as a coordinator on clause level:

- (33) *onsi-on ma-bi i enču ma-ńim aa*
 SO-PROL say-PERF.3SG and person_[NOM.PL] say-ASS.3PL EXCL
 ‘So he said and the people say “oh!”’ [LDB Shaman]

Finite clausal complements most frequently appear in O position. Such complements show a bundle of features which are restricted to this clause type: first, the word order is SVO_{COMPL} and second, the matrix verb must be conjugated in conjugation II:

- (34) *ää-b mot-pi-da-š <he-da kiđi moriä>*
 mother-PX.1SG see-PERF-SG.3SG-PST child-PX.3SG cup_[ACC] break.3SG
 ‘My mother saw that her child broke a cup.’ [NKB I 142]

Occasionally, non-finite complements in O position are found. Such complements appear in the regular O position:

- (35) *ää-b nā kasa-i sosoru-č toxola-go-đa*
 mother-PX.1SG [woman man]-PX.ACC.1SG sew-CON teach-DUR-SG.3SG
 ‘My mother taught her daughter to sew.’ [LDB I 110]

Adverbial subordinate clauses are non-finite and are formed with inflected participles or nominalizations with postpositions:

- (36) [*kańe-ń oru-n Leonid obu-xo noń mana-š*]
 go_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.1SG before-LOC Leonid what-INDEF_[ACC] 1SG.LAT say-3SG.PST
 ‘Before I left, Leonid said something to me.’ [VNB IV 143]

- (37) [*điri-da-xa-da toń mana*]
 live-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG such say.3SG
 ‘While she was still alive (lit. living), so she said...’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

- (38) *äjeiču-d* [šero-xođ-ud] *kañ* *taxa*
 relative-PX.ACC.2SG bury_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.2SG go.IMP.2SG those
kašixid
 friend.LAT.PL
 ‘After you have buried your older relative, go to those friends.’
 (lit. after your burying your relative...) [EIB Clairvoyant]

A specialized same-subject converb in *-š* is used in adverbial clauses expressing manner. This converb is also used in ERRE and ES as the citation form of verbs:

- (39) *stol* *ke-xun* *adi-š* *minxuda* *karida*
 table_[GEN] side-LOC.SG sit-CON at.once fish.PX.ACC.PL.3SG
sei-gu-š *pä*
 clean-DUR-CON begin.3SG
 ‘Sitting at the table, he immediately started cleaning the fish.’ [LDB II 44]

The other converb in *-bu+PX* is used in temporal and conditional adverbial clauses; here, no same-subject restriction applies, although the examples suggest so:

- (40) a. *kadađa-bu-d* *iđ* *đori-r?*
 hunt-CON-PX.GEN.2SG NEG.AUX.IMP.2SG speak-CN
 ‘When you are hunting, do not speak!’ [ZNB I 78]
- b. *bu* *čiki* *šer?* *täni* *ä-bu-đa*
 3SG this thing_[ACC.PL] know.PTCP.PFT be-CON-PX.3SG
bu *äü* *i-ñi-š* *to*
 3SG here.LAT NEG.AUX-COND-3SG.PST come.CN
 ‘If he had known about these things, he would not have come here. [ZNB III 45]

Forest Enets has no specialized means for expressing comparison. Instead, the entity to which something is compared to is marked with the ablative case:

- (41) *mud'* *koru-i* *uu* *koru-xuđ-ud* *soida*
 1SG knife-PX.1SG 2SG knife-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.2SG good.3SG
 ‘My knife is better than your knife.’ [LDB IV 179]

Finally, probably the most typologically interesting morphosyntactic category of Forest Enets is the benefactive (chapter 10). This category is intriguing, as it cannot be characterized as either derivation or case and seems to be a defective nominal declension.

2. Phonetics and Phonology

As this description focuses on the morphosyntax of Forest Enets as it was encountered during fieldwork, the present chapter provides only a basic overview of the phonological system and the practical orthography designed for this study. Consequently, both previous historical phonological studies, as well as phonetic and phonological studies of the parental generation of last speakers, will not be included in the discussion.¹²³ Although this chapter offers some limited phonetic observations, its main emphasis is on segmental phonology. The orthography is essentially morphophonemic and loosely based on Finno-Ugric Transcription (FUT).

2.1 Phoneme inventory

The following tables present the phoneme inventory of Forest Enets in the practical orthography and IPA. The phonemic status of two consonants marked with brackets is at present unclear.¹²⁴

Consonant phonemes

	LABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	POSTALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE (UNVOICED)	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
PLOSIVE (VOICED)	<i>b, (b')</i>		<i>d, d'</i>			<i>g</i>	
NASAL	<i>m</i>		<i>n, n'</i>			<i>ŋ</i>	
TRILL			<i>r, (r')</i>				
FRICATIVE		<i>ð</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>x</i>	
APPROXIMANT					<i>j</i>		
LATERAL APPROXIMANT			<i>l, l'</i>				

Table 2-1: Forest Enets consonant phonemes

123. E.g. Mikola's accounts of historical phonology (Mikola 1984, Mikola 2004), the candidate dissertations on Forest Enets consonants by Gluxij (1976) and on Forest Enets vowels by Susekov (1977), and their subsequent phonetic publications until the early 1980s. Also excluded are Helimski (2007), who addressed possible phonological and morphological changes in the parental generation against earlier accounts, as well as Helimski (1984) on Tundra Enets phonology.

124. At present, Andrey Shluinsky and Olesia Khanina are engaged in a phonological description of Forest Enets sponsored by the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project (SOAS), yet no comprehensive account has been published so far. The only published account, a phonological sketch (Khanina & Shluinsky 2008) favors a different interpretation. For example, [d] is phonologically analyzed as [z], which I have found no evidence for; the consonant under discussion is a dental fricative. Presumably, the Cyrillic orthographic representation of [d] by з, e.g. *каза* 'granny', is responsible for this. Also [b'] and [r'], which I have registered in some minimal pairs, were not observed.

	LABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	POSTALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE (UNVOICED)	p		t	tʃ		k	ʔ
PLOSIVE (VOICED)	b, (bʲ)		d, dʲ			g	
NASAL	m		n, nʲ			ŋ	
TRILL			r, (rʲ)				
FRICATIVE		ð	s	ʃ		x	
APPROXIMANT					j		
LATERAL-APPROXIMANT			l, lʲ				

Table 2-2: Forest Enets consonant phonemes IPA

Vowel phonemes

	FRONT	BACK
HIGH	i	u
CLOSE-MID	e	o
OPEN-MID	ä	
LOW		a

Table 2-3: Forest Enets vowel phonemes

	FRONT	BACK
HIGH	i	u
CLOSE-MID	e	o
OPEN-MID	ɛ	
LOW		ɑ

Table 2-4: Forest Enets vowel phonemes IPA

2.2 Palatalization and distribution of palatal consonants

From a phonetic perspective, palatalization is audibly prominent, though one must clearly distinguish between optional palatalization (co-articulation), which palatalizes velars, alveolars and labials before front vowels (1), and inherently palatalized consonants (2), whose distribution is not limited to a position next to front vowels.¹²⁵ The following two examples in a broad phonetic transcription illustrate these phenomena:

- (1) [kaɲi] ‘he went’ [kanta] ‘he will go’ [kanuta] ‘he will always go’
- (2) [ɲe] ‘girl’ [ɲami] ‘tongue’ [ɲugu] ‘soft’

The distribution of /t/ and /č/ (← tʲ) reflects an earlier allophonic opposition, as /č/ evolved from /t/ before /i/ or /u/. But as e.g. *čor* ‘name of an Enets clan’ as well as *tiɲʔ* ‘my many reindeer’ (phonetically [tɲʔ]) are attested, the former allophone [tʲ] has acquired phonemic status and its occurrence is no longer triggered by high front vowels. The same development is characteristic of /s/ and /š/ where /š/ is derived from an earlier allophone [sʲ] after high front-vowels.

125. Cases still remain in which the phonological status of a palatalized consonant cannot be identified unanimously using either criterion. In the practical orthography used here, such consonants will be marked as inherently palatalized. Juha Janhunen has suggested (p.c.) that a different interpretation appears to be equally possible. Palatalized alveolars [ɲ, l, dʲ] and postalveolars [č, š] could be regrouped as ‘palatals’, which contrast with non-palatal dental ‘alveolars’. The latter group is not palatalized before front vowels, as sequences /ni/ (phonetically [ni]) versus /ɲi/ show. This would be further supported by the fact that front vowels [i, e, ä] have a velarized quality in such instances. Such an interpretation looks initially promising and I leave this open for future research.

In coda position, /t/ is very rare. Examples include, the following verb stems /kitku-/ ‘tease’ or /pätru-/ ‘cut wood’. /t/ in word-final position is a result of phonological fusion, e.g. when the lative singular *-d* is attached to a glottal stop stem: *enčit* ‘to the man’ {← *enčiʔ+d* ‘LAT.SG’}

/č/ is a postalveolar affricate. /č/ was apparently once the palatalized counterpart of /t/ before it acquired phonemic status.¹²⁷ Concerning its distribution, /č/ can be found in word-initial¹²⁸ as well as in word-medial onsets:

- (8) *čeđi* ‘lasso’ *čiki* ‘this’ *čubai* ‘thumb’
 koči ‘fog’ *liču* ‘cradle’ *tekuča* ‘reindeer.DIM’

Concerning /č/ in coda position, the picture is unclear. The only indisputable example, the adverb /točgod/ ‘after, then’ is the outcome of lexicalization. In other examples where /č/ is found in coda position, it has resulted from phonological fusion of /š/ with a glottal stop, here exemplified by the assimilation of *VX.3PL -ʔ* with the general past tense marker *-š*:

- (9) *đori-ŋa-č* {← *speak-FREQ-ʔ + š PST*}
 speak-FREQ-3PL.PST
 ‘They were talking.’

/d/ is a voiced and always non-aspirated dental stop. It is banned from word-initial syllables and appears most frequently in word-internal syllabic onsets:

- (10) *kada* ‘(s)he carried’ *bodu* ‘tundra’ *kodu* ‘sled’

Several grammatical morphemes have the shape *-d*, and in these instances /d/ can be found as a coda consonant¹²⁹:

- (11) *kodu-d* *ni-n* (12) *to-d*
 sled-PX.GEN.2SG on-LOC lake-LAT.SG
 ‘on your one sled’ ‘to the lake, into the lake’

As parts of lexical items, /d/ in coda position is very rare, as in e.g. /sodlá/ ‘a little bird’. In several cases word-medial /d/ can be the outcome of fusion with the glottal stop:

127. Before /i/, ANP and EIB sometimes pronounce /č/ as a palatalized stop /t/ yet this seems to be restricted to their idiolect.

128. /ča/ is unattested in word-initial onsets, except from two loan words *čaj* ‘tee’ and *čamde* ‘frog’ (the latter probably from Tundra Nenets).

129. In coda position I have frequently noted voiceless stops /t/ as /d/; a phonetic study of such words would be necessary in order to arrive at a deeper understanding.

- (13) *bu dōri-da* {← stem *dōri?* ‘speak’ + *da* FUT}
 3SG speak-FUT.3SG
 ‘He will speak.’

/dʹ/ is a voiced and palatalized dental stop. Its distribution is uneven. In word-initial onsets, /dʹ/ can be found before any vowel except /ä/:

- (14) *dōxa* ‘river’ *da* ‘earth’ *dūba* ‘warm’ *dēri* ‘day’ *dīri* ‘moon’

In word-medial position, a true palatalized /dʹ/ can be found only before /a/ and /u/, e.g. *kadā* ‘he hunts/is hunting’ or *pedū* ‘south’. Before high front vowels, [dʹ] is an allophone of /d/ e.g. *adi* [adʹi] ‘(s)he sits/is sitting’ or *kodi* [kodʹi] ‘(s)he sleeps/is sleeping’; in such cases, palatalization is interpreted as a result of co-articulation and is not represented in the orthography.

The status of /dʹ/ in coda position is problematic. Codas such as /modʹ/ ‘ego’ or /modʹnaʔ/ ‘we’ are clear instances of /dʹ/. Earlier materials on Forest Enets clearly show that the palatalization derives from the loss of an earlier /i/ in this position. On the other hand, /i/ returns when the limitative suffix *-ru* is attached to these personal pronoun resulting in e.g. *modʹiruḥ* ‘only I, though now, [dʹ] is no longer in coda position.¹³⁰ Further, [dʹ] should now not be recognized as a genuinely palatalized consonant as palatalization is triggered by the following /i/. Although I will mark the coda consonant of ‘ego’ *modʹ* and other first person pronouns (dual, plural) as palatalized, the status of coda /dʹ/ remains controversial.

Finally, in word-final position, /dʹ/ can be the outcome of fusion of a glottal stop and /š/, e.g. 1SG past in conjugation I:

- (15) *kaḥi-dʔ* → *kaḥi-dʹ-udʹ* {*kaḥi-dʔ* + *š* PST}
 go-1SG go-1SG-PST
 ‘I go’ ‘I went’

/k/ is a velar stop, voiceless and non-aspirated. Although before high vowels /k/ is realized phonetically as palatalized [kʲ], no minimal or near-minimal pairs are attested. Concerning distribution, /k/ is well-attested in word-initial position, but rare in word-internal syllable onsets and coda position.

- (16) *koru* ‘knife’ *kasa* ‘man, person’ *keriḥ* ‘I myself (emphatic)’
tuka ‘axe’ *osaku* ‘meat.DIM’
čukči ‘all’ *bunik* ‘dog’ *tuḏuk* ‘mushroom’

In word-internal syllable onsets, /k/ can also be the outcome of glottal stop fusion again:

130. This problem concerning stem choice will be taken up later.

- (17) *mi-ku-iʔ* {← *miʔ* ‘give’ + *-xu* HORT + *-iʔ* ‘1DU’}
 give-HORT-1DU
 ‘Let us two give.’

/g/ is a voiced velar. It is banned from word-initial onsets:

- (18) *moga* ‘forest’ *pagi* ‘parka’ *poga* ‘net’

Sporadically /g/ is attested in codas, but this is strictly speaking rare, e.g. *bag* ‘hole’. Also in instances such as *bogla* ‘bear’ and *bagla* ‘Ket, Selkup’¹³¹ /g/ should be seen as occupying the coda position, especially if one wants to avoid an interpretation of consonant clusters in word-medial onsets. Finally, again, due to phonological fusion with the glottal stop, /g/ can be found in word-internal syllables:

- (19) *dori-gu-iʔ* {← *doriʔ* + *-xu* HORT + *-iʔ* 1DU}
 speak-HORT-1DU
 ‘Let us two speak.’

2.3.2 The glottal stop

/ʔ/ is clearly the most complex phoneme in Forest Enets and in Northern Samoyedic in general (e.g. Janhunen 1986) as it plays a central role in morphonology via phonological fusion. As the glottal stop and its interaction with morphonology will be addressed in more detail in the next chapter, the following description tries to remain within the boundaries of phonology.

Concerning its distribution, the glottal stop is nowadays found almost exclusively in coda position, either as part of a lexeme such as *mäʔ* ‘chum’ or *dʉʔ* ‘fat’ or much more commonly, as part of grammatical morphemes in coda position e.g. *to-ʔ* [lake-NOM.PL] ‘lakes’. In contrast to the Tundra Nenets glottal stop, which is audibly prominent, the Forest Enets glottal stop is indeed articulated much more weakly and tends to be omitted.¹³² In certain lexemes, it has apparently already been lost, e.g. in those nouns belonging to class IIa (see 3.4.1.2.1), though only on the surface, as regular alternations typical of glottal stop stems still appear.

Concerning the distribution of intervocalic glottal stops, the situation is problematic. In a phonetic study by Gluxij (1976), glottal stops in intervocalic position (-VʔV-), such as *baʔa* ‘bed’ *näʔä* ‘is hard’ *säʔo* ‘seven’ *ʏaʔo* ‘duck’, *piʔir* ‘your trousers’ were reported to be on their path to extinction. In my materials, only *näʔä* ‘be.hard.3SG’ shows a glottal stop with more frequency than chance; in most other examples, the glottal stop

131. Probably better analyzed as ‘non-Russian people in the south’; concerning the etymology see Siegl (2012b).

132. Especially in the first days of fieldwork I could not hear the glottal stops at all, even when pronounced by consultants who had preserved the glottal stop rather well.

is no longer audible. Still, the eliminated glottal stop in nouns has occasionally left its trace, as emerging long vowels or diphthongs are accompanied by an HL intonation which seems absent from etymologically older long vowels and diphthongs. In contrast, intervocalic glottal stops in verbal stems such as *näʔä* are better preserved. They can be found reasonably well in verbs of the I Ib class, e.g. *miʔä* ‘(s)he gives/is giving’ in both elicitation and spontaneous speech. This is probably due to its morphologicalized function in stem distribution. Relatively speaking, glottal stops in intervocalic position are rarer than glottal stops in coda positions.

In coda position, in -CVʔ or -VCʔ syllable types, the omission of glottal stops in spontaneous speech follows a good ‘rule of thumb’, which interacts with phonological correlations in the sentence. In spontaneous speech, glottal stops in codas are simply dropped.¹³³ (20a) shows a non-normalized transcript from a recorded story, whereas in the normalized version (20b) all missing glottal stops are added:

- (20) a. *neđud̄ d̄usri mud̄xo manađ̄ ŋađa bo p̄exun*
- b. *ne-đ-ud̄* *d̄usri-ʔ* *mud̄-xo* *mana-đ̄ʔ* *ŋa-đa*
 NEG.AUX-1SG-PST hear-CN 1SG-INDEF say-1SG sky-3SG
bo *pe-xun*
 bad.3SG outside-LOC.SG
 ‘I did not listen. I said to myself, the weather is bad outside.’
 [ZNB Trip to Tartu]

If the glottal stop is followed by an intonation break or occurs at the right edge of an utterance in intonation-final position, the glottal stop tends to be preserved. The following example was uttered under one intonation curve though only the glottal stop of the verbal ending in intonation final position was clearly pronounced:

- (21) a. *točgođ̄ kañid̄ biltuđui mood̄ʔ*
- b. *točgođ̄* *kani-đ̄ʔ* *biltu-đu-iʔ* *moo-đ̄ʔ*
 then go-1SG ticket-BEN-PX.ACC.1SG take-1SG
 ‘Then I went and bought a ticket.’ [ZNB Trip to Tartu]

In slow speech, depending on the speech habits of individual consultants and especially in elicitation, glottal stops usually appear in coda position where they are to be expected. One consultant no longer pronounces glottal stops, regardless of position.¹³⁴

133. Forest Enets glottal stops do not show the syntactic sandhi typical of Tundra Nenets (Janhunen 1986: 130–135; Salminen 1997: 43–44).

134. This speaker is the youngest fluent speaker of the language I am aware of.

/ń/ is attested in all possible positions, yet it is infrequent in coda position:

- (29) *ńi?* ‘name’ *ńaba* ‘hare/rabbit’ *ńugłaiǵu* ‘soft’
 tuńi ‘gun’ *mańu* ‘he said so’ *kuń* ‘how’

/ŋ/ is a velar nasal and attested almost entirely in word-initial syllables:

- (30) *ŋa* ‘sky, weather’ *ŋo* ‘foot’ *ŋul’* ‘very’

In syllable-initial onsets, there are currently only two lexical items in my data: *seŋiš* ‘look’ and *teŋi* ‘opposite shore’. Both ERRE and ES show some more lexemes, but nevertheless the occurrence of the velar nasal in this position is very rare. Verbs belonging to inflection class IIa show /ŋ/ in word-internal syllable onsets e.g. *doriŋa* ‘(s)he speaks/is speaking’ or *kadiŋa* ‘(s)he is ill’, however this is conditioned morphologically and will be addressed in more detail in the following chapter. /ŋ/ is banned from coda position.

2.3.4 Fricatives

/ǰ/ is a voiced dental fricative and appears mainly in word-medial position. It is banned from word-initial onsets. In coda position, /ǰ/ is comparatively rare in lexemes:

- (31) *kaǰa* ‘grandmother’ *baǰa* ‘word’
 mud’ ‘liver’ *paǰdur-* stem of ‘write’

On the other hand, /ǰ/ is a very frequent phoneme in grammatical morphemes e.g. *VX.1SG-ǰ?*, *FUT -ǰa*. It can occasionally occupy coda position as part of a morpheme:

- (32) *moga-xuǰ* (33) *kasa-ń* *kniga-ǰ*
 forest-ABL.SG brother-PX.GEN.1SG book-BEN
 ‘from the forest’ ‘book(s) for my brother’

- (34) *tiǰ*
 reindeer.PX.PL.2SG
 ‘your many reindeer’

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative. In word-initial position there is a tendency to pronounce /s/ as a voiceless dental fricative [θ]. Concerning its distribution, /s/ is much more frequent word-initially than elsewhere.

- (35) *soiǰa* ‘good’ *sama* ‘animal (generic)’ *salba* ‘ice’
 kasa ‘man’ *osa* ‘meat’ *tosa* ‘did (s)he come’

In coda position, /s/ is comparatively rare, e.g. the verbal stem /tasla-/ ‘explain’. Verbs belonging to class IIb have /s/ in their connegative forms, e.g. /mis/ ‘give.CN’.

/š/ is a voiceless postalveolar fricative. Its phonetic realization varies, and especially ANP pronounces /š/ almost like a voiced, palatalized alveolar [ʃ]_{FUT} / [ʃʲ]_{IPA}. Before /i/ and /u/, /š/ is heavily palatalized. Also, the homonymous infinitival gerund marker and past tense marker -š in coda position e.g. *kañi-š* <go-CON> or <go-3SG.PST> are heavily palatalized, but this kind of palatalization produces no phonemic contrasts. As the following minimal pairs show, the contrast between /š/ and /s/ is phonemic:

- (36) *šidi* ‘two’ – *sira* [sira] ‘snow’
šudibiču ‘fairytale’ – *sumoiš* ‘I fall’.

/š/ is attested in onsets and codas; if found in codas, š is a grammatical marker:

- (37) *šidi* ‘two’ *še* ‘who’ *šudibiču* ‘fairytale’
oša ‘Evenki/Dolgan’ *soši* ‘hill’
toš ‘down’ *kaniš* ‘go.CON’

/x/ is a velar fricative. Whereas /x/ can be palatalized before high front vowels, no phonemic contrasts are attested. As for its distribution, /x/ is restricted to word-medial onsets and banned from codas.

- (38) *đoxa* ‘river’ *näxu* ‘three’

/x/ is a frequent component of grammatical morphemes, e.g. *-xiʔ* DU, *-x/n* LOC.SG; however, also here /x/ remains in word-medial onsets, e.g. *toxiʔ* ‘two lakes’, *toxun* ‘in the lake’.

Several Tundra Nenets loanwords have preserved /x/ in onsets, such as *xaläu* ‘seagull’, *xobarta* ‘elk’, but these words are readily identified as borrowings by Forest Enets speakers.

2.3.5 Approximant

The approximant /j/ is a rare phoneme and is restricted to onsets of word-internal syllables:

- (39) *kaja* ‘sun’ *puja* ‘nose’ *nuja* ‘nalim’

2.3.6 Trills and laterals

The status of /r/ and /l/ as distinctive phonemes is unclear; their distribution points to a former complementary distribution, which has been abandoned (Mikola 2004: 66). Although a phonemic contrast is postulated, this question has not been definitively settled.

With the single exception of *rođa* ‘Russian’, /r/ cannot be found in word-initial onsets; this position is reserved for /l/:

- (40) *leu* ‘cry’ *liđi* [liđi] ‘bone’ *lumbiš* ‘run away in fear (of reindeer)’

In coda position, /r/ is attested much more frequently than /l/, e.g. *kamir* ‘dead person’, *šer* ‘thing’. In those cases where /l/ can be found in coda position, it is usually part of a consonant cluster, e.g. *alke* ‘huge’ or *salba* ‘ice’. /l/ in coda position can also be the result of glottal stop fusion:

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|---------------|
| (41) | <i>mä-l</i> { <i>mä?</i> + <i>-r</i> ‘PX.2SG’} | (42) | <i>koru-r</i> |
| | chum-PX.2SG | | knife-PX.2SG |
| | ‘your chum’ | | ‘your knife’ |

In word-medial position, the distribution of /l/ and /r/ is problematic. In word-internal syllable onsets, /r/ clearly dominates, e.g. *koru* ‘knife’ or *kari* ‘fish’. For, only three clear examples are currently registered /l/ in the same position. The first example, *sola* ‘stupid’ is potentially of Tundra Nenets origin; also for the name *Kašali*, a possible Tundra Nenets origin must be assumed although this name underwent partial adaption to Enets phonology, as the onset appears as /k/. Only the verbal stem *bogali-* ‘stretch out’ seems to be a true Forest Enets lexeme.¹³⁵

Likewise, the status of /ř/ as an independent phoneme is questionable. Whereas in word-medial position /r/ is realized as [ř] before /i/, no phonemic contrast could be detected elsewhere. However, in coda position, a perfect minimal pair between /r/ and /ř/ is attested /tor/ ‘your lake’ vs. /toř/ ‘such’. Another lexeme with a clearly palatalized [ř] in coda position is /logař/ ‘hill’; it is also marked in ERRE (63) as palatalized *логарь*.

Whereas a sound opposition between /r/ and /ř/ remains unattested, several examples for a phonemic contrast between /l - lʰ/ can be found:

- (43) *liđi* [liđi] ‘bone’ – *libi* ‘eagle’
alke ‘enormous’ – *noľku-* stem of ‘strive, drive after’

In word-internal syllable onsets, /lʰ/ is attested before /a/ and /u/:

135. Some more examples with /l/ in syllable-initial onsets can be found in ERRE. Unfortunately they have not been registered in my data.

(44) *baglá* ‘Selkup, Ket’ *boglá* ‘bear’ *sodlá* ‘little bird’ *ŋolu* ‘alone’¹³⁶

Concerning coda position, the situation is not entirely clear. Apart from *nołku-* the only other good example for /l/ in coda position is *ŋul* ‘very’.

2.4 Vowel phonemes, their allophones and distribution

2.4.1 High vowels [i], [u]

/i/ is a high front vowel; no positional restrictions apply:

(45) *itu* ‘hair’ *ibleigu* ‘small’ *soši* ‘hill’

After non-palatalized consonants, /i/ tends to be pronounced slightly centralized as [ɨ], e.g. *niga* [nɨga] ‘branch’, *liđi* [liđi] ‘bone’, or *tida* [tɨda] ‘his many reindeer’.

/u/ is a rounded high back vowel. As is the case with /i/, no positional restrictions apply:

(46) *ub* ‘end’ *uđa* ‘hand, arm’ *tu* ‘fire’ *motu* ‘six’

2.4.2 Close mid [e], [o]

/e/ is a close-mid front vowel.

(47) *ne* ‘child’ *še* ‘who’ *te* ‘reindeer (generic)’
malé ‘already’ *kate* ‘castrated reindeer bull’

/o/ is a rounded close-mid back vowel, occasionally pronounced with less labialization:

(48) *odu* ‘boat’ *to* ‘lake’ *đoxa* ‘river’

In non-initial syllables, /o/ is relatively rare; *đoxora* ‘(s)he does not know’ represents one of the few clear examples.

136. In examples such as *sileigu* ‘white’ the phonological status of palatalization cannot be determined as /l/ is followed by a front vowel. As *sira/* ‘snow’, an etymologically related lexeme shows a trill in this position and relying on distribution, /l/ could have historically been just a palatalized allophone of /r/, before acquiring phonemic contrast. I assume that the /l/ in *sileigu* ‘white’ should be considered as phonologically palatal. Another example *ibleigu* ‘small’, apparently related to *ibla* ‘youngster’ points into the same direction.

2.4.3 Open mid [ɛ]

/ä/ is an open-mid front vowel and clearly pronounced lower than /e/. Historically it seems to have appeared first only after non-palatalized consonants, but its development is far from being clear at the moment. The best minimal pairs which demonstrate the difference between the two forms vowel phonemes /e/ and /ä/ are *te* ‘reindeer’ vs. *tä* ‘birch bark’ or *ter* ‘your reindeer’ vs. *tär* ‘content, member of a family/clan’. A variety of other sub-minimal pairs can be found such as *ñe* ‘child’ vs. *nä* ‘woman’ or *še* ‘who’ vs. *sä?* ‘face’. Also the initial /e/ in the diphthong /eu/ such as *leuŋa* ‘(s)he screams’ is clearly higher than /ä/ in *läxäčiči* ‘cover made of twigs’. As labial and dental stops are automatically palatalized before front vowels, the difference between /e/ and /ä/, e.g. *pexun* ‘outside’ and *pä* ‘tree’, is once in a while difficult to perceive. /ä/ is also attested in non-initial syllables, e.g. *tonä* ‘it exists’ though in the currently preferred local orthography it is represented by Cyrillic ə and not by Greek ε, which is one of the graphemes marking /ä/. /ä/ can also be found in word-initial position, but similar problems appear. The initial component of the diphthong in *äü?* ‘here (LAT)’ is clearly low, and ERRE (41) also represents it as εγ ‘сюда’, but e.g. ‘mother’ *ää* is represented as ə ERRE (152), although I perceive a clear /ä/. To be sure, there are more instances in word-initial position, e.g. *äba* ‘head’ but ERRE (152) *əba*, and this question is far from being settled. Still, the functional load of /ä/ in minimal pairs with /e/ is relatively low. As /ä/ has never been reported for Tundra Enets, it is apparently a recent innovation in Forest Enets.

2.4.4 Low back [ɑ]

/a/ is a low open back vowel. It is attested in every position:

- (49) *aba* ‘older sister’ *bar* ‘edge, shore’
 kora ‘reindeer cow’ *kasa* ‘man, person’

2.5 Diphthongs

A variety of diphthongs are registered, most of which are rising. A definitive inventory of attested diphthongs cannot be given at the current moment:

- (50) *kouđuŋa* ‘(s)he quarrels’ *säu* ‘seven’
 ŋau ‘duck’ *bai* ‘name of an Enets clan’
 leuŋa ‘(s)he shouts’ *soiđa* ‘good’
 pei ‘dark’

Several lowering diphthongs are attested too, but their phonemic status is questionable. In word-final position, /o/ is occasionally diphthongized, e.g. *čigo* [čigoŋ] ‘it flies/is flying’, and one is almost attempted to mark the vowel as long. On the other hand, /uo/ in

e.g. *kinuo* ‘(s)he sings’ seems to be a stable diphthong regardless of position, e.g. *kinuod* ‘you sing’, yet this diphthong is actually split by a disguised glottal stop, /kinuʔo/, which surfaces in morphonology, e.g. in inchoative derivation.

In addition to lexical diphthongs, diphthongs can also arise as a result of suffixing:

(51)	<i>lata</i> ‘board’	→	<i>lataiʔ</i>	<board.PX.1SG>	‘my board’
	<i>te</i> ‘reindeer’	→	<i>teiʔ</i>	<reindeer.PX.1SG>	‘my reindeer’
	<i>tu</i> ‘fire’	→	<i>tuiʔ</i>	<fire.PX.1SG>	‘my fire’
	<i>koš</i> ‘find’	→	<i>kou</i>	<find.SG.1SG>	‘I found it’

Concerning length, diphthongs are audibly clearly longer than single vowels, though no phonetic measurements were made.¹³⁷

2.6 Vowels and their allophones

Allophonic variation is attested and especially the status of the vowels [ɔ] and [ə] in the vowel system has not been settled yet.¹³⁸

2.6.1 The status of [ɔ]

The phonemic value of [ɔ] as an independent phoneme has been controversial since its first description by Tereščenko (1966). In principle, Khanina and Shluinsky (2008: 248–249) follow Tereščenko’s assumption, but mention that much variation is attested. In their vowel chart, [ɔ] is classified as a low-mid back vowel.¹³⁹ I, too, encountered extensive variation during my fieldwork, as what was described as [ɔ] earlier was once pronounced as [u] and once as [o], and as such even by the same speakers. Further, I have not found any good examples of [ɔ] in those examples published in Mikola (Mikola 1980) which were said to contain [ɔ]. Here, either /u/ or /o/ was pronounced. Based on the data I could gather during my fieldwork, I have not found evidence for the existence of a phonemic [ɔ].¹⁴⁰

137. Whether diphthongs (and the long vowels below) should be phonologically interpreted as independent vowel phonemes is currently unclear. An analysis as a sequence of two vowels seems to be likely, and this question awaits a more thorough study.

138. These vowels imposed problems already in earlier research. A good overview is provided by Mikola (2004: 59–61).

139. Khanina and Shluinsky did not present any lexical data or clear minimal pairs in their paper, which makes it impossible to evaluate their findings, nor did Tereščenko (1966) present any minimal pairs to support her interpretation.

140. At least in a recording of Gluxij or Susekov with Nikolaj Paščin from the early 1970s I once encountered a minimal pair. As already stated in the introduction, however, the idiolect of speakers belonging to the *čor* clan is not considered “standard” Forest Enets by other speakers and it is currently unclear whether this feature is idiolectal or restricted to the speakers of this clan. For other speakers of the same generation as well as speakers of the current generation, a phonemic contrast cannot currently be postulated.

2.6.2 [u] and [o]

The contrast between /u/ and /o/ is often neutralized, despite the clear phonemic status of both vowels, e.g. *tu* ‘fire’ - *to* ‘lake’.¹⁴¹ This variation is not restricted to spontaneous speech but prevails also in carefully elicited speech. A small number of lexemes in my materials were resistant and clearly showed /o/ where expected e.g. *sobrig* ‘five’, *obu* ‘what’, *ko* ‘birch’. Other lexemes, such as *moga* ‘forest’, *mod’* ‘ego’, *poga* ‘net’, *odu* ‘boat’, *d’ori-* stem of ‘speak’ and *mogadi* ‘clan name’, vary freely and show both /o/ and /u/. I have not normalized such instances.

2.6.3 [ə] and [e]

After non-palatalized /n/ and /s/, several speakers (ANP, LDB) pronounce a central vowel [ə], e.g. [nəxu] ‘three’ or [səŋa-] stem of ‘look’. For ANP, [nəga] ‘branch’ is also attested, while other consultants uniformly pronounced it as [niga]. This pronunciation, however, is not uniform. In the speech of ZNB and EIB, this allophone remained unattested and a close-mid /e/ appeared. In this position, [ə] is an allophone of /e/.¹⁴²

2.7 Quantity

Quantity is a distinctive feature, though its functional load is low.

2.7.1 Long vowels

For the following vowels, minimal or near-minimal pairs are attested. At present, they are analyzed as sequences of identical vowels. Graphically, long vowels are marked by doubling the vowel grapheme:

(52)	<i>nä</i> ‘woman’	<i>nää</i> ‘needle’
	<i>pää?</i> ‘tree’ _[NOM.PL]	<i>pää?</i> ‘boot’ _[NOM.PL]
	<i>u?</i> ‘track’	<i>uu</i> ‘you’
	<i>ko</i> ‘birch’	<i>koo</i> ‘ear’
	<i>d’ori</i> ‘talk’	<i>d’oori</i> ‘deep’
	<i>či</i> ‘pole’	<i>čii</i> ‘lung’
	<i>nara</i> ‘spring’	<i>naara</i> ‘мездра’ (inner side of skin)

The existence of an opposition between /e/ and /ee/ is not attested in my materials.

Lexical long vowels seem to be restricted to initial syllables, yet they must be clearly distinguished from contractions, e.g. *nääči* from *nä äči* ‘young girl’, which are typical in quick, spontaneous speech.

141. As the same phenomenon appears in several texts in ET, it does not seem to be a recent innovation among the generation of last speakers.

142. A similar interpretation was first proposed by Mikola (1984).

2.7.2 Long vowels in non-initial syllables

Occasionally long vowels are attested in non-initial syllables, but their phonemic status is not entirely clear. Examples are e.g. [inaa] ‘older brother/relative’ or [modää] ‘(s)he looks’. Whereas the first case remains problematic and could be indeed an example of a long vowel in a non-initial syllable, the second case varies greatly. As the verb *modäč* ‘to see’ is a glottal stop verb (class IIb), the underlying stem in the aorist is *modä?ä-* which due to the elimination of intervocalic glottal stops is frequently realized as *modää-*.

2.7.3 Long vowels triggered by morphonology

Long vowels in non-initial syllables may result from morphonology. This is characteristic for both the essive-translative and prolative cases. Both case markers lack a specified vowel and when translative *-Vš* or prolative *-Vn* are attached to a lexeme, the word-final vowel becomes lengthened:

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|---|
| (53) | <i>šidi-iš</i> (from <i>šidi</i> ‘two’)
TWO-TRSL
‘as the two of us’ | (54) | <i>aga-an</i> (from <i>aga</i> ‘big, large, old’)
big-PROL
‘along the big/long ~ largely, loudly’ |
|------|---|------|---|

2.7.4 Long consonants

Quantity in consonants is controversial and needs further research. At present, one sound minimal pair for /d̥/–/dd̥/ is attested:

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|---|
| (55) | <i>bu</i> <i>äda</i>
3SG be-FUT.3SG
‘He will be’ | (56) | <i>bu</i> <i>ädda</i>
3SG drive.3SG
‘He drives (a reindeer sled)’ |
|------|--|------|---|

2.8 Relicts of gemination

In all prior accounts starting with Castrén, voiced stops have been registered as geminates, such as /g/ in *agga* ‘big’, /b/ in *libbi* ‘eagle’ and /d/ in *oddu* ‘boat’. While once in a while, geminated forms can be registered even in contemporary Forest Enets, degeminated forms such as *aga*, *libi* and *odu* clearly dominate. Only EIB produced geminated forms somewhat more frequently. However, this was far from being productive even in her idiolect. Sporadically, I could register also geminated /m/, e.g. *umma* ~ *uma* ‘mommy’ and *ummu* ~ *umu* ‘north’. Concerning the practical orthography used in this study, if geminated consonants were registered in individual examples, they have been reproduced as such.

2.9 Syllable structure and phonotactics

2.9.1 Syllable structure – general remarks

The majority of non-derived lexemes in Forest Enets are either mono- or disyllabic. In word-initial position, both consonants and vowels can be found. The nucleus of a syllable is reserved entirely for vowels or diphthongs. In word-initial position, Forest Enets follows the typical Uralic constraint and consonant clusters do not occur. This constraint also applies to older Russian loanwords, which underwent simplification. Contemporary Russian loanwords are no longer subject to this rule; both clusters and different stress patterns are preserved.

2.9.2 Syllable types

Concerning syllable types, light, heavy and superheavy syllables are attested. Whereas light and heavy syllables can be found in isolated lexemes, heavy and especially superheavy syllables are more common in inflected forms because a variety of suffixes do not contain vowels and, thus, do not fulfill the minimum syllable criteria. When such suffixes are attached (e.g. LAT.SG *-d*, PX.2SG *-r*, NOM.PL-*?*, VX.1SG *-đ?*) heavy and superheavy syllables emerge.

V	<i>a.ba</i> ‘ptarmigan’ <i>u.đa</i> ‘hand, arm’	VC	<i>u?</i> ‘track, trace’ <i>ub</i> ‘end’
V:	<i>ää</i> ‘mother’ <i>uu</i> ‘thou’	V:C	<i>ääb</i> ‘my mother’ <mother.PX.1SG>
VV	<i>äu.bi</i> ‘usually was’ <be-HAB.3SG> <i>ai.bađ</i> ‘traditional dish’	VVC	<i>äu?</i> ‘to here’ [here.LAT]
CV	<i>bu</i> ‘(s)he’ <i>ka.mi.ta</i> ‘(s)he loves’	CVC	<i>bi?</i> ‘water’ <i>to.bik</i> ‘mouse’ <i>i.tu?</i> ‘hair’ (NOM.PL)
CV:	<i>baa</i> ‘bed’ <i>nää</i> ‘needle’	CV:C	<i>pää?</i> ‘boots’ (NOM.PL) <i>čii?</i> ‘pole’ (NOM.PL)
CVV	<i>leu.ŋa</i> ‘(s)he cries’ <i>kou.đuŋa</i> ‘(s)he quarrels’	CVVC	<i>leu?</i> ‘cries’ (NOM.PL) <i>ŋau?</i> ‘ducks’ (NOM.PL)
CVCC	<i>tođ?</i> ‘I come’		

Table 2-5: Syllable types

The VC and VVC types seem to be rare. Syllables of the type VCC where the second consonant is not a glottal stop are currently not attested in my materials; syllables of the type VC? should however be possible, e.g. *ub?* ‘ends’. Finally, the problematic syllable type CVCV must be mentioned. The peculiarity of this syllable type is the realization

of the second consonant as a glottal stop (CVʔV). Such intervocalic glottal stops were still found by Gluxij (1976). Nowadays, the glottal stop is usually no longer realized and a long vowel or a diphthong with a HL tone has emerged.¹⁴³ Whereas I have some examples for CVʔV lexemes such as *näʔä* ‘it is hard’, *noʔo* ‘it is audible’, and *mo.däʔä* ‘he saw’, this type is very rare. Once in a while some speakers, especially ZNB, tend to split long vowels, as in *pääʔ* ‘boots’, and realize them as [pɛʔɛʔ], especially in careful speech. In contrast to ZNB’s idiolect, the aforementioned examples belonging to CVʔV, as in *näʔä* or the like differ from [pɛʔɛʔ] as the glottal stop belongs to the lexeme.¹⁴⁴ The overall question emerging from such lexemes with genuine intervocalic glottal stops lies in their description. Assuming that such CVʔV lexemes are monosyllabic, this interpretation would collide with the usual concept of syllables as having one vowel. On the other hand, a disyllabic interpretation would enforce a restatement of phonotactics as a bisyllabic CVʔV interpretation would result in a glottal stop in word-medial onsets. This topic awaits additional research.

2.9.3 Phonotactics

2.9.3.1 Distribution of consonant phonemes

The following chart summarizes the previous treatment of consonant distribution:

- 1) The phonemes /d̪/, /g/ and /ʔ/ are banned from word-initial position.
- 2) Word-initially, /x/ is restricted to Tundra Nenets borrowings; /x/ is banned from codas.
- 3) The only attested nativized lexeme beginning with /r/ is *rođa* ‘Russian’; otherwise /r/ is banned from word-initial position.¹⁴⁵

The distribution of other consonants is much freer, though they may not occur frequently in a particular position; uncertain instances are marked as c[?]. Finally, the appearance of some consonants results from either phonological fusion with the glottal stop or morphological alternations including allomorphy, and such instances are marked as [mp] in this chart:

143. Whereas Gluxij found forms as *baʔa* ‘bed’ (CVCV), this lexeme is now *baa* and represents the CV: type.

144. There is even a good minimal pair *näʔä* ‘is hard’ – *nää* ‘needle’. For needle, I have never heard any vowel split with a glottal stop.

145. In the speech of NKB, the Nenets form *luca* ‘Russian’ can be found, albeit infrequently.

WORD-INITIAL POSITION	WORD-MEDIAL POSITION	CODA POSITION
p, b, t, č, d', k, m, n, n̄, ŋ, s, š, r', l, l'	p _[mp] , b, t, č, d, d', k, g, ʔ, m, n, n̄, ŋ, d̄, s, š, x, j, r, l, l'	b, b', t, č _[mp] , d, d' _[mp] , k, g, ʔ, m, n, n̄, d̄, s, š, r, l, r', l'

Table 2-6: Positional distribution of consonant phonemes

2.9.3.2 Distribution of vowel phonemes

As a syllable does not necessarily require a consonant onset, vowels may occur word-initially. In non-initial syllables /o/ and /e/ are comparatively rare.

Among diphthongs, /äu/, /ai/ and /ui/ do not seem to require a consonant onset:

- (57) a) *äu.bi* ‘usually was’
 b) *ai.bađ* ‘сарудай’ (dish of raw frozen meat or fish)
 c) *ui.ŋa* ‘she is breast-feeding’

In contrast, other diphthongs require a consonant onset:

- (58) a) *leu.ŋa* ‘(s)he cries/is crying’
 b) *ŋau* ‘duck’

The only exception, an onset in /au/ is restricted to a Siberian ‘Wanderwort’ *auka* ‘pet reindeer’.

The vowels /o/, /e/, and /ä/ do not appear in word-final position as parts of suffixes.

2.9.3.3 Intervocalic consonant cluster

The fate of old consonant clusters which were eliminated in Enets is well known (Mikola 2004: 65ff) and this feature is among the most marked why Forest Enets is characterized as less conservative in comparison to Tundra Nenets. Although the amount of old clusters is indeed restricted, Helimksi (2007) postulated that a new series of secondary clusters has emerged in recent decades as a result of reduction. This trend is considered to have started in the parental generation (Helimski 2007), where contracted forms co-occurred with older ‘fully articulated forms’. Based on this assumption, Helimski proposed that the current generation acquired only ‘contracted forms’ and that such forms would be awaited in a scenario of language death. The overall tenor of this paper is slightly confusing; further, Helimski did little direct work with the speakers of the current generation and only superficial work with Forest Enets of the elder generation. If the proposed development would turn out to be correct, the following chart of attested

intervocalic consonant clusters should contain clusters which could have been absent in the speech of those Forest Enetses recorded in the 1960s and 1970s. As a necessary prerequisite, this would require a large phonological database in order to determine what counts as an old cluster in contrast to recent clusters, along with detailed data for both ‘fully articulated’ (no clusters) and ‘contracted forms’ (new clusters) in the parental and grandparental generation. Still, even two random words chosen from the existing corpora challenge Helimski’s assumption, e.g. the noun for ‘ice’ *salba* and the verb *mosraš* ‘work’. Whereas in earlier descriptions ‘ice’ was registered as *salaba* and the same form can be found in the school dictionary *салаба* (ERRE 116), this lexeme is generally pronounced as a disyllabic *salba*. Consequently, a consonant cluster *-lb-* is registered. Further, already in the parental generation in ET, occurrences of the reduced form *salba* clearly outnumber *salaba*. The same is valid for *mosraš* ‘work’. In ERRE (73) the contracted *мосраць* is found, and in general a contracted *mosraš* dominates in my materials; consequently, a cluster *-sr-* should also be postulated; occasionally *mosaraš* can also be found, and the same variation is attested in ET. As without specialized preparation the existing data is not representative, there is no need to cast this discussion into a potential scenario of simplification based on assumptions about language attrition and language death. The following chart shows the intervocalic clusters attested in my materials, regardless of whether the attested cluster should be considered an old cluster or a new, secondary cluster.

<i>mb</i>	<i>tr</i>	<i>dl'</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>rt</i>	<i>st</i>	<i>đđ</i>
<i>mg</i> ¹⁴⁶	<i>tk</i>	<i>dr</i>	<i>lb</i>	<i>rč</i>	<i>št</i>	<i>đt</i>
<i>nč</i>	<i>kr</i>	<i>dt</i>	<i>lk</i>	<i>rđ</i>	<i>sr</i>	<i>đn</i>
<i>nt</i>	<i>kt</i>	<i>bl'</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>rs</i>	<i>sl</i>	
<i>ns</i>	<i>kč</i>	<i>br</i>	<i>lč</i>	<i>rb</i>		
<i>nx</i>	<i>kn</i>	<i>bt</i>	<i>l'k</i>			
		<i>gl'</i>				

Table 2-7: Attested consonant clusters

Clusters are found predominantly around syllable boundaries. This interpretation rests on the assumption that there is a kind of symmetry between word-initial and word-medial onsets. As no consonant clusters are allowed in word-initial position, one should not expect syllable-initial clusters in Forest Enets.

146. *mg* is registered once in an older Russian borrowing *bomga* ‘paper’ (← бумага)

2.10 Criteria for wordhood

Minimally, a word consists at least of a monosyllabic foot. This foot requires at least a long vowel, e.g. *uu* ‘thou’, *ää* ‘mother’, or a short vowel either preceded by a consonant onset, e.g. *to* ‘lake’ or followed by a consonant coda, e.g. *uʔ* ‘track’, *ub* ‘end’.¹⁴⁷

Although morae have proven helpful for the description of Nganasan, they are not necessary for the analysis of Forest Enets.

Forest Enets has a clitic *-jet*, which expresses modality and can be found on both nominal categories and less frequently also on verbs. Although the syllabic shape of *-jet* fulfills all necessary criteria for wordhood, it was not found as a freestanding element and attaches only to grammatical words.

2.11 Stress

Stress is fixed and the main stress falls on the first syllable; therefore it does not need to be marked separately. Stress is realized in terms of intensity, and vowels in stressed syllables tend to be slightly longer than unstressed ones.¹⁴⁸ A weak secondary stress falls on the following odd-numbered syllables.¹⁴⁹ Words containing more than five syllables occur seldom in either transcribed data or material from elicitation. Tereščenko (1966: 441) listed some native lexemes, which she reported as having stress on non-initial syllables, however none turned out to be stressed in this position in contemporary Forest Enets. ERRE, too, has a variety of Enets lexemes, which are marked for stress on non-initial syllables. A random test with several consultants showed that such lexemes are nevertheless stressed initially.

2.12 Morphology

Despite being a predominantly agglutinative-suffixing language, morphophonemic alternations play a dominant role in Forest Enets. The role of the glottal stop in particular is crucial for the understanding of morphology. This will be addressed in more detail in the following chapter.

Other morphological processes, such as vowel assimilation, vowel deletion, epenthetic vowel insertion, and the like are common but cannot match the complexity of

147. The affirmative interjection *ä* ‘yes, that’s how it is’ consists of V only. Apart from that, the Russian conjunction *i* ‘and’ is the second such token I am currently aware of.

148. Especially in the beginning, my fieldwork materials contain many instances where I had erroneously marked a stressed vowel as long.

149. In Russian, vowel length and stress are dependent on each other. Stressed Russian vowels are pronounced longer than unstressed vowels, and this rule can be found disguised in written Forest Enets. In many instances vowels in syllables carrying secondary stress are written as double (=long), as they are perceived to be long from a Russian perspective.

As PX.GEN.3SG *-da* is syllabic, this rule cannot apply, and PX appears following CX, e.g. *oduxunda* ‘in his boat’.

The same rule applies to the emphatic pronoun *ker-* ‘x-self’. The stem *ker-* is not attested independently and such forms as *keriñ* ‘I myself’ (*ker* + PX.GEN.1SG) follow the same pattern.

2.12.2 /i/ and morphonology

/i/ is a frequent element in morphemes. In instances where /i/ is part of a complex morpheme¹⁵² it triggers a variety of morphonological processes, such shortening of the preceding vowel or even its deletion. In certain phonological environments, /i/ is dropped. Compare (61), where /i(?)/ is a non-complex morpheme expressing PX.1SG/PX.ACC.1SG and consequently does not trigger any morphonological processes, with (61), where the stem-final vowel of *loba* ‘ski’ is dropped.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|------|--------------------------------------|--|
| (61) | <i>loba-i?</i> | (62) | <i>lobiñ?</i> | { <i>loba</i> + <i>-iñ?</i> ‘PX.PL.1SG’} |
| | ski-PX.1SG | | ski.PX.PL.1SG | |
| | ‘my one ski’ | | ‘my pair of skis’ or: ‘my many skis’ | |

The following rules triggered by /i/ in complex morphemes have been registered:

2.12.2.1 Vowel deletion of final /a/

When /i/ follows a syllable ending in /a/, vowel deletion is triggered. This rule applies to both verbs and nouns:

- | | | | | | |
|---------|----------------------------|----|---------------------|----|-----------------------|
| (63) a. | <i>pu-ŋa</i> | b. | <i>pu-ŋa-ḏa</i> | c. | <i>pu-ŋiḏa</i> |
| | put-FREQ.3SG | | put-FREQ.SG.3SG | | put-FREQ.PL.3SG |
| | ‘She is putting something’ | | ‘She is putting it’ | | ‘She is putting them’ |
-
- | | | | | | |
|---------|------------|----|---------------|----|-----------------|
| (64) a. | <i>ača</i> | b. | <i>ača-i?</i> | c. | <i>ačina?</i> |
| | daddy | | daddy-PX.1SG | | daddy.PX.PL.1PL |
| | ‘daddy’ | | ‘my daddy’ | | ‘our daddies’ |

2.12.2.2 Shortening of long vowels before /i/

A rule related to vowel deletion is vowel shortening; where /i/ meets a stem-final long vowel, this vowel is shortened. As quantity has a low functional load and suitable lexemes are rare, the following example with *nää* ‘needle’ remains the clearest one:

152. In all the instances discussed, /i/ is a plural marker.

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|--|
| (70) | <i>pä-i?</i>
tree-PX.1SG
'my tree' | (71) | <i>peiñ?</i>
tree.PX.PL.1SG
'my trees' |
|------|--|------|--|

A question that must be postponed for the future concerns the phonological quality of the vowel in (70). While acoustically, the vowel is clearly pronounced as /e/, vowel raising from /ä/ → /e/ could be phonetic due to the influence of the following /i/, and phonologically /ä/ should be assumed.

2.12.2.5 Mid-vowels and assimilation of /i/ in polysyllabic words

The behavior of /i/ before mid-vowels in polysyllabic words has not been finally settled. This is partly due to the relatively infrequent occurrence of these vowels in non-initial syllables. The only example currently attested, *kate* 'castrated reindeer bull', shows lengthening of the stem-final vowel:

- (72) *kate* 'castrated reindeer' → *kateen?* 'my many castrated reindeer'

Lengthening as a process of assimilation is not encountered elsewhere and further examples are needed.

2.12.2.6 Assimilation of /i/ + /i/ → /i/

When a stem-final /i/ is followed by another /i/, the assimilation rule applies, and the vowel remains short. This rule applies to both nouns and verbs:

- (73) *bu täniḁa* 'he knows it_{SG}' {*täni* ← *-ḁa*}
bu täniḁa 'he knows it_{PL}/them' {*täni* ← *-iḁa*}

- (74) *bäsi* 'iron, money' → *bäsiñ?* 'my many coins'

In the case of non-complex morphemes, such as PX.1SG *-i?*, this rule does not apply, and *-i?* becomes *-j?* instead, e.g. *bäsij?* 'my money'.

2.12.2.7 Morphophonemic palatalization before /i/

The final morphological alternation to be discussed is perhaps no longer fully productive and could be considered lexicalized.¹⁵³ The following two examples, *kasa* 'man, companion' and *osa* 'meat', represent this phenomenon. Whereas the stem-final /a/ in

153. *kasa* should indeed be seen as an irregular entry in the lexicon.

both lexemes is deleted before a complex /i/ morpheme as expected, in the case of *kasa*, the sibilant changes its quality and undergoes palatalization:

- (75) *kasa* ‘man, person, companion’
kašiñ? [kašiñ?] ‘my many companions’ {← *kasa+iñ?*}

In the case of *osa* ‘meat’, however, no change in quality is attested:

- (76) *osa* ‘meat’ → *osiða* ‘his many different kinds of meat’ {← *osa+iða*}

2.12.3 Morphological processes including the glottal stop

The glottal stop is responsible for a number of alternations that belong to the most complex rules of Forest Enets morphonology. As these alternations are too complex for a short description, the following survey discusses the two central underlying processes, as morphonology is centered on them. A more detailed discussion can be found in chapter 3.

2.12.3.1 Phonological fusion

Processes which alter the shape of consonant onsets of morphemes added to a glottal stop are grouped under the concept of phonological fusion. The following example describes phonological fusion for the dual marker *-xi?*. When added to a non-glottal stop stem, the morpheme remains invariant (77); when added to a glottal stop, the glottal stop and the morpheme onset fuse into either *-gi?* (78) or *-ki?* (79).

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|------|---|------|---|
| (77) | <i>toxi?</i>
{to-xi?}
lake- _[NOM,DU]
‘two lakes’ | (78) | <i>enčigi?</i>
{enči?-xi?}
person- _[NOM,DU]
‘two persons’ | (79) | <i>mäki?</i>
{mä?+xi?}
chum- _[NOM,DU]
‘two chums’ |
|------|--|------|---|------|---|

Whereas the dual marker belongs to a set of morphemes which shows three different forms as the outcome of fusion (*-xi?/-gi?/-ki?*), other morphemes show only two forms, here shown with the inchoative in *-ra*. Note that the deletion of /a/ as part of the inchoative marker before /i/ is regular, as the suffix of conjugation III is complex:

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|--|
| (80) | <i>dararið?</i>
{ <i>dara-ra-id?</i> }
cry-INCH-R.3SG
‘(S)he started to cry’ | (81) | <i>đorilið?</i>
{ <i>đori?-ra-id?</i> }
speak-INCH-R.3SG
‘(S)he started to speak’ |
|------|---|------|--|

2.12.3.2 Allomorphy triggered by the glottal stop

Besides fusion, the glottal stop also triggers allomorphy, as the following two examples from verbal morphology (82, 83) and nominal morphology (84, 85) show:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (82) <i>kounuḏa</i>
{ <i>ko-unuḏa</i> }
find-AUD.3SG
‘He found it as it was said’ | (83) <i>pemnuḏa</i>
{ <i>peʔ-nuḏa</i> }
find-AUD.3SG
‘He was looking for it as it was said’ |
| (84) <i>teiʔ</i>
{ <i>te-iʔ</i> }
reindeer-PX.1SG
‘my reindeer’ | (85) <i>mām</i>
{ <i>māʔ+iʔ</i> }
chum-PX.1SG
‘my chum’ |

2.12.3.3 Alternations triggered by the glottal stop and how to predict them

On phonological grounds, no criteria could be worked out which would help to predict the nature of expected morphonological processes. To put it another way, the glottal stop itself in isolation is non-diagnostic.¹⁵⁴ From a morphological perspective, almost no problems occur because fusion, and allomorphy can be predicted by diagnostic cells within a given paradigm. These principles will be presented in detail in the next chapter.

2.13 A note on rule ordering

Concerning the potential ordering of rules, the glottal stop assimilation rule precedes any other rule. The second important rule, epenthetic vowel insertion, must follow the glottal stop rule. Other rules, then, follow, however no detailed hierarchy has been established.

154. In standard Tundra Nenets Cyrillic orthography, glottal stops are represented by two different graphemes, though the overall reasons for this decision were driven by the assumption that there are two different glottal stop phonemes. I do not intend to go into this discussion (see Janhunen 1986) because I do not see any justification for Tereščenko’s idea concerning the existence of two different synchronic glottal stops. From a strictly phonetic perspective, Tereščenko’s idea of a voicing or nasalizing distinction for glottal stops is impossible, as has been stated already by Hajdú and subsequent researchers (see Janhunen 1986). Also the IPA chart judges voicing contrasts impossible for glottal stops. This discussion will be continued in the following chapter.

2.14 A note on loanword phonology

Speakers of Forest Enets have been in contact with a variety of peoples, such as Northern Selkups, Kets, Evenkis, Dolgans, Tundra Nenetses, and Russians.¹⁵⁵ As earlier contacts with Northern Selkups, Kets¹⁵⁶ and Evenkis have left only moderate traces in Forest Enets, this short note on loanword phonology discusses the more prominent and recent impact of Tundra Nenets and Russian.

2.14.1 Tundra Nenets loanwords

Although it started comparatively late, perhaps as late as the 19th century, the cultural and linguistic impact of Tundra Nenets on Forest Enets is well attested. Concerning semantic fields, borrowings from Tundra Nenets are usually restricted to the spheres of transportation, nature, animals, and several aspects of reindeer herding. As both languages are genetically fairly close, and Forest Enetses were often fluent in Tundra Nenets (if not fully bilingual), lexical borrowings from Tundra Nenets usually did not undergo any phonological simplification or adaptation. Although good skills in Tundra Nenets are only present among the oldest speakers of contemporary Forest Enets, many loanwords can be identified as such due to preserved phonemes which are not native to Forest Enets. Both *xobarta* ‘elk, moose’ and *xaläu* ‘large seagull’ show word-initial /x/, which is banned from this position in Forest Enets. The same is true for /w/, e.g. *wanduku* ‘transport sled reserved for valuable belongings’, and /j/, e.g. *jalul* ‘waste’. On the other hand, there are Tundra Nenets loans which as such are not as obvious, as they do not differ phonotactically from Forest Enets, e.g. *parandei* ‘snowbank, traces in the snow after a snow storm’ and only chance indicates that they are of foreign origin.¹⁵⁷ Although no detailed analysis has been made, the majority of (identified) Tundra Nenets borrowings seems to consist of nouns.

2.14.2 Borrowings from Russian

Historically, the first speakers of Russian with whom Enetses must have come into direct contact were apparently ‘Old Believers’ who spoke a non-standard variety of Russian.¹⁵⁸ Linguistically, however, it is impossible to demonstrate these contacts. Also, further contacts with Russian were restricted to non-standard varieties of Russian before

155. Contacts with Forest Nenetses have been frequently assumed in Soviet studies on ethnogenesis but remain speculative from a linguistic perspective.

156. Forest Enets–Ket contacts were addressed in Siegl (2008, 2012b), though this unusual instance did not result in lexification.

157. NKB used *parandei* during my first visit to Potapovo, and the lexeme’s Tundra Nenets origin was revealed only by chance in Dudinka. During my second trip to Potapovo, an Enets equivalent *d’artad* came to her mind.

158. Whether all so-called *затундренские крестьяне* were indeed Old Believers is not entirely clear. A short account of this Russian minority on the Taimyr Peninsula was published by Popov (1934).

the advent of communism in the early 1930s introduced standard Russian to this area via education.

From a phonological perspective, borrowings from Russian fall into two groups. Recent borrowings, such as *kolhoz*, *radio*, etc., are not of interest as they preserve their shape (including consonant clusters in onsets, original stress patterns, etc.) and, if necessary, are inflected with Forest Enets suffixes. If consonant final, such borrowings are subject to the same rules as native lexemes, e.g. epenthetic vowel insertion *gorod* ‘town’ → *gorod-ud* ‘to town’ <town-LAT.SG>.

In contrast, older borrowings had to undergo adaptation to fit Forest Enets phonotactics:

- (86) *lubaxa* ‘shirt’ from *рубѧха* ‘ibid.’; as /r/ is banned from word-initial onsets, it had to be substituted with /l/.
- (87) *tol* ‘table’ from *ѧтол* ‘ibid.’ underwent onset simplification by dropping the first consonant.
- (88) *labka* ‘shop’ from *лавѧка* ‘ibid.’ substituted /v/ with /b/.
- (89) *kirba* ‘bread’ from *хлеб* ‘ibid.’. As /x/ cannot occur in word-initial onsets, it was substituted with /k/, and for phonotactic reasons an epenthetic /i/ was inserted to split a cluster onset. *kirba* is apparently an older borrowing as it underwent the intervocalic *-l- to -r- change, characteristic of Forest Enets but absent from Tundra Enets (Mikola 2004: 69). As *kirba* ends in a vowel, it seems to reflect the genitive/partitive form *хлебѧ* in Russian.

2.15 Forest Enets in Cyrillic orthography

All attempts at creating literacy standards for Forest Enets have been based on the Cyrillic alphabet. As no unified written standard for Forest Enets is in use, much idiosyncratic variation is characteristic, which reflects personal choices by those who write in Forest Enets. This topic will be addressed in Appendix I and II.

3. Morphonology and Morphology

This chapter will provide an overview of morphonology, inflection classes and stem distributions. Although Forest Enets is an entirely suffixing Uralic language, it is by no means a prototypical agglutinative language in comparison to e.g. Komi and Udmurt within the Finno-Ugric branch. It is often the case that morphemes cannot be segmented unambiguously, which violates the classic agglutinative principle; this feature is prominent in plural and possessive morphology, where many portmanteau realizations are attested. Also, morphonological alternations at morpheme boundaries show that Forest Enets is comparatively distant from a prototypical agglutinative language. Therefore morphonological alternations and stem-distribution play a decisive role and must be addressed separately. Finally, a short note is in order: throughout this chapter, categories such as e.g. locative, imperative or converb are repeatedly referred to. No attempt will be made to motivate labeling or characterization of their functions here; this will be done in the following chapters.

3.1 Inflectional categories – a condensed overview¹⁵⁹

Nouns, pronouns, numerals, postpositions, adverbs, participles, and converbs belong to the nominal class; these categories can be combined with case, number and possessive suffixes or even combinations of these categories. Marginally, categories such as tense, mood, and aspect can be found on non-finite verbs, though this is clearly not a prototypical characteristic.¹⁶⁰

Verbs inflect for tense, aspect, modality, and evidentiality; a combination of several categories is equally possible. Further, verbs index the actor via verbal endings. Occasionally, transitive verbs can index object reference under certain pragmatic conditions to be addressed in chapters 7.1.2 and 10.5.1.3.

3.2 Morphological Processes

Compounding and suppletion are relatively rare in Forest Enets and play a very limited role.

159. Derivational morphology has not been studied in detail and is excluded from this description. Some short notes on nominal derivational morphology can be found in chapter 5. Verbal derivational morphology is entirely excluded; some remarks on the latter can be found in Sorokina (1976).

160. Such modifications do not, however, change the morphosyntactic behavior of non-finite verbs, and the verb remains indeed non-finite.

3.2.1 Notes on compounding

Compounding is a restricted morphological operation. It appears most productively with kinship terms, yet these should eventually be considered lexicalized:

- (1) a. *nä* *ńe*
 woman child
 ‘daughter’
- b. *kasa* *ńe*
 man child
 ‘son’
- c. *ää-xuń* *äsi-xuń*
 mother-PX.DU.1SG father- PX.DU.1SG
 ‘my parents’

Other compounds are frequently encountered with place names:

- (2) a. *pu* *bar*
 stone shore
 ‘right bank of the Yenisei’ (lit. stony shore)¹⁶¹
- b. *čor* *to*
 clan.name lake
 ‘Chor lake’
- c. *libi* *to*
 eagle lake
 ‘Eagle lake’
- d. *kodela* *to*
 transport.sled lake
 ‘transport sled lake’
- e. *umu* *mäđi*
 north wind
 ‘north wind’

161. The Yenisei serves as a natural border in Forest Enets terminology. Whereas the left side of the Yenisei is tundra, the right side of the Yenisei around Potapovo is closer to the mountains (around 50–60km east of the village).

As Forest Enets shows no case marking for NOM/GEN/ACC on non-possessed nouns, in most of the instances it is not possible to assign case to the first component of a compound. For example, in (2b) the first component could just as well be in the genitive, as the ‘Chor clan’s lake’, but no formal justification can be found. In such cases, the first component of compounds will be glossed as _[N/G], which means that either interpretation would be possible but formal means for identification are lacking.

- (2b) *čor* *to*
 [clan]_[N/G] lake]
 ‘Chor lake’

For some other compounds, it is possible to gloss the first component as genitive on the basis of stem distribution. Nouns belonging to class IIb show a different stem for GEN/ACC, e.g. NOM *mäʔ* ‘chum’ vs. GEN/ACC *mäd̄*. In (3), the first component could hypothetically also be analyzed as ACC, but as the example expresses adnominal possession, a core function of the genitive case, and as ACC is reserved for objects, a GEN interpretation is most likely:

- (3) *mäd̄* *tär*
 [chum]_[GEN] content]
 ‘family’

Also in the following example, the first constituent should be analyzed as GEN. In this compound based on a postpositional phrase, the formally unmarked *to* ‘summer’ must be analyzed as GEN, as this case occurs with postpositions:

- (4) *to* *d̄oda-i* *um*
 summer]_[GEN] middle_{pp}-ADJ north
 ‘Northern wind around midsummer’ (Lit. ‘midsummerish north’) [ZNB IV 185]¹⁶²

In several cases, a test for identifying a compound as NOM+NOM versus GEN+NOM exists, but a possible possessive relation must be available. Again, *kasa ne* serves as an example: when *kasa ne* means ‘son’, the whole compound must be marked for possession:

- (5) *kasa* *ne-iʔ*
 [man child]-PX.1SG
 ‘my son’

In those instances when the first component is possessed, we are not dealing with a compound but with adnominal possession:

162. After midsummer, strong northern winds are common on the Taimyr Peninsula.

- (6) *kasa-ń* *ńe*
 companion- PX.GEN.1SG child
 ‘my companion’s child’

This means that a companion’s child, which is not a compound but an example of adnominal possession, would be glossed as follows:

- (7) *kasa* *ńe*
 companion_[GEN] child
 ‘a companion’s child’

Consequently, the equivalent of ‘son’ without a possessor is a compound.

- (8) *kasa* *ńe*
 [male child]
 ‘son’

3.2.2 Suppletion

Suppletion, too, is a limited and non-productive morphological process. The most suppletive categories in Forest Enets are personal pronouns, e.g. *mud’* <1SG.NOM> ‘I’ vs. *ši(j)ʔ* <1SG.ACC> ‘me’ vs. *non’* <1SG.LAT> ‘to me’. Other examples of suppletion come from the formation of ordinals *orte* ‘first’ vs. *ɲolu* ‘one’ and *nak-naak* ‘second’ vs. *šidī* ‘two’.

3.3 Realization-based morphology – the role of paradigms

The following presentation of Forest Enets morphology will be based on a realization-based model of morphology, loosely following the insights of word-and-paradigm approaches.¹⁶³ This choice has not been made due to preferences for this particular theory; instead, a word-and-paradigm solution has actually been evolving after a bottom-up approach concerning glottal stop assimilations. As no single phonological rule is capable of predicting assimilation with the glottal stop as demonstrated in the preceding chapter (2.12.3), realization within a given paradigm cell is the only unambiguous means of identifying a glottal stop. Such a form within the paradigm will be labeled ‘diagnostic’, as it will assign a given lexeme to an inflection class from which the whole paradigm can

163. See, for example, Stump (2001)

be derived.¹⁶⁴ Whereas assimilation is the most prominent instance of morphonology in Forest Enets, ‘morphomic’ stem distribution is also attested. In this respect ‘morphomic’ stem distribution (Aronoff 1994) must be rightly considered as the core of morphology, as neither phonology nor morphonology can predict stem distribution.

3.3.1 Inflectional macro-classes

For nouns and verbs, three different inflectional classes can be postulated for Forest Enets. The first class comprises stems ending in any vowel or consonant other than the glottal stop. The second class comprises stems that end in a glottal stop. This system was already identified correctly by Castrén.

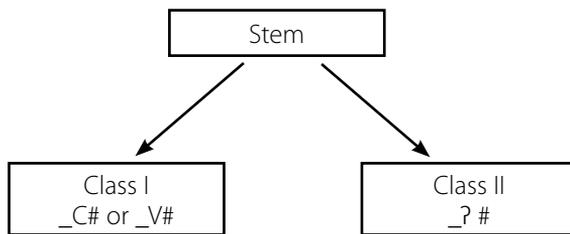


Figure 3-1:
Inflectional classes in Forest Enets

With slight modifications this principle was preserved by Prokofév and Tereščenko in their sketch grammars. The following table presents this paradigmatically:

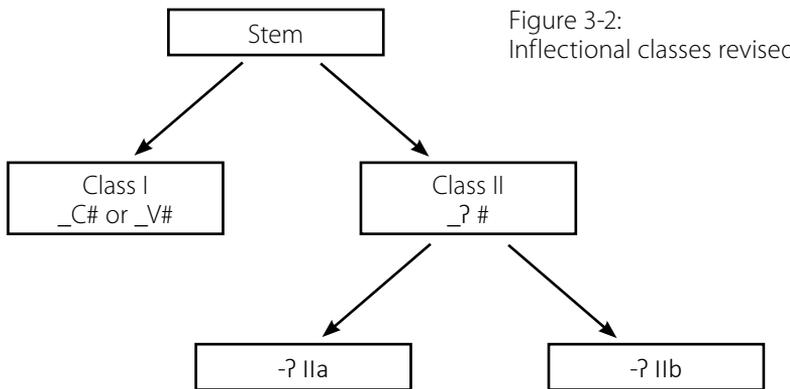
CASTRÉN 1854	PROKOFÉV 1937	TEREŠČENKO 1966
CLASS I STEM ENDING IN A VOWEL	CLASS I STEM ENDING IN A VOWEL	CLASS I STEM ENDING IN A VOWEL
CLASS II STEM ENDING IN GS I	CLASS II-1 STEM ENDING IN GS I	CLASS IIa STEM ENDING IN GS I
CLASS III STEM ENDING IN GS II	CLASS II-2 STEM ENDING IN GS II	CLASS IIb STEM ENDING IN GS II

Table 3-1: Inflectional classes in Forest Enets in prior descriptions

In Tereščenko’s approach (1966), inflectional classes were classified as Class I (comprising non-glottal stop stems) and Class II (comprising glottal-stop stems). Further, class II was subdivided into IIa and IIb, which would reflect the character of the underlying glottal stop.¹⁶⁵ In principle, also the following description follows Tereščenko’s classifi-

164. That said, a short comment is in order. Occasionally, glottal stop assimilations do not occur in elicitation and especially nouns ending in a glottal stop can be treated as a non-glottal stop stems. In spontaneous speech, however, such instances are very rare. To be sure, both cases must be tested before a lexeme can be identified correctly. The other logical possibility, spontaneous mutation of a non-glottal stop stem into a glottal stop stem, has never occurred during my work.

165. As mentioned en passant in chapter 2.12.3, Tereščenko (but also earlier Castrén) postulated that Nenets and Enets have two glottal stops, which differ in their phonetic realization. For an overview, see Janhunen (1986: chapter I.)



cation, yet here the glottal stops characteristic of class II do not reflect any phonological reality.¹⁶⁶

Whereas these three stem classes (regardless of grouping preferences) are undisputedly central for morphology, one should better speak of two macro-classes. These two macro-classes (non-glottal stop stems vs. glottal stop stems) can be seen as the central underlying organizational principle in Forest Enets morphology. This organizational principle is a macro-parameter under which a variety of stem choices are subsumed. Assigning nouns or verbs to class IIa only means, that they end in a glottal stop and undergo similar assimilations which will be demonstrated below. Still, nouns and verbs in class IIa do not necessarily have the same number of sub-stems, even if they show the same assimilation processes. Consequently, the existence of different stem types allows speaking of different inflectional classes, which will be labeled as inflection classes I, IIa and IIb throughout this study. As every inflectional class and its morphological realization rely on more than one stem, Forest Enets is not an ideal agglutinative language. Therefore, inflectional noun classes as well as verb classes will be presented independently.

3.3.2 Morphology and the glottal stop

The role of the glottal stop in Forest Enets morphonology is as important as its much better studied counterpart in Tundra Nenets (Janhunen 1986, Salminen 1997). As already noted in chapter 2.12.3, the glottal stop in Forest Enets is acoustically less prominent than the glottal stop in Tundra Nenets. Moreover, there is a strong tendency to omit glottal stops in Forest Enets. Still, even if omitted, the glottal stop reappears via morphological processes.

166. This is also the major reason why I decided against marking the glottal stops differently. For Forest Enets, in a variety of surroundings, it is impossible to claim whether one is dealing with glottal stop I or glottal stop II as a former distinction has disappeared (e.g. vx.1sg *-dʔ* is a good example). Second, if a glottal stop can be identified via diagnostic cells, its realization in other paradigms can be predicted correctly and a two-fold graphemic representation is superfluous.

As shown earlier, the glottal stop triggers both allomorphy and assimilation.¹⁶⁷ The following description focuses on those types of assimilation that result from the fusion of a glottal stop with a following consonant. As no phonological rule for the formulation of assimilation rules could be postulated, the phenomenon will be partly explained via diachrony. First, the history of the glottal stop is presented. Then, an explanation how the glottal stop and the reflex of the historically underlying consonant affect assimilation will follow.

3.3.2.1 The history of the glottal stop

Although the glottal stop is common to all Northern Samoyedic languages Nenets, Enets, and Nganasan, it is not considered to be an inherited feature of an earlier proto-language. Only at a later stage, the glottal stop developed apparently independently in all Northern Samoyedic languages. (Mikola 2004: 29.)

In contrast to its closest linguistic relative Tundra Nenets the development of which is comparatively well reconstructed, and therefore will not be subsumed here (see e.g. Janhunen 1986, Mikola 2004: 42–54), the emergence of the glottal stop in Forest Enets and apparently also Tundra Enets followed a different evolution: in contrast to Tundra Nenets, all coda consonants became glottal stops.¹⁶⁸ The following Proto-Samoyedic reconstructions are adapted from Mikola (2004: 66–70), current Forest Enets forms are presented in the orthography designed for this description:¹⁶⁹

PROTO-SAMOYEDIC RECONSTRUCTION	TRANSLATION	CONTEMPORARY FOREST ENETS
PS * <i>wit</i>	‘water’	<i>biʔ</i>
PS * <i>mät</i>	‘chum, home’	<i>mäʔ</i>
PS * <i>op</i>	‘one’	<i>ŋoʔ</i>
PS * <i>c̣en</i>	‘sinew’	<i>tiʔ</i>
PS * <i>äj</i>	‘mouth’	<i>naʔ</i>
PS * <i>nim</i> ~ <i>nüm</i>	‘name’	<i>niʔ</i>
PS * <i>ḳem</i>	‘blood’	<i>kiʔ</i> ¹⁷⁰
PS * <i>jür</i>	‘hundred’	<i>d’uʔ</i>

Table 3-2: Reconstruction of coda consonants in Proto-Samoyedic

167. A terminological note is necessary here. ‘Assimilation’ which is triggered by the glottal stop, is an instance of allomorphy, indeed, and the reader can replace assimilation with allomorphy. The overall reason for coining a terminological distinction is my intention to stress the role of the glottal stop in morphonology. Other morphonological processes triggering allomorphy are thereby easier to distinguish.

168. In several positions, intervocalic stops and earlier stop clusters became glottal stops, but as Mikola showed, this process was relatively unproductive in Enets (2004: 65–66). Nowadays, such glottal stops are almost all vocalized.

169. Several lexemes from older sources used by Mikola but nowadays unknown are excluded from this list. Although this chart contains only nouns, the process affected also verbs, which for reasons of simplicity are omitted.

170. Nowadays meaning marrow; for blood *buja* is used instead.

3.3.2.2 Assimilation processes triggered by the glottal stop

The historical excursus is needed to understand the assimilation processes. For the present discussion, the dual marker *-xi?* will be used to demonstrate a fairly common assimilation process. By adding the dual marker *-xi?* to *d'oxa* 'river', *bar* 'edge, shore', *ti?* 'sinew' and *mä?* 'chum' the following forms result:

- (9) a. *d'oxa* 'river' → *d'oxaxi?* 'two lakes'
 b. *bar* 'shore, edge' → *barxi?* 'two edges, two shores'
 c. *ti?* 'sinew' → *tigi?* 'two sinews'
 d. *mä?* 'chum' → *mäki?* 'two chums'

While the dual marker *-xi?* attaches unmodified to *d'oxa* and *bar*, it is realized as *-gi?* with *ti?* and *-ki?* with *mä?*. As noted already above, the syntagmatic occurrence of a glottal stop does not predict which kind of assimilation is to be expected; this is also shown by the examples in (9).¹⁷¹ From a diachronic perspective, assimilation processes as shown here reflect the origin of the former consonant which underlies the glottal stop. In *ti?* 'sinew' the glottal stop comes from an earlier voiced nasal /n/. When the glottal stop merges with the first component of the dual marker *-xi?*, assimilation results in a voiced stop *-gi?* as the historically underlying consonant was a voiced nasal. One could well say that the historically underlying feature [+voiced] surfaces again in morphonology.

The same holds for *mä?* 'chum' where the glottal stop derives from an earlier voiceless stop. Consequently, when the glottal stop merges with *-xi?*, it results in *-ki?*. Here, the historically underlying feature [-voiced] surfaces in morphonology. Assimilation processes similar to the formation of dual are numerous in Forest Enets, and morphology is sensitive to the presence or absence of glottal stops. In general, assimilation processes can be divided into two groups, simple and two-way assimilation.

3.3.2.3 Simple assimilation (double allomorphy)

Simple assimilation is a process where a given morpheme changes its shape to one alternative morph. The PX.2SG marker *-r* serves as an example. When attached to class I stems, PX.2SG *-r* remains in its original form:

- (10) Class I: *kasa* 'companion' → *kasa-r* 'your companion'

When attached to class II stems, the outcome of assimilation {ʔ+r} is /l/, regardless of sub-class IIa or IIb:

171. Precisely here, a word-and-paradigm approach is capable of solving this problem as certain diagnostic forms identify the type of assimilations.

- (11) Class IIa: *enči?* ‘person’ → *enči-l* ‘your person’
 Class IIb: *mă?* ‘chum’ → *mă-l* ‘your chum’

The underlying assimilation rule can be formulated as followed:

- (12) a. $_V/C\# + /r/ \rightarrow /r/$ (Class I)
 b. $_?\# + /r/ \rightarrow /l/$ (Class II)

3.3.2.4 Two-way assimilation (triple allomorphy)

The dual marker *-xi?* is an example of two-way assimilation. With class I nouns, the original morpheme does not undergo any assimilation:

- (13) Class I: *dōxa* ‘river’ → *dōxa-xi?* ‘two lakes’

With nouns belonging to class IIa, assimilation results in *-gi?*

- (14) Class IIa: *ti?* ‘sinew’ → *ti-gi?* ‘two sinews’

Finally, for nouns belonging to class IIb, assimilation results in *-ki?*

- (15) Class IIb: *mă?* ‘chum’ → *mă-ki?* ‘two chums’

In this case the underlying assimilation rule can be stated as follows:

- (16) a. $_C\# \wedge _V\# + xi? \rightarrow xi?$ (Class I)
 b. $_?\# + xi? \rightarrow gi?$ (Class IIa)
 c. $_?\# + xi? \rightarrow ki?$ (Class IIb)

3.3.2.5 Diagnostic cells

In every paradigm there is at least one diagnostic cell which uniquely assigns a noun or a verb to an inflectional class. As the diagnostic cell must trigger two-way assimilation, a variety of diagnostic forms are possible as the tables exemplify: for nouns, locative singular *-XVn* and for verbs the hortative *-xo/-xu* have produced the best and most reliable results in elicitation.

The following two tables show a variety of suffixes which undergo either simple or two-way assimilation. In the following chapters, the morphosyntactic description of a given category will present possible assimilation forms wherever they are attested;

the first form is always represented in its default shape. If a form is represented with two variant options, the first form represents the unassimilated and the second form the outcome of assimilation. Consequently, if three forms are presented, a three-way alternation is underlying.

SUFFIX	FUNCTION	CLASS I	CLASS IIa	CLASS IIb
<i>-d</i>	LAT.SG	<i>-d</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-t</i>
<i>-r</i>	PX.2SG	<i>-r</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-l</i>
<i>-ra</i>	INCH	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>-la</i>
<i>-go/-gu</i>	DUR	<i>-go/-gu</i>	<i>-ko/-ku</i>	<i>-ko/-ku</i>
<i>-bi</i>	PERF	<i>-bi</i>	<i>-pi</i>	<i>-pi</i>
<i>-raxa</i>	SIM	<i>-r(a)xa</i>	<i>-l(a)xa</i>	<i>-l(a)xa</i>
<i>-du</i> ¹⁷²	PX.GEN.3PL	<i>-du?</i>	<i>-tu?</i>	<i>-tu?</i>
<i>-on</i>	PROL	<i>-on</i>	<i>-mon</i>	<i>-mon</i>
<i>-i?</i>	PX.1SG	<i>-i?</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-m</i>
<i>-r</i>	PX.1SG	<i>-r</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-l</i>
<i>-ubi</i>	HAB	<i>-ubi</i>	<i>-mubi/- (u)mbi</i>	<i>-mubi/- (u)mbi</i>
<i>-(u)nu</i>	AUD	<i>-(u)nu</i>	<i>-m(u)nu</i>	<i>-m(u)nu</i>

Table 3-3: Morphemes undergoing simple assimilation

SUFFIX	FUNCTION	CLASS I	CLASS IIa	CLASS IIb
<i>-xi?</i>	DU	<i>-xi?</i>	<i>-gi?</i>	<i>-ki?</i>
<i>-xVn</i>	LOC.SG	<i>-xVn</i>	<i>-xVn</i>	<i>-kVn</i>
<i>-xVđ</i>	ABL.SG	<i>-xVđ</i>	<i>-gVđ</i>	<i>-kVđ</i>
<i>-đa</i>	FUT	<i>-đa</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-ta</i>
<i>-đa</i>	PTCP.IPF	<i>-đa</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-ta</i>
<i>-đu</i>	BEN	<i>-đu</i>	<i>-du</i>	<i>-tu</i>
<i>-sai</i>	COM	<i>-sai</i>	<i>-đai</i>	<i>-čai</i>
<i>-š</i>	PST	<i>-š</i>	<i>-d'</i>	<i>-č</i>
<i>-š</i>	CON	<i>-š</i>	<i>-d'</i>	<i>-č</i>
<i>-đu</i> ¹⁷³	PX.SG.3PL	<i>-đu?</i>	<i>-du?</i>	<i>-tu?</i>
<i>-xiđ</i>	LAT.PL	<i>-xiđ</i>	<i>-giđ</i>	<i>-kiđ</i>
<i>-xin</i>	LOC.PL	<i>-xin</i>	<i>-gin</i>	<i>-kin</i>
<i>-xit</i>	ABL.PL	<i>-xit</i>	<i>-git</i>	<i>-kit</i>
<i>-sa</i>	IRG	<i>-sa</i>	<i>-đa</i>	<i>-ča</i>

Table 3-4: Morphemes undergoing complex assimilation

172. This extends to all the possessive suffixes with a *-đ* in their onset (both genitive and accusative series).

173. Again, this extends to all the possessive suffixes with a *-đ* in their onset.

3.4 Nouns and their inflectional classes

Although no detailed lexicon count has been undertaken so far, most nouns fall into class I, which can be labeled as default. In contrast to class I, class II is more complex, and the existence of several stems is characteristic.

Nouns are prototypically inflected for case, number and possession. The core case system of Forest Enets consists of the following cases NOM, GEN, ACC, LAT, LOC, and ABL. The category number comprises singular, dual and plural. In possession, Forest Enets treats possession as an inflectional category for NOM, GEN, and ACC as both possessor/possessee and case are fused in a portmanteau morpheme.¹⁷⁴

In the dual paradigm, no synthetic forms of locational cases are known and a postpositional construction is used instead. Its structure is NOUN-_[GEN,DU] PP-CX. Whereas less-fluent speakers tend to produce synthetic dual locational case forms, none of them can be found in narratives. Such forms must therefore be classified as artifacts of elicitation. Although locational dual cases are based on a postpositional construction *nä-* ‘side’, I present these forms in the paradigms as equivalents of synthetic case forms because this postposition is encountered with the dual locational paradigm.¹⁷⁵

3.4.1 Stem distribution in noun inflection

The following table shows the paradigmatic realization of non-possessed nouns for all three inflectional classes. Concerning stem distribution, paradigm cells which rely on different stems are highlighted with bold script. Whereas the different realization of NOM/GEN/ACC in both singular and plural is the most characteristic feature of individual inflection classes, the formation of all dual and locational cases is uniform and the stem as encountered in the nominative singular is used:

CX / NUM	<i>dóxa</i> ‘river’ class I			<i>enči?</i> ‘person’ class IIa			<i>mä?</i> ‘chum’ class IIb		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
NOM	<i>dóxa</i>	<i>dóxaxi?</i>	<i>dóxa?</i>	<i>enči?</i>	<i>enčigi?</i>	<i>enču?</i>	<i>mä?</i>	<i>mäki?</i>	<i>mäd?</i>
GEN	<i>dóxa</i>	<i>dóxaxi?</i>	<i>dóxa?</i>	<i>enči?</i>	<i>enčigi?</i>	<i>enču?</i>	<i>mäd</i>	<i>mäki?</i>	<i>mäd?</i>
ACC	<i>dóxa</i>	<i>dóxaxi?</i>	<i>dóxa?</i>	<i>enči?</i>	<i>enčigi?</i>	<i>enču?</i>	<i>mäd</i>	<i>mäki?</i>	<i>mäd?</i>
LAT	<i>dóxad</i>	<i>dóxaxi? nä?</i>	<i>dóxaxid</i>	<i>enčit</i>	<i>enčigi? nä?</i>	<i>enčigid</i>	<i>mät</i>	<i>mäki? nä?</i>	<i>mäkid</i>
LOC	<i>dóxaxan</i>	<i>dóxaxi? nän</i>	<i>dóxaxin</i>	<i>enčigun</i>	<i>enčigi? nän</i>	<i>enčigin</i>	<i>mäkun</i>	<i>mäki? nän</i>	<i>mäkin</i>
ABL	<i>dóxaxad</i>	<i>dóxaxi? näd</i>	<i>dóxaxit</i>	<i>enčigud</i>	<i>enčigi? näd</i>	<i>enčigit</i>	<i>mäkuđ</i>	<i>mäki? näd</i>	<i>mäkit</i>

Table 3-5: Case inflection for I, IIa and IIb nouns

Below, the principles of ‘morphomics’ for each class will be described separately.

174. This is also the reason why it is still possible to speak of a case system in Forest Enets. While in non-possessive inflection, no overt morphological marking for NOM/GEN/ACC is attested; in possessive inflection a difference between NOM/GEN/ACC is attested. This argumentation will be taken up in detail in chapter 5.

175. Otherwise the postposition *ke-* ‘next to, at the side of x’ is used.

3.4.1.1 Class I

For nouns belonging to class I, stem variation is marginal. For nouns ending in a vowel, no stem alternations are known at all, and only one stem is used. The stem is identical with the form surfacing in nominative singular. Concerning nouns ending in a consonant, a necessary distinction between nouns ending in /k/ and other consonant final nouns must be made. In the case of the latter, epenthetic /u/ insertion is triggered e.g. *Potabud* <Potapovo.LAT.SG> ‘to Potapovo’ (NOM *Potab*). In the case of nouns ending in *-k* e.g. *bunik* ‘dog’ a second stem in *bunki-* is used for possessive declension. In fact, nouns ending in *-k* could be considered a subgroup of I, but it is very small. Its central members *bunik* ‘dog’, *tobik* ‘mouse’ and *sanik* ‘little seagull’ are lexicalized diminutives and form a marginal class of their own.¹⁷⁶

<i>d'oxa</i> ‘river’			
CX/NUM	SG	DU	PL
NOM	<i>d'oxa</i>	<i>d'oxaxi?</i>	<i>d'oxa?</i>
GEN	<i>d'oxa</i>	<i>d'oxaxi?</i>	<i>d'oxa?</i>
ACC	<i>d'oxa</i>	<i>d'oxaxi?</i>	<i>d'oxa?</i>
LAT	<i>d'oxad</i>	<i>d'oxaxi? nã?</i>	<i>d'oxaxiđ</i>
LOC	<i>d'oxaxan</i>	<i>d'oxaxi? nãn</i>	<i>d'oxaxin</i>
ABL	<i>d'oxaxuđ</i>	<i>d'oxaxi? nãđ</i>	<i>d'oxaxit</i>

Table 3-6: Inflection of class I noun *d'oxa* ‘river’

3.4.1.2 Class II nouns

Class II includes nouns that end in a glottal stop. In contrast to nouns of class I, glottal stop nouns have two different stems which are not evenly distributed within the paradigm. As already mentioned above, the locative singular can be regarded as a diagnostic cell for determining whether a noun belongs to class IIa or IIb.

In contrast to class I, class II is a closed class with a very small number of tokens.

3.4.1.2.1 Class IIa

Class IIa is clearly the more problematic of both glottal stop classes as for many nouns the glottal stop cannot be perceived acoustically any longer. Whereas one might ask if such nouns should not be classified as class I nouns, the answer for postulating class IIa lies in morphonology. Although the glottal stop in *enči?* ‘person’ is no longer pronounced, and one virtually hears only *enči*, assimilation clearly shows that it is a class IIa lexeme.¹⁷⁷

176. All nouns in this subclass once ended with the regular diminutive marker *-ku*, yet the loss of the final vowel has resulted in lexicalization, and these nouns are no longer understood as diminutives by current speakers. Whereas Tereščenko still registered *bu?* ‘dog’ (Tereščenko 1966: 444), this lexeme has become obsolete and only the historical diminutive form *bunik* is used nowadays.

177. The glottal stop of IIa stems is generally barely audible. Glottal stops of IIb lexemes are usually well perceivable.

<i>enči?</i> ‘person, man’			
CX/NUM	SG	DU	PL
NOM	<i>enči?</i>	<i>enčigi?</i>	<i>enču?</i>
GEN	<i>enči?</i>	<i>enčigi?</i>	<i>enču?</i>
ACC	<i>enči?</i>	<i>enčigi?</i>	<i>enču?</i>
LAT	<i>enčit</i>	<i>enčigi? nä?</i>	<i>enčigid</i>
LOC	<i>enčigun</i>	<i>enčigi? nän</i>	<i>enčigin</i>
ABL	<i>enčigud</i>	<i>enčigi? näđ</i>	<i>enčigit</i>

Table 3-7: Inflection of class IIa noun *enči?* ‘person, man’

Nouns belonging to class IIa have two stems. Stem₂ *enču-* is reserved for the plural stems of NOM, GEN, and ACC to which the plural marker *-?* attaches. Otherwise, stem₁ *enči?* is used elsewhere in the paradigm. Concerning the plural cases of IIa nouns, stem-vowel changes such as *enči?* ~ *enču?* are not characteristic. Instead, the existence of a different stem for grammatical plural cases is the central morphological property of IIa (and as a matter of fact also of IIb) nouns, e.g. *ti?* ‘sinew, twine, thread’ → NOM/GEN/ACC.PL *tin?*.¹⁷⁸ Other nouns belonging to class IIa are:

- (17) *ni?* ‘name’, *noxi?* ‘dirt’, *päči?* ‘oven’, *đu?* ‘fat’, *tu?* ‘inner fat of organs’, *ko?* ‘pus’, *šu?* ‘navel’, *ni?* ‘stock (of a knife)’, *ni?* ‘cartilage’, *to?* ‘hair of animal’, *sä?* ‘face’, *tuči?* ‘little bag for women, e.g. for needles’

The lexeme *keđar* ‘wild reindeer’ is notoriously complicated, and it seems that this lexeme is related to IIa. Whereas in singular and plural *keđar* behaves regular *keđar* ~ *keđar?*, the dual is not as expected *keđarxi?* but *keđagi?*¹⁷⁹, which would require a stem **keđa?* which currently is not attested. As I have no example for *keđar* with locational cases available, further research is needed.

3.4.1.2.2 Class IIb

Nouns belonging to class IIb usually end in a well perceivable glottal stop when uttered in isolation.

<i>mä?</i> ‘chum’			
CX/NUM	SG	DU	PL
NOM	<i>mä?</i>	<i>mäki?</i>	<i>mäd?</i>
GEN	<i>mäd</i>	<i>mäki?</i>	<i>mäd?</i>
ACC	<i>mäd</i>	<i>mäki?</i>	<i>mäd?</i>
LAT	<i>mät</i>	<i>mäki? nä?</i>	<i>mäkiđ</i>
LOC	<i>mäkun</i>	<i>mäki? nän</i>	<i>mäkin</i>
ABL	<i>mäkuđ</i>	<i>mäki? näđ</i>	<i>mäkit</i>

Table 3-8: Inflection of class IIb *mä?* ‘chum’

178. Occasionally, yet only during elicitation *tino?* was also registered.

179. NNB repeatedly offered *keđarxi(?)* in elicitation, apparently following *barxi(?)* ‘two shores’.

In contrast to IIa, nouns of class IIb show a different stem distribution. Stem₂ *mäd* is restricted to GEN.SG and ACC.SG as well as the plural cases NOM/GEN/ACC.PL which is based on the singular GEN stem plus the plural marker *-ʔ*. In all other cells within the paradigm, *mäʔ* serves as the primary stem for locational cases and dual.

The following nouns belong to class IIb: *biʔ* ‘water’ [GEN *biđ*] *boʔ* ‘half’ [GEN *bođ*] *uʔ* ‘track of an animal’ [GEN *uđ*].

3.4.1.2.3 Unclassified nouns ending in a glottal stop

Contrary to earlier research where a handful of nouns could still be classified as belonging to either class IIa or IIb, some nouns can no longer be assigned to any of the two class II sub-classes today. Prominent members of this class are the numerals *näxuʔ* ‘three’, *motuʔ* ‘six’ and *biuʔ* ‘ten’ which were classified as belonging to class IIb by Tereščenko. In contemporary Forest Enets, glottal stops for ‘three’ and ‘six’ were no longer registered by me and for ‘ten’ realization varied quite considerably. Whereas all three lexemes undergo assimilation with the limitative marker *-ru*, this particular morpheme triggers only simple assimilation to *-lu* with glottal stop stems and nothing more can be said. For *biuʔ* ‘ten’, numerals from 11 to 19 which are clausal, show assimilation typical of IIb stems as ‘ten’ surfaces in the ablative:

- (18) *bi-kuđ* *ŋolu* *bođad*
 ten-ABL.SG one be.more.3SG
 ‘From ten one is more = 11’

3.5 Possessive nominal inflection

Apart from non-possessive inflection, nouns can be inflected possessively via PX which express possessor, possessee and in several instances also case. As the morphosyntax of this category will be described in detail in chapter 5, only a superficial account will be given here.

Although number of possessee, either singular (unmarked), dual *-xu*, or plural *-i*¹⁸⁰ precedes the possessive suffix, the interpretation favored here is based on a portmanteau analysis because non-singular possessee cannot be derived from the singular paradigm. For the nominative case, the system looks as follows:

- (19) a. *kodu-iʔ* b. *kodu-xuñ* c. *kodu-ñ*
 sled-PX.1SG sled-PX.DU.1SG sled-PX.PL.1SG
 ‘my one sled’ ‘my two sleds’ ‘my (more than two) sleds’

As PX fuses with case, a distinctive set of PX is used for NOM/GEN/ACC. Their paradigmatic realization is presented in the following section.

180. As /i/ as part of complex morphemes is assimilated before /u/, the underlying plural marker remains unexpressed.

3.5.1 PX nominative series

The following table shows PX of the nominative series:

POSSESSOR	SG _{POSSESSEE}	DU _{POSSESSEE}	PL _{POSSESSEE}
1SG	-iʔ	-xuń	-iń
2SG	-r	-xud	-id
3SG	-da	-xuda	-ida
1DU	-iʔ	-xuńʔ	-ińʔ
2DU	-riʔ	-xudíʔ	-idíʔ
3DU	-diʔ	-xudíʔ	-idíʔ
1PL	-Vʔ / -baʔ	-xunaʔ	-inaʔ
2PL	-raʔ	-xudaʔ	-idaʔ
3PL	-duʔ	-xuduʔ	-iduʔ

Table 3-9: PX nominative series (class I nouns)

3.5.2 PX genitive series

The following table shows PX of the genitive series:

POSSESSOR	SG _{POSSESSEE}	DU _{POSSESSEE}	PL _{POSSESSEE}
1SG	-ń	-xuń	-iń
2SG	-d	-xud	-id
3SG	-da	-xuda	-idaʔ
1DU	-ńʔ	-xuńʔ	-ińʔ
2DU	-diʔ	-xudíʔ	-idíʔ
3DU	-diʔ	-xudíʔ	-idíʔ
1PL	-naʔ	-xunaʔ	-inaʔ
2PL	-daʔ	-xudaʔ	-idaʔ
3PL	-duʔ	-xuduʔ	-iduʔ

Table 3-10: PX genitive series (class I nouns)

3.5.3 PX accusative series

The following table shows PX of the accusative series:

POSSESSOR	SG _{POSSESSEE}	DU _{POSSESSEE}	PL _{POSSESSEE}
1SG	-iʔ	-xuń	-ińʔ
2SG	-d	-xud	-id
3SG	-da	-xuda	-ida
1DU	-iʔ	-xuńʔ	-ińʔ
2DU	-diʔ	-xudíʔ	-idíʔ
3DU	-diʔ	-xudíʔ	-idíʔ
1PL	-VVʔ / -baʔ	-xunaʔ	-inaʔ
2PL	-da	-xudaʔ	-idaʔ
3PL	-duʔ	-xuduʔ	-iduʔ

Table 3-11: PX accusative series (class I nouns)

3.5.4 PX allomorphy in 1st person NOM and ACC

Whereas the distribution of PX.1SG (both NOM/ACC) *-iʔ* and *-m* results from allomorphy conditioned by a glottal stop, e.g. class I *teiʔ* ‘my reindeer’, class IIa *enčim* ‘my person, my man’ or IIb *bim* ‘my water’, another less frequent PX.1SG marker *-b* is attested. In contemporary Forest Enets, *-b* is another allomorph of *-iʔ* which is triggered by phonotactics: in nouns ending in a long vowel, a diphthong or *-ji*, the possessive suffix *-iʔ* is realized as *-b* (occasionally also *-bʔ*), e.g. *nääb* ‘my needle’, *buib* ‘my soup’ or *äsikujib* ‘my dead father’.

3.5.5 PX and stem extension with several kinship terms

Already Tereščenko (1966: 444) reported that several kinship terms show an extra (linking) element *-ni-* or *-di-* with plural possessive suffixes in the nominative. The following examples for PX.PL.1PL were presented:

- (20) a. *ээнина” ~ ээдина”* ‘наши матери’ (‘our mothers’)
 b. *эсэнина’* ‘наши отцы’ (‘our fathers’)
 c. *казанина”* ‘наши бабушки’ (‘our grandmothers’)

This feature was also encountered in the speech of the current generation for the following kinship terms: *ää* ‘mother’, *äsi* ‘father’, *kađa* ‘grandmother, other older female relative’, *didi* ‘grandfather, other older male relative’:

- (21) a. *mudnaʔ* *äsi-ninaʔ* *piri* *nod* *kađa-š*
 1PL father-LINK.PX.PL.1PL always together hunt-CON
dođu-mubi-ʔ
 go_{MUDI}-HAB-3PL
 ‘Our fathers used to go hunting together.’ [NKB I 123]
- b. *modnaʔ* *kađa-ninaʔ* *lođa*¹⁸¹ *bađa*
 1PL grandmother-LINK.PX.PL.1PL Russian word_[ACC]
doxora-č
 not.know-3PL.PST
 ‘Our grandmothers did not know Russian.’ [NKB I 123]
- c. *modnaʔ* *didi-ninaʔ* *mosara-č* *ɲokun*
 1PL grandfather-LINK.PX.PL.1PL work-3PL.PST together
 ‘Our grandfathers worked together.’ [NKB I 123]

181. This representation of *lođa* instead of *rođa* ‘Russian’ is also unusual. Infrequently NKB used Tundra Nenets *luca* for Russian; this form is somehow a contaminated Nenets-Enets form.

This linking morpheme is preserved with other PX/CX combinations:

- (22) a. *modna?* *äsi-nina?* *no?* *kañe-ba-č*
 1PL father-LINK-PX.GEN.PL.1PL with go-1PL-PST
 ‘We went with our fathers.’ [ZNB V 1]
- b. *äänina? no?* <mother-LINK-PX.GEN.PL.1PL with> ‘with our mothers’
- c. *kađanina? no?* <grandmother-LINK-PX.GEN.PL.1PL with> ‘with our grandfathers’

Further, also *aba* ‘older sister, older female relative of one’s mother’ behaves unusually with PX.PL.1PL. Although one would expect /a/ deletion before this compound morpheme with /i/, no alternations occur:¹⁸²

- (23) *mudna?* *aba-ina?* *Dudinka-xan* *mosra-?*
 1PL older.sister-PX.PL.1SG Dudinka-LOC.SG work-3PL
 ‘Our older sisters are working in Dudinka.’ [NKB I 124]

3.5.6 PX and CX – overlapping and plural neutralization

A close look at the three constellations for PX/CX in NOM, GEN and ACC reveals several instances of overlapping and neutralization:

1. In singular, the PX genitive and accusative are homonymic for non-first person context. In this respect, word order is needed for additional support.
2. In non-singular context, both nominative and accusative PX are homonymic, and no formal difference can be made. Again, word order is needed for additional support.

3.5.7 PX and non-core grammatical cases

Also, locational cases can be inflected in the possessive conjugation. For this, the regular CX are followed by PX of the genitive series. Note that the locational case system has no synthetic forms for dual, which relies on postpositional constructions and only singular and plural forms are attested.

The lative case behaves irregularly concerning PX addition. When used possessively, the lative is realized by a special allomorph in *-xu-* which can further undergo two-way assimilation if necessary.

182. Although ERRE (12) shows a long vowel *aōaa*, I registered *aba* throughout my fieldwork.

- (24) a. *Potabu-d*
Potapovo-LAT.SG
'to Potapovo'
- b. *odu-xu-ń*
boat-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG
'to my boat'
- c. *odu-x-iń*
boat-LAT.PL_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG
'to my boats'¹⁸³

3.6 Verbs and their inflectional classes

Also for verbs, three classes I, IIa, and IIb can be postulated. Although similar assimilation processes are characteristic of both nouns and verbs, the evolution of glottal stops in verb stems is no longer historically opaque and will not be discussed in the same detail as above.¹⁸⁴

In contrast to nouns, there seem to be no verbs which end in consonants other than the glottal stop. Otherwise, the same I, IIa and IIb distinction can be postulated: In comparison with noun inflection, verb inflection is more complex. Further, the distribution of stems is not undisputedly clear at the moment. Therefore, the following short overview of verb morphology should be understood as an initial classification, which awaits more detailed research in the future.

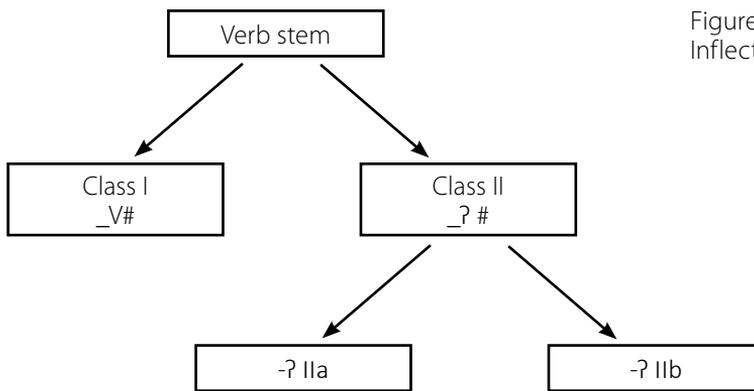


Figure 3-3:
Inflectional classes for verbs

183. Instead of the expected /i/ deletion rule, the suffix vowel is deleted. This rule seems to be restricted to the possessive lative only.

184. “Die Untersuchung der enzischen Glottisverschlußlaute kann am zweckmäßigsten ausgehend von den Nominalstämmen vorgenommen werden, weil sekundäre analoge Veränderungen die ursprünglichen Verhältnisse in den Verbalstämmen verschleiern haben.” (Mikola 1996: 93.) Juha Janhunen (p.c.) has pointed to a diachronic inconsistency in the approach chosen here. Verbs belonging to the IIa group have no diachronic reality because they are not the result of any process related to the glottal stop. Whereas this is historically correct, the overall behavior of IIa verbs resemble that of glottal stop stems, apparently due to analogy. Analogical assimilation patterns in IIa verbs behave as if the verb would show a glottal stop stem; but indeed only verbs belonging to class IIb are historically glottal stop stems.

For reasons of simplicity, the following paradigms do not present all inflectional realizations; this will be postponed until chapter 7. As a Northern Samoyedic language, Forest Enets verbs are conjugated in three conjugations whose function will be discussed in chapter 7.1. For the sake of the description of morphological principles, all verbs shown here are presented in conjugation I.

3.6.1 Class I

Although no detailed quantitative study has been made, verbs belonging to class I are most numerous. Concerning stem distribution, the whole paradigm can be derived from any form as only one stem is used. The following paradigm (conjugation I) as well as other forms shows the realization of Class I verbs:

<i>nä-</i> stem of ‘stand’			
PERSON/NUMBER	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>nädʔ</i>	<i>näbʔ</i>	<i>näbaʔ</i>
2P	<i>näd</i>	<i>näriʔ</i>	<i>näraʔ</i>
3P	<i>nä</i>	<i>näxiʔ</i>	<i>näʔ</i>

Table 3-12: Class I verbs in conjugation I

PTCP.IPF	<i>näda</i>	PTCP.PFT	<i>näiʔ</i>	CN	<i>näʔ</i>
IMP.2SG	<i>näʔ</i>	IMP.2PL	<i>näraʔ</i>	HORT.1PL	<i>näxooʔ</i>
IMP.3SG	<i>näb</i>	CON	<i>näš</i>		

A general problem of allomorphy is characteristic for both vx.1DU and vx.1PL. For 1DU an alternative *-iʔ/-jʔ* and 1PL a lengthened vowel *-vvʔ* are attested. At the moment, no morphological rule predicting either vx has shown satisfying results, yet a certain correlation is nevertheless visible. When vx.1DU is realized as *-bʔ*, vx.1PL, too, is realized as *-baʔ*, and consequently when vx.1DU is realized as *-iʔ/-jʔ*, then vx.1PL is realized as *-vvʔ*.¹⁸⁵

3.6.2 Class II

Verbs belonging to inflection class II are morphologically more complex as several stems are used.

185. Occasionally, verbs belonging to class I show an additional vowel before the verbal endings, e.g. *toa* ~ *to* ‘he comes’, *diriä-dʔ* ~ *diri-dʔ* ‘I am living’ or *totagoa* ‘he is reading’. This vowel, once a while also realized reduced, is restricted to the aorist as in the perfect it is absent e.g. *tobi* ‘he has come’ not **toabi* ‘he has come’. It is quite likely that this vowel is a reflex of the historical aorist marker, but there is extensive variation and this vowel does not appear regularly. I have decided not to gloss it separately, but it is not normalized and preserved where it appears.

3.6.2.1 Class IIa

Verbs falling into inflectional class IIa belong to a historically uniform group. The stem-final consonant *-r* historically a reflex of a frequentative marker surfaces only in two forms (see also 7.3.3). In other forms, no traces of *-r* can be found and alternations at the morpheme boundary similar to assimilations typical for glottal stops appear. Based on this behavior, class IIa verbs are classified as glottal stop stems, even though historical evidence is not supportive. Concerning stem distribution, class IIa verbs have three different stems; stem₁ ending in a glottal stop is used in a variety of less-finite or non-finite verbal forms such as singular imperative, participles and converbs. Stem₂ is expanded with a stem extensional element *-ŋa-* and serves as the stem for all finite forms and a handful of less-finite forms.¹⁸⁶ Finally, stem₃ in which the historical frequentative marker *-r* returns¹⁸⁷ appears in both IMP.2SG and CN.

<i>d'ori?</i> - stem of 'speak, tell'			
PERSON/NUMBER	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>d'oriŋaɖ?</i>	<i>d'oriŋai?</i>	<i>d'oriŋaba?</i>
2P	<i>d'oriŋad</i>	<i>d'oriŋari?</i>	<i>d'oriŋara?</i>
3P	<i>d'oriŋa</i>	<i>d'oriŋaxi?</i>	<i>d'oriŋa?</i>

Table 3-13: Class IIa verb in conjugation I

PTCP.IPF	<i>d'orida</i>	PTCP.PFT	<i>d'orimi?</i>	CN	<i>d'orir(?)</i> ¹⁸⁸
IMP.2SG	<i>d'orir(?)</i>	IMP.2PL	<i>d'oriŋara?</i>	HORT.PL	<i>d'origoo?</i>
IMP.3SG	<i>d'oriŋai</i>	INF.CON	<i>d'orid'</i> ¹⁸⁹		

Some evidence for a sub-class in IIa is currently at hand. A very small set of verbs shows an infinitival converb in *-d'* typical for class IIa. However, all verbs lack the typical stem extension in *-ŋa-* and instead *-m-* appears such as e.g. *oɖid'* 'appear' → *oɖima* 'he appeared, he came out' or *od'* 'eat' → *oma* 'he ate it up'. In other forms, assimilation around the morpheme boundary occurs, all of them again typical for class IIa. Although they are currently subsumed in this class, this topic is not yet fully settled.

186. *-ŋa* is the reflex of the historical aorist marker (e.g. Mikola 2004); however, synchronically it does not fulfill this function any longer. From a synchronic perspective *-ŋa* should be best classified as a frequentative marker (7.3.2), but this interpretation is not without shortcomings.

187. No obvious synchronic function can be attached.

188. Whether *-r* in both imperative and connegative are indeed followed by a further glottal stop is unclear as much variation is registered.

189. The infinitival converb of IIa verbs should end in *-d'* (←*š+ʔ*) but much variation is attested and frequently only *-č* can be registered which is the marker for class IIb verbs. The same confusion goes throughout ERRE. Although the infinitival converb marker *-š* when fusing with a stem-final glottal stop should be diagnostic for assigning verbs to either class IIa {*ʔ + š* → *d'*} or IIb {*ʔ+š* → *č*} it is no longer.

3.6.2.2 Class IIb

In comparison to class IIa, class IIb contains verbs with an etymological glottal stop; in absolute terms, verbs belonging to class IIb are outnumbered by verbs belonging to class IIa. A further complicating factor for IIb is the fact that verbs belonging to this group show a glottal stop in intervocalic position which is easily omitted. For several verbs, IIb membership can only be traced by the typical morphonological assimilations. Concerning stem distribution, three stems are attested; only stem₁ has an intervocalic glottal stop before vx are attached.¹⁹⁰ Stem₂ ends in the glottal stop to which derivational morphology attaches and consequently assimilations around the morpheme border occur. In stem₃ /s/ appears instead of the glottal stop.

<i>miʔ-</i> stem of 'give'			
PERSON/NUMBER	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>miʔädʔ</i>	<i>miʔäiʔ / miʔäbʔ</i>	<i>miʔääʔ</i>
2P	<i>miʔäd</i>	<i>miʔäriʔ</i>	<i>miʔäraʔ</i>
3P	<i>miʔä</i>	<i>miʔäxiʔ</i>	<i>miʔäʔ</i>

Table 3-14: Class IIb verb in conjugation I

PTCP.IPF	<i>mita</i>	PTCP.PFT	<i>miʔäiʔ</i>	CN	<i>mis(?)</i>
IMP.2SG	<i>mis(?)</i>	IMP.2PL	<i>miʔäriʔ</i>	HORT.1PL	<i>mikooʔ</i>
IMP.3SG	<i>n.a.</i>	CON	<i>mič</i>		

3.6.3 Regularity and irregularity in the verbal paradigm

Irregularity in the verbal paradigm of Forest Enets is restricted. Whether this is indeed a conservatism or the outcome of imposed analogy (by language change or beginning language attrition) remains impossible to answer as no detailed study of verb morphemics reflecting older stages of Forest Enets are available. Much of the system as described above was registered by Sorokina (1975a) which partly reflects the language of one or two generations ago. The major difference between Sorokina's approach and the present study lies in the number of stems. Sorokina operated with only two stems instead of three stems for class II verbs.

A variety of minor stem modifications are reported by Castrén (1854: 495–501); as his description concentrated on Tundra Enets more than a century ago, this reflects a different variety of Enets and no attempts of comparison will be made.

190. This stem type could eventually be explained by a simple morphonological rule because due to phonotactics a stem-final glottal stop cannot be followed by non-syllabic vx, and an epenthetic vowel must be inserted. The quality of such an epenthetic vowel varies and apart from default /u/, other vowels appear here too (here /ä/ e.g. *miʔä-*). The quality of epenthetic vowels for IIb stems is not finally settled and calls for further research. Also here the vowel under discussion is historically related to the assumed old aorist marker.

3.6.3.1 Irregular verbs

Three irregular verbs are attested in Forest Enets. The first one is *mad'* 'say, tell', which has several irregular stems. For aorist and past tense, a stem in *mana-* is used to which several mood markers and *v_X* are added. The stem that is used for the future tense is not as would be expected **manaḍa-* but *mata-* (from **maḥ* + FUT *-ḍa*) to which *v_X* are added. Especially with regard to the future tense stem, *mad'* behaves as a glottal stop stem which is reflected also in its infinitival converb marker *-d'*. Also, the imperative form (conjugation I) which is identical to the connegative stem is slightly irregular as instead of *manaḥ* a truncated form *manḥ* is used. The same truncation rule can be found with *kaniš* 'go' whose IMP.2SG form (conjugation I) resp. connegative form is *kanḥ* ~ *kanḥ*. The future form is also slightly irregular *kanita* 'he will go'.

The third irregular verb is *eš* 'be'. First, the infinitival converb *eš* cannot be realized in the aorist but only either with past or future tense reference. For past tense reference the stem *e-* must be followed by temporal/aspectual morphemes e.g. *ebi* 'he has been_{PFT}' *eubi* 'he usually was_{HAB}'. Surprisingly, the stem for future tense reference is pronounced as *ä-* such as *äḍa* 'he will be' (*-ḍa* being the regular future tense morpheme) and will be represented in this form throughout this monograph.

3.6.3.2 Defective verbs

Verbs that do not have a full paradigm but otherwise behave both morphologically and morphosyntactically regularly are classified as defective verbs. For reasons of classification, a further subdivision into verbs that are restricted to third person contexts and verbs without a particular inflectional realization in a certain cell of their paradigm is necessary.

3.6.3.2.1 Verbs restricted to 3P contexts

At least four verbs that can only be used in 3P context are registered (all forms represented by their stems): *tonä-* 'exist' *dāgu-* 'not exist',¹⁹¹ *dē-* 'hurt' and *tara-* 'must, is necessary'. Whereas for *tonä-*, *dāgu-* and *dē-*, agreement in number is possible (SG, DU, PL) forms in non-3P context are blocked. For *tara-* no examples for agreement in dual and plural are currently registered. Further, as *tonä-* and *dāgu-* are polarity antonyms, verb negation cannot apply (see further 7.6. and 7.7.). In contrast to them, *dē-* and *tara-* can be negated. Otherwise, temporal or modal modification of these verbs is possible.

191. In the meaning of 'perish, die' *dāgu-* can be used in other persons, too, but as this meaning is a semantic extension of 'not exist', I prefer to classify this verb as a different lexical entry. A similar conversion is possible for *tara-* but also here, the personalized use *mud' tarad?* <1SG must.1SG> 'I am needed' results in different lexical entry.

3.6.3.3 Verbs with individual gaps in their paradigm

A set of verbs are defective in the sense that certain cells within their paradigms are blocked by semantic reasons (see 7.7). The first group of verbs (all represented as bare stems) consists of inherently negative verbs such as *d'oxora-* 'not know, not being able', *d'ekar-* 'not know', and *lođe-* 'not being able', which have fully productive paradigms with the exception of negation. When negating *d'oxora-* 'not-knowing', the affirmative verb *tāni-* 'know' must be used.¹⁹² When negating *lođe-*, also *tāni-* 'know, be able' has to be used.

Other defective verbs are the negative auxiliary verbs *i-*, *ni-*, *buñi-*, and *kiči-* which lack e.g. infinitival converbs; the negative auxiliaries will be described in detail in the chapter on negation (7.6).

3.7 Morpheme ordering principles

As already noted in the beginning, Forest Enets is an exclusively suffixing and agglutinative language. Morpheme-ordering principles are rigid and fixed.

3.7.1 Nouns

For reasons of clarity, ordering principles will be split up in several paradigms; elements in brackets [] are optional

GRAMMATICAL CASES (NOM, GEN, ACC)		
NON-POSSESSED:	POSSESSIVE:	PREDICATIVE (NOM ONLY):
ROOT-[DERIVATION]-[_{CX}]	ROOT-[DERIVATION]-CX.PX	a) ROOT-[DERIVATION]-PX b) ROOT-[DERIVATION]-PX-PST
NOM.SG <i>kodu</i> 'sled' GEN.SG <i>kodu min</i> <sled _[GEN] in.loc> 'on the sled'	<i>koru-i?</i> a) knife-PX.1SG b) knife-PX.ACC.1SG	a) <i>äsi-d?</i> <father-1SG> 'I am a father.' b) <i>ibleigu-d-uš</i> <little-2SG-PST> 'You were young.'

OTHER CASES (LAT, LOC, ABL, PROL)	
NON-POSSESSED:	POSSESSIVE:
ROOT-[DERIVATION]-CX.NUMBER	ROOT-[DERIVATION]-CX.NUMBER-PX _{GEN}
<i>to-xun</i> <lake-LOC.SG> 'in the lake' <i>to-xin</i> <lake-LOC.PL> 'in the lakes'	<i>odu-xun-da</i> <boat-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.1SG> 'in his boat' <i>odu-xin-da</i> <boat-LOC.PL-PX.GEN.1SG> 'in his boats'

Table 3-15: Morpheme-ordering principles of nouns

192. In contrast, *tāni-* 'know' can be negated regularly, but *d'oxora-* is more frequent.

3.7.2 Verbs

A detailed study of Forest Enets verb morphology was carried out by Sorokina (1975a, 1977) and against the data collected for this thesis, no substantial revision of her results is currently needed. The following chart reflecting the maximal morphological projection is adopted from Sorokina (1977). The only modification concerns Sorokina's interpretation of circumfixes which is not followed here; past tense and distant past are analyzed as being compositional. Note that not all positions have to be or can be filled.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
STEM	word formation suffixes	Transitivity / Causative	Causative	Aspect	Voice	Tense and Mood	Conjugation type	vx and number	Tense / conjugation type
	Optional			Optional		Discont.			Discont.
					Compulsory				Compulsory

Table 3-16: Morpheme-ordering principles of verbs

3.8 *-nuju* derivation and morphonology

Finally, the derivational suffix *-nuju* (adverbializer) must be mentioned separately because it differs morphonologically from all other derivational suffixes. Whereas inflectional and derivational morphology is usually added to a stem either directly or with the help of linking vowels or linking morphemes, this is not the case for *-nuju* which triggers vowel deletion instead. The following examples show this behavior:

- (25) a. *kiuđu* 'morning' → *kiuđnuju* 'in the morning'
- b. *nara* 'spring' → *narnuju* 'in spring'
- c. *otuđe* 'fall' → *otuđnuju* 'in fall'
- d. *sira* 'winter' → *sirnuju* 'in winter'

Due to wordhood constraints, a phonological word in Forest Enets must contain a vowel. Monosyllabic words such as *to* 'summer' cannot undergo this rule, and the expected *tonuju* 'in the summer' is attested. All other polysyllabic lexemes which end in a vowel are subject to this truncation rule.

4. Parts of speech

4.1 An inventory of parts of speech

Whereas parts of speech in Forest Enets fall under labels such as adjective, noun and verb, one should bear in mind that these labels are language-specific. The following major parts of speech can be recognized:

1. Nominals:
 - a) nouns
 - b) adjectives
 - c) pronouns
 - d) numerals
 - e) demonstratives
 - f) postpositions
 - g) inflectable adverbs (manner and temporal adverbs)
 - h) participles and converbs
2. Verbs
3. Adverbs (remaining)
4. Interjections and particles
5. Clitics

PoS have not been subject to a detailed analysis in previous research. Sorokina's two attempts (2010a, 2010b: 47–51) are at best impressionistic thoughts about major categories and transcategorical derivation. Neither of these attempts presents a clear-cut description.

4.2 Criteria for distinguishing parts of speech

Parts of speech in Forest Enets can be identified to a very large degree by morphological means. Concerning adjectives, several syntactic criteria have to be taken into consideration, which will be shown in detail below. A small set of adverbs as well as interjections and particles resist morphological classification as they show no morphology.¹⁹³

The major subdivision into nouns and verbs relying on morphological principles is unproblematic; a small set of morphemes is sufficient for assigning a given string of sounds to one of the two word classes. For verbs, negation by negative auxiliaries and the connegative form of the negated main verb unambiguously classify a predicate as

193. The central role of morphology for the identification of PoS in Tundra Nenets was shown by Salminen (1993). A comparative study of PoS in Samoyedic with historical comments by Tereščenko (Tereščenko 1968), but not included in Salminen's study, had come to a similar conclusion already more than two decades earlier: "В современных самодийских языках глагол является морфологическим антиподом существительного." (Tereščenko 1968: 293).

verb.¹⁹⁴ If a category is negated by different means, the negated category is not a verb.¹⁹⁵ This categorization will be presented here in a simplified manner; a thorough discussion can be found in chapter 7.6.

Negation is best described as a constructive morphology, as it consists of a finite negative auxiliary and the negated lexical verb which transfers inflectional morphology to the negative auxiliary. The latter hosts polarity, mood and person, and with some restrictions also tense. The negated main verb is realized in a form called connegative, which is homonymous with the stem used for 2SG intransitive imperatives.

- (1) a. *mud'* *kañi-đ-ud'*
 1SG go-1SG
 'I went.'
- b. *mud'* *ñi-đ-ud'* *kañ-ʔ*
 1SG NEG.AUX-1SG-PST go-CN
 'I have not gone.'
- c. *täda* *kañ-ʔ*
 now go-IMP.2SG
 'Now go!'

Two types of negation can be found for nominal categories. In denominal predicate clauses, the clause is dependent on the negative copula clause and serves as a complement. For this, the negative auxiliary *ñi* inflected for person and the connegative form of the locational copula *ŋa-ʔ* have to be used (see also 9.4):

- (2) a. *mud'* *đuraku-đ* *ñi-đ* *ŋa-ʔ* *mud'* *onai* *enči-đʔ*
 1SG Nenets-1SG NEG.AUX-1SG be_{Loc}-CN 1SG real person-1SG
 'I am not a Nenets, I am an Enets.' (Lit. 'I am a Nenets, I am not. I am an Enets')
 [ZNB IV 62]
- b. *koru* *poju* *ñi* *ŋa-ʔ*
 knife sharp.3SG NEG.AUX.3SG be_{Loc}-CN
 'The knife is not sharp.' (Lit. 'the knife is sharp, it is not') [ZNB I 32]

Converbs occupy an intermediate position between nominals and verbs. Converbs are non-finite but can take arguments, such as verbs. In negation, a negative auxiliary is used and the expected connegative form of the lexical verb also appears. Still, the nominal character is preserved as the actor is indexed on the negative auxiliary via a possessive suffix and not by a regular verbal ending:

194. The only exception is a small class of negative verbs to be discussed in 7.7, which lack negation. This class of verbs is not, however, a counterexample but behaves neutrally in this respect.

195. Although in principle, the existence of specialized vx would be an equally good starting point for the characterization of verbs, the existence of several sets of verbal suffixes would result in a very complicated list.

- (3) *i-bu-ń* *to-ʔ* *ŋolu-uš* *kań-ʔ*
 NEG.AUX-CON-PX.GEN.1SG come-CN one-TRSL go-IMP.2SG
 ‘If I won’t come, go alone!’

- (1) a. *mud’* *kańi-ď-ud’*
 1SG go-1SG
 ‘I went.’

When it comes to nominals, inflectional morphology cannot serve as the diagnostic means for categorization, as inflection is only attested with nouns and pronouns. On the other hand, derivational morphology, such as the limitative *-ru/-lu* ‘only X’ which can be attached to almost any nominal category, but not to verbs, shows that a token under investigation is a member of the nominal class:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(4) a. <i>kari-ru</i>
 fish-LIM
 ‘only a fish’</p> | <p>d. <i>kursi-ru</i>
 such-LIM
 ‘only such’</p> |
| <p>b. <i>aga-ru</i>
 big-LIM
 ‘only big/only old’</p> | <p>e. <i>čiki-ru-ď</i>
 this-LIM-ABL
 ‘only after this’</p> |
| <p>c. <i>šidi-ru</i>
 two-LIM
 ‘only two’</p> | <p>f. <i>ši-ru-da</i>
 PRO_{ACC}-LIM-PX.ACC.3SG
 ‘only him’¹⁹⁶</p> |

4.3 Open lexical classes

Nouns and verbs are open word classes and can attract new members. Some basic characteristics will be presented in this chapter; for a full account, the relevant chapters 5 and 6 should be consulted.

4.4 Closed lexical classes

Adjectives, pronouns, interrogatives, numerals, and postpositions are closed lexical classes. Furthermore, adjectives and adverbs differ from the other members of the nominal class as these word classes are not homogeneous. The closed word class ‘adjective’ is small, but there are other possibilities for modifying nouns, e.g. participles of stative-

196. The splitting of pronouns and morpheme ordering with the limitative is unusual and will be addressed in more detail in chapter 5.9.1., 5.9.4. and 5.10.11.

intransitive verbs. Again, negation is the best-suited means to investigate the word-class membership of modifiers: when adjectives are negated, the same strategy demonstrated in (2b) is used:

- (2b) *koru* *poju* *ńi* *ŋa-ʔ*
 knife sharp.3SG NEG.AUX.3SG *be*_{LOC-CN}
 ‘The knife is not sharp.’ (Lit. ‘the knife is sharp, it is not’) [ZNB I 32]

If a modifier is not negated in this way, it is consequently not a member of the adjective class.

Adverbs, too, are clearly a closed word class, but morphologically this class is not homogenous either. Manner adverbs are based on adjectives, which are further inflected for prolative case. Other adverbs do not show any overt morphology at all, but are also members of a closed class.

4.5 The nominal class

4.5.1 Nouns

Morphologically, nouns can be marked for number, case, and possession or a combination of all three. Although Forest Enets is a predominantly synthetic agglutinative language, suffixes on nouns need not be readily segmentable from a synchronic perspective. For practical reasons a relatively well-segmentable noun, *auka* ‘pet reindeer’, has been chosen:

- | | | | |
|--------|--|----|---|
| (5) a. | <i>auka</i>
pet.reindeer
‘a/the pet reindeer’ | e. | <i>auka-d</i>
pet.reindeer-LAT.SG
‘to a/the pet reindeer’ |
| b. | <i>auka-xiʔ</i>
pet.reindeer- _[NOM.DU]
‘two pet reindeer’ | f. | <i>auka-xan</i>
pet.reindeer-LOC.SG
‘with a/the pet reindeer’ |
| c. | <i>auka-ʔ</i>
pet.reindeer- _[NOM.PL]
‘(more than two) pet reindeer’ | g. | <i>auka-xin</i>
pet.reindeer-LOC.PL
‘with (more than two) pet reindeer’ |
| d. | <i>auka-iʔ</i>
pet.reindeer-PX.1SG
‘my pet reindeer’ | | |

Nouns are prototypically used as heads in NPs and can be further modified by determiners, numerals, adjectives, or participles (see chapter 6 for more information on NP structure):

- (6) a. *čiki auka*
this pet.reindeer
'this pet reindeer'
- b. *pađir auka*
spotted pet.reindeer
'a/the spotted pet reindeer'
- c. *ŋolu pađir auka*
one spotted pet.reindeer
'one spotted pet reindeer'
- d. *poldi-da bunik*
be.black-PTCP.IPF dog
'a/the black dog'

Prototypically, nouns in Forest Enets are used as arguments of predicates:

- (7) *pađir auka kirba o-ma*
spotted pet.reindeer bread_[ACC] eat-RES.3SG
'A spotted pet reindeer ate bread.'

Apart from their use as arguments of predicates, nouns can also be used predicatively. In predicative position, nouns are marked with vx belonging to conjugation I. Further, such nominal predicates allow the addition of the general past tense:

- (8) a. *mod' onai enči-đ?*
1SG real person-1SG
'I am an Enets.'
- b. *Igarka nă-đ to-i oša-š*
Igarka_[GEN] side-ABL come-PTCP.PFT Evenki-3SG.PST
'He was an Evenki who came from around Igarka.' [LDB Taboo]

Despite the fact that they behave verbally, such predicative nouns cannot be inflected for aspect, mood, evidentiality, and other tenses (apart from the general past tense). These categories are reserved for verbal categories and to a certain degree also for converbs and nominalized verbs. Further, as already shown in example (2a), the type of negation demonstrates that the category is not verbal:¹⁹⁷

- (2) a. *mud' đuraku-đ ni-đ ŋa-ʔ mud' onai enči-đ?*
1SG Nenets-1SG NEG.AUX-1SG be_{LOC}-CN 1SG real person-1SG
'I am not a Nenets, I am an Enets.' [ZNB IV 62]

197. Throughout the history of research on this category in Northern Samoyedic, it has often been misinterpreted as support for the assumption of a missing or weak distinction between nouns and verbs. Salminen (1993, 1997: 91–94) sums up the futility of this approach.

The word class ‘noun’ is an open class and attracts new members. While earlier nouns were mostly borrowed from the predominant neighbor Tundra Nenets, nowadays only Russian nouns are borrowed.

4.5.2 Adjectives

Forest Enets has a small, closed set of adjectives. As adjectives do not attract case morphology, inflectional morphology is not a diagnostic feature for determining word class membership.¹⁹⁸ Further, as attributes, Forest Enets adjectives do not take any inflectional suffixes and agreement with the head is absent:

- (9) a. *aga odu*
big boat
‘a large boat’
- b. *aga odu-xi?*
big boat-_[NOM.DU]
‘two large boats’
- c. *aga odu-?*
big boat-_[NOM.PL]
‘large boats’ (more than two)
- d. *aga moga-xun*
big forest-LOC.SG
‘in the large forest’
- e. *aga moga-xud*
big forest-ABL.SG
‘from/out of the big forest’

As several nominal derivational suffixes can also attach to adjectives, e.g. *aga-ru* <big-LIM> ‘only the large’, their membership in the nominal class is indisputable. However, only the introduction of several syntactic criteria can unanimously assign a nominal to the PoS adjective. First, adjectives cannot be used as arguments and must therefore accompany nouns as attributes. Registered exceptions are adjectives that are marked by PX, which substitute a noun due to pragmatic considerations. The following shows a prototypical example for conversion of an adjective via PX:

- (10) a. ? *aga to*
big come.3SG
‘The old one came.’
- b. *aga enči? to*
big man come.3SG
‘The old man came.’
- c. *ibleigu-r aga kasa-da sakra*
little-PX.2SG [big man]-PX.ACC.3SG bite.3SG
‘Your little one bit the older boy (and not your older son).’ [ZNB IV 54]

198. Obvious exceptions are adjectives inflected for prolativ case, which then serve as manner adverbs.

Further, adjectives marked by the topicalizer *-ju* can occur without a head noun:

- (11) a. *čiki aga-ju*
 this big-TOP
 ‘The big one’ (Lit. ‘the big(ger) of the two’) [NKB Prisoners]
- b. *naaku-ju siléig bunik naaku-ju polđi-ŋa*
 other-TOP white dog other-TOP black-FREQ.3SG
 ‘One dog is white (Lit. the other white dog), the other one is black.’ [LDB II 27]

Second, adjectives differ from nouns in that they cannot serve as the complement of postpositional phrases:

- (12) a. *soiđa kodu ní-n*
 good sled_[GEN] on-LOC
 ‘on the good sled’
- b. **soiđa ní-n*
 good on-LOC
 ‘on the good one’

Further, only adjectives can be modified by the adverb *ŋul’* ‘very’:

- (13) a. *ŋul’ soiđa enči*
 very good man
 ‘a very good man, person’
- b. **ŋul’ enči*

4.5.3 Pronouns

Pronouns (5.10) form a closed class. Personal pronouns distinguish person (1P, 2P, and 3P) and number (singular, dual and plural). A clusivity distinction is unknown. Personal pronouns distinguish case, but the system deviates from that found on lexical nouns as fewer distinctions are made; genitive¹⁹⁹, translative-essive and comitative forms are absent. Personal pronouns are highly suppletive and rely on a variety of different stems e.g. *mod’* <1SG> ‘I’ vs. *ši?* <1SG.ACC> ‘me’, vs. *noń* <1SG.LAT> ‘to me’. The locational case

199. I have not found any evidence for the genitive pronouns which were registered by Tereščenko (1966) and Sorokina (2010b: 228).

forms of pronouns are morphologically closer to adverbs than to prototypical nouns, as they share the same set of specialized case suffixes.

Other pronouns include interrogative pronouns, such as *še* ‘who’, *obu* ‘what’, or *kunin* ‘where’, the intensive pronoun *ker-PX_{GEN}*, indefinite pronouns such as *šexo* ‘somebody’ or *obuxo* ‘something’, and negative pronouns, e.g. *šexuru* ‘nobody’ or *obuxuru* ‘nothing’.

4.5.4 Numerals

Numerals are a closed sub-class of nouns. Morphosyntactically, numerals are close to adjectives in that they show no inflection for case or number. The only exception are clause-like numerals in the teens (11–19) as the numeral ten in such constructions must be marked for ABL.SG (see 5.9.1.); still, some nominal morphology, such as the limitative *-ru/-lu* and the translative *-Vš* can be found with numerals, which shows that they belong to the nominal class.

4.5.5 Demonstratives

Morphologically, demonstratives (5.11) overlap with postpositions and adverbs as they share specialized spatial case markers (LAT-*?*, LOC *-n*, and ABL *-d*) which do not occur with lexical nouns. Demonstratives fall into two sets: the first set contains demonstratives with a clear spatial meaning, e.g. *äki* ‘this here’ versus *täxä* ‘this over there’ and several other possible members. Another kind of demonstrative is *čukči* ‘this’, which appears to be a general referential tracking device without spatial reference and is used with the usual locational case morphology.

4.5.6 Postpositions and relational nouns

Postpositions (5.12) fall into several morphological sub-classes. First, a set of apparently etymologically old postpositions expressing such notions such as ‘on top of’, ‘under’, ‘in front of’, or ‘behind’ make use of the same special set of case markers as demonstratives. Further, such postpositions allow inflection for prolative case. Another set of postpositions, which could also be classified as relational nouns, shows regular locational case morphology and seems to be etymologically younger. Finally, some postpositions show only a decreased case morphology or even no synchronically segmentable case morphology at all. Several postpositions can further be marked for possession using PX. In these particular instances, the border line between postpositions and adverbs is fuzzy:

- (14) *dóxa* *mod* *iru-n-iń* *kodi-bi*
 river 1SG under-LOC-PX.GEN.1SG freeze-PERF.3SG
 ‘The river under me is frozen.’ [ZNB I 77]

4.5.7 Inflectable adverbs

The class labeled adverbs (5.13) actually consists of a heterogeneous group of lexemes. Morphologically, only two subgroups of adverbs qualify here, as they attract some specialized morphology. Other adverbs which show no morphology are subsumed in a second group later.

Manner adverbs, whose main scope is the characterization of verbs, are usually based on adjectives which are inflected for prolicative case.²⁰⁰ The meaning of manner adverbs is much wider than the prototypical meaning of a given adjective:

- (15) *bunik* *aga-an* *mođu-ŋa*
 dog big-PROL bark-FREQ.3SG
 ‘The dog barks loudly (Lit. bigly).’ [ZNB I 38]

Temporal adverbs are indeed also heterogeneous. Many of them are derived from nouns with a special adverbializer *-nuju*, e.g. *kiuđnuju* ‘in the morning’ from *kiuđu* ‘morning’; others, such as *tāda* ‘now’, *toŕ* ‘so, in such a manner’ or *male* ‘already’, do not show (synchronically) overt morphology at all and discussed later.

4.5.8 Participles and converbs

Morphologically, both participles and converbs (chapter 8) are clearly nominal categories. In certain domains, both the past participle (perfective participle) and the present tense participle (imperfective participle) can be inflected for CX or for possession and CX via PX.²⁰¹

- (16) a. *okoška-da* *ke-xun* *adi-ďa* *nä* *äči*
 window-PX.GEN.3SG side-LOC.SG sit-PTCP.IPF [woman youngster]
kasa *äči-d* *modi-l-iď*
 [man youngster]-LAT.SG see-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘The girl who is sitting at the window is seen by the boy.’ [VNB IV 104]

- b. *soši* *äba* *ni-ń* *nä-ďa-xa-ń*
 hill_[N/G] head_[GEN] on-LOC stand-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG
đotu-ʔ *modä-ď-ud'*
 goose-_[ACC.PL] see-1SG-PST
 ‘While I was standing on the hill I saw geese.’ [ZNB I 67]

200. Among the postulated cases of Forest Enets, the place of the prolicative is at best peripheral. In contrast to other cases, the prolicative does not occur with e.g. personal pronouns, which places it in the no-man’s land between derivation and inflection.

201. PX can further be used to establish interclausal person reference; discussion of this is postponed until chapter 13.

- (17) a. *mud'* *Tartu-xud* *to-i* *enči-dʔ*
 1SG Tartu-ABL.SG come-PTCP.PFT person-1SG
 'I'm a person from Tartu.' (Lit. 'I from Tartu coming person am') [ZNB I 27]
- b. *tidi-du-i-b* *koru-da* *ma'le* *dopi-da*
 buy-DETRS-PTCP.PFT-PX.1SG knife-PX.ACC.SG.3SG already loose-SG.3SG
 'The knife that I bought him, he has already lost it.' [ZNB III 14]

Converbs, which behave syntactically like verbs as they can take adverbs and objects, are also considered to belong to the nominal sphere due to their morphology. This has already been shown above in example (3), which is repeated here for convenience. Another such example is presented in (18):

- (3) *i-bu-n* *to-ʔ* *no'lu-uš* *kañ-ʔ*
 NEG.AUX-CON-PX.GEN.1SG come-CN one-TRSL go-IMP.2SG
 'If I won't come, go alone!'
- (18) *kađada-bu-d* *iđ* *dori-rʔ*
 hunt-CON-PX.GEN.2SG NEG.AUX.IMP.2SG speak-FREQ-CN
 'When you are hunting, do not speak!' [ZNB I 78]

4.6 Verbs

Verbs (chapter 7) are marked for person but also for mood, tense, aspect, and evidentially (19 a-d), and non-obligatorily for the number of the object via conjugation II (18e). As already noted in the introduction of this chapter, only verbs can be negated with one of the negative auxiliaries, and the negated main verb must surface in the connegative. The narrow scope of a definition of verbs based entirely on their negation is based on the observation that other categories, which are generally perceived as belonging to the sphere of verbs (e.g. tense, mood, and aspect) can occasionally be found in nominal categories, such as predicative nouns (7.1.1, 9.2) and converbs (13.3). In this respect, only those predicates that can be negated with the negative auxiliaries *ni-*, *i-*, *kiči-*, or *buñi-* followed by vx and a negated main verb in the connegative form can be considered without reservations to be verbs.

Prototypically, a verb constitutes the predicate of a clause. Once in a while a verb does not require arguments at all and can function by itself as a fully independent utterance (19e). This requires some specialized contexts and is clearly not default:

- (19) a. *mud'* *äku-xun* *díri-ď?*
 1SG here-LOC.SG live-1SG
 'I live here.'
- b. *mud'* *äku-xun* *díri-ď-ud'*
 1SG here-LOC.SG live-1SG-PST
 'I (have) lived here.'
- c. *mud'* *äku-xun* *díri-ńi-ď-ud'*
 1SG here-LOC.SG live-COND-1SG-PST
 'I would live here.'
- d. *pađir* *auka* *kirba* *o-ma*
 spotted pet.reindeer bread_[ACC] eat-RES.3SG
 'A spotted pet reindeer ate bread.'
- e. *ko-in-uš*
 find-PL.1SG-PST
 'I found them (many).'

Finite verbs cannot function as arguments of a predicate, which further proves that nouns and verbs are two distinctive word classes.

The word class 'verb' is an open class and attracts new members.

4.7 Non-inflectional word classes

Two word classes lacking overt morphology are attested. The first one comprises adverbs, and the second one interjections, particles and conjunctions.

4.7.1 Non-inflectional adverbs

From a morphocentric perspective, the remaining adverbs do form a separate word class as they show no overt derivational morphology. Although they are described here as an independent class, they will be discussed together with other adverbs in chapter 5 as they share the same word-ordering principles and their appearance is syntactically rather fixed. A good number of uninflectable adverbs are apparently the results of lexicalization, e.g. *ňobtoř* 'once' (← *ňo?* 'one' *toř* 'so, in such a manner'), *točgođ* 'after' (compare TN *măđ mukaxăđ*), or *pontaik(u)* 'then, so, afterwards'. Other adverbs, such as *toř* 'so, in such a manner', *lokri* 'suddenly', or the modal adverbs *änsai* and *änrai* show no segmentable morphology at all.

4.7.2 Interjections, particles, and conjunctions

Interjections, particles, and conjunctions cannot be inflected, and in this respect they form a group of their own. The most important particle is the focus particle *ań?* ‘again, but, and’, which is very frequent, especially in narratives. From a cultural perspective, the class of interjections and particles is interesting, because many members are borrowings from either Tundra Nenets or Russian. The most common interjections (which can form a complete utterance of their own) are *awei/abei* ‘oh’, *pi’u* ‘what a pity’ and *či* ‘so, this way’. Especially in spontaneous speech, Russian discourse particles such as *no* and *vot* are frequently attested, and although *vot* and *či* seem to be functionally similar, there are several examples where one finds *vot* and *či* together.

Finally, the Russian conjunction *i* ‘and’ appears in spontaneous speech, which makes it the only real syntactic conjunction in Forest Enets in my data. As it differs in several respects from Russian *i* ‘and’, a more detailed description is provided in chapter 13.1.

4.8 Clitics

Currently, two clitics are documented. The first clitic in *-jet* can be found on nouns and verbs; a functional interpretation is currently impossible. The second clitic *-ńu* shows two-fold behavior. When attached to verbs, a modal interpretation emerges and in such instances the clitic can be analyzed as a mood marker as proposed here (see 7.4.6.4). When found on nouns, a simple emphatic interpretation emerges.

5. Nominal morphosyntax, case functions and possession

Chapter 3 on morphonology and morphology presented all major inflectional classes, but did not include a discussion motivating individual labels. The functional description will be presented now. This chapter presents a paradigmatic overview of noun morphology, case functions, and their morphosyntax, as well as remarks on possession as the latter is partly fused with case morphology. Further, the morphology and function of other nominal categories such as numerals, pronouns, interrogatives, demonstratives, postpositions and adverbs will be presented.

5.1 Number

With the exception of abstract nouns, nouns inflect for three numbers, namely singular $-\emptyset$, dual $-xi?/-gi?/-ki?$ and plural $-?$. As nominative singular has no case marking, it is considered the unmarked category. In very restricted cases, the singular has a collective meaning:

- (1) *bu kari-xun kodu potta-go-đa*
 1SG fish-LOC.SG sled_[Acc] load-DUR-SG.3SG
 ‘He loaded the sled with fish.’ [ZNB I 50]

- (2) *bu te-xun äđđa-š*
 3SG reindeer-LOC.SG drive-3SG.PST
 ‘He came on a reindeer (sled) (Lit. with a reindeer).’

The dual refers to two items/entities (e.g. two persons, two reindeer, two sleds) but does not refer to paired entities such as lungs, legs, hands, eyes or the like, which are plurals. As the account on NP structure shows, the dual is not obligatory after the numeral *šiči* ‘two’, and singular is found, too.²⁰² Due to the existence of the category dual, the plural refers to any quantity larger than two.

202. As is shown in chapter 6 on NP structure, numerals require their head noun to be in singular e.g. *tät kasa enči?* <four male person> which means literally ‘four man’; **tät kasa enču?* <four male person-PL.> ‘four men’ is ungrammatical.

5.2 Case and its functional domains

Case inflection marks a syntactic and/or semantic relation between a nominal argument and the verb. Cases which mark syntactic relations are traditionally called ‘grammatical cases’, such as NOM and ACC. These ‘syntactic cases’ are opposed to cases which primarily encode spatial relations, such as LATIVE, LOCATIVE and ABLATIVE, which in traditional Uralic terminology are called ‘oblique cases’. The genitive case is used for the expression of adnominal possession as well as a casus rectus for postpositions. Concerning their frequency, NOM, GEN, ACC, LAT, LOC, and ABL can be considered central cases. Minor cases, which all are at the margins of case morphology, such as essive-translative, the functionally almost extinct prolative²⁰³ and the comitative are excluded from the paradigms but will nevertheless be discussed in this chapter.

	<i>d’oxa</i> ‘river’			<i>enči?</i> ‘man, person’			<i>mä?</i> ‘chum’		
	(class I)			(class IIa)			(class IIb)		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
NOM	<i>d’oxa</i>	<i>d’oxaxi?</i>	<i>d’oxa?</i>	<i>enči?</i>	<i>enčigi?</i>	<i>enču?</i>	<i>mä?</i>	<i>mäki?</i>	<i>mäd?</i>
GEN	<i>d’oxa</i>	<i>d’oxaxi?</i>	<i>d’oxa?</i>	<i>enči?</i>	<i>enčigi?</i>	<i>enču?</i>	<i>mäd</i>	<i>mäki?</i>	<i>mäd?</i>
ACC	<i>d’oxa</i>	<i>d’oxaxi?</i>	<i>d’oxa?</i>	<i>enči?</i>	<i>enčigi?</i>	<i>enču?</i>	<i>mäd</i>	<i>mäki?</i>	<i>mäd?</i>
LAT	<i>d’oxad</i>	<i>d’oxaxi? nä?</i>	<i>d’oxaxid</i>	<i>enčit</i>	<i>enčigi? nä?</i>	<i>enčigid</i>	<i>mät</i>	<i>mäki? nä?</i>	<i>mäkid</i>
LOC	<i>d’oxaxan</i>	<i>d’oxaxi? nän</i>	<i>d’oxaxin</i>	<i>enčigun</i>	<i>enčigi? nän</i>	<i>enčigin</i>	<i>mäkun</i>	<i>mäki? nän</i>	<i>mäkin</i>
ABL	<i>d’oxaxad</i>	<i>d’oxaxi? näd</i>	<i>d’oxaxit</i>	<i>enčigud</i>	<i>enčigi? näd</i>	<i>enčigit</i>	<i>mäkuđ</i>	<i>mäki? näd</i>	<i>mäkit</i>

Table 5-1: Sample paradigms – non-possessive declension

5.2.1 Case and Possession

The interplay between case and possession in Forest Enets differs from that in Tundra Nenets (Salminen 1997: 123–129) quite fundamentally. In contrast to Tundra Nenets, which has case marking for GEN.SG/PL and ACC.SG/PL, Forest Enets shows no case markers due to the elimination of word-final consonants (see Mikola 2004: 98–104). Also, the dual and plural have no clear formal case marking as only number is marked overtly. From this perspective, it would make little sense to speak of a case system in which the NOM, GEN, and ACC cases would be distinguished morphologically by a varying set of zero-morphemes. However, Forest Enets has a set of PX markers which have distinctive forms for NOM, GEN, and ACC, and therefore case remains distinguishable via PX. As Forest Enets prefers possessed nouns wherever possible (an alienable-inalienable possession distinction is, however, not made), PX are indeed rather frequent, which makes it possible

203. Concerning noun morphology, the prolative is indeed almost extinct but occurs reasonably frequently with a handful of postpositions and adverbs.

to speak of a case system. As clausal possession will be discussed in chapter 9.5.2, the following discussion of possessive case discusses its morphosyntactic behavior on the phrasal level.

5.2.2 Possessive suffixes and their use

The function of possessive suffixes is to index both possessor and possessee on a noun, and *PX* also indicates the number of the possessee and the possessor. Etymologically, the non-singular forms consist of the number suffix of the noun (dual *-xu*²⁰⁴, plural *-i*) and a possessive pronominal suffix. Still, the system is not symmetrical and instead of the expected clear-cut agglutinative morpheme stacking, a fair amount of allomorphy is attested:

- (3) a. *kodu-i?* <sled-*PX*.1SG> ‘my sled’
 b. *kodu-xuń* <sled-*PX*.1SG> ‘my two sleds’
 c. *kodu-ń*²⁰⁵ <sled.*PX*.*PL*.1SG> ‘my many sleds’

The ordering principle is realized as *NOUN*-[*NUMBER*.*POSSESSOR*]_{*PX*}.

5.3 Grammatical cases and their functions

The mapping of semantic roles onto grammatical cases is difficult as one case can express more than one semantic role. Instead of a semantic approach to the mapping of grammatical roles onto case morphology, the following grammatical roles will be distinguished (e.g. Farrell 2005):

- a) *S* = sole argument of intransitive verbs
 b) *A* = agents and similar arguments of transitive verbs
 c) *P* = patients and similar arguments of transitive verbs

5.3.1 Nominative and possessive nominative

Morphologically, nominative singular is unmarked. *DU* and *PL* are marked by a portman-teau morpheme expressing both case and number: *DU* *-xi?/-gi?/-ki?*, *PL* *-?*.

204. The regular dual suffix is nowadays *-xi?*.

205. From (← *iń*); see the rule on *i*-deletion in chapter 2.12.2.

5.3.2 Possessive nominative

The morphosyntactic realization of the possessed nominative case is demonstrated in the following table:

<i>koru</i> ‘knife’ + PX _{NOM}			
POSSESSOR	SG _{POSSESSEE}	DU _{POSSESSEE}	PL _{POSSESSEE}
1SG	<i>koru-i?</i>	<i>koru-xuñ</i>	<i>koru-ń</i>
2SG	<i>koru-r</i>	<i>koru-xuđ</i>	<i>koru-đ</i>
3SG	<i>koru-đa</i>	<i>koru-xuđa</i>	<i>koru-đa</i>
1DU	<i>koru-i?</i>	<i>koru-xuñ?</i>	<i>koru-ń?</i>
2DU	<i>koru-ri?</i>	<i>koru-xuđi?</i>	<i>koru-đi?</i>
3DU	<i>koru-đi?</i>	<i>koru-xuđi?</i>	<i>koru-đi?</i>
1PL	<i>koroo?/koruba?</i>	<i>koru-xuna?</i>	<i>koru-na?</i>
2PL	<i>koru-ra?</i>	<i>koru-xuđa?</i>	<i>koru-đa?</i>
3PL	<i>koru-đu?</i>	<i>koru-xuđu?</i>	<i>koru-đu?</i>

Table 5-2: *koru* ‘knife’ and possessive nominative

The nominative case expresses both grammatical roles s and A:

- (4) *bunik aga-an mođu-ŋa*
 dog big-PROL bark-FREQ.3SG
 ‘The dog barks loudly (Lit. bigly).’ [ZNB I 38]

- (5) *nä osa piri-go*
 woman meat_[ACC] cook-DUR.3SG
 ‘The woman cooks meat.’ [IIS IV 111]

Further, it expresses semantic roles such as agent in the active (4, 5), and experiencer (6) and patient of passives (7):

- (6) *kasa äči äsi-da tuka modä*
 [man_[N/G] youngster] father-PX.GEN.3SG axe_[ACC] see.3SG
 ‘The boy_i saw his_j father’s axe.’ [VNB IV 112]

- (7) *kirba čukči tidi-r-iđ?*
 bread all sell-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘All bread was sold.’ [ZNB IV 10]

Finally, after 2nd person imperatives, a non-pronominal object is marked with nominative case:²⁰⁶

- (8) *uu* *ää-r* *mana-š* *äsi-r* *pärđi-?*
 2SG mother-PX.2SG say-3SG.PST father-PX.2SG help-IMP.2SG
 ‘Your mother said: “Help you father!”’²⁰⁷ [LDB & NKB II 21]

5.3.3 Genitive and possessive genitives

Morphologically the non-possessed genitive shows no overt case marking; only number marking is attested: SG $-\emptyset$, DU $-xi?/-gi?/-ki?$, PL $-?$.²⁰⁸

5.3.4 Possessive genitive

The following table shows the morphosyntactic realization of possessed genitive case:

<i>kodu</i> ‘sled’ + PX _{GEN}			
POSSESSOR	SG _{POSSESSEE}	DU _{POSSESSEE}	PL _{POSSESSEE}
1SG	<i>kodu-ń</i>	<i>kodu-xuń</i>	<i>kod-iń</i> ²⁰⁹
2SG	<i>kodu-d</i>	<i>kodu-xud</i>	<i>kod-id</i>
3SG	<i>kodu-da</i>	<i>kodu-xuda</i>	<i>kod-ida?</i>
1DU	<i>kodu-ń?</i>	<i>kodu-xuń?</i>	<i>kod-iń?</i>
2DU	<i>kodu-di?</i>	<i>kodu-xuđi?</i>	<i>kod-idi?</i>
3DU	<i>kodu-di?</i>	<i>kodu-xuđi?</i>	<i>kod-idi?</i>
1PL	<i>kodu-na?</i>	<i>kodu-xuna?</i>	<i>kod-ina?</i>
2PL	<i>kodu-da?</i>	<i>kodu-xuda?</i>	<i>kod-ida?</i>
3PL	<i>kodu-du?</i>	<i>kodu-xudu?</i>	<i>kod-idu?</i>

Table 5-3: Paradigm of possessive genitive

The genitive case encodes primarily adnominal possession (9), (10):

- (9) *äjeiču-d* *bađa* *mata-r* *ma-ńu*
 older.relative-PX.GEN.2SG word_[ACC] break-SG.2SG say-ASS.3SG
 ‘She said, “you broke your promise”.’ (Lit. ‘your older relative’s word’) [EIB Clairvoyant]

206. This peculiar way of object marking (2nd person imperative governing an object in nominative case) is assumed to be an ancient syntactic feature in Uralic and has been registered for Samoyedic too (Tereščenko 1973: 176–177). On the other hand, there are attested instances that Forest Enets is undergoing change as direct objects of imperatives can nowadays also be found in the accusative. This is apparently due to Russian influence.

207. Forest Enets has no possibility to render indirect speech.

208. Nouns in class IIa and IIb show some stem alternation in this position, but these alternations themselves cannot be seen as equivalents of case such as similar alternations in e.g. Estonian.

209. For reasons currently not understood, a different stem was used in this paradigm.

- (10) *kodu-ń* *iso* *moriä-ď?*
 sled-PX.GEN.1SG runner_[ACC] break-1SG
 ‘I broke my sled’s runner.’ [ANB II 12]

Further, the genitive case marks the dependent of postpositional phrases:

- (11) *aga* *kasa* *kasa-ń* *no?* *orđe* *kani-j?*
 [big man_[N/G] man]-PX.GEN.1SG with ahead go-1DU
 ‘I went ahead with my older brother.’ [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]
- (12) *kudaxai* *mudña?* *bodun* *onai* *mäď* *mi-n* *ďire-ba-č*
 long.ago 1PL tundra-LOC²¹⁰ real chum_[GEN] in-LOC live-1PL-PST
 ‘Long ago, we lived in the tundra in an Enets chum.’²¹¹ [ZNB Chum]

With participles in attributive function, agents are marked with the genitive case:

- (13) *äsi-ń* *mä-đu-i* *kodu*
 father-PX.GEN.1SG make-DETRS-PTCP.PFT sled
 ‘The sled my father made.’ (Lit. ‘my father’s made sled’) [LDB II 32]

5.3.5 Accusative and possessed accusatives

Morphologically, the non-possessive accusative shows no overt case marking; here, too, only number marking is attested: SG - \emptyset , DU - *xi?*/*-gi?*/*-ki?*, PL -*?*.

5.3.6 Possessive accusative

The paradigm for possessed nouns in accusative case overlaps partly with other possessive paradigms. With a singular possessee, the possessive paradigms of the genitive and accusative series overlap in 2nd and 3rd person and a distinction is only found for PX.GEN.1SG and PX.ACC.1SG. As in non-1P context PX are homonymous, their syntactic function can only be distinguished by word order:

- (14) *baa-da* *ńi* *ad-iď?*
 bed-PX.GEN.3SG ON.LAT sit-R.3SG
 ‘He sat down on his bed.’ [LDB Shaman]

210. *bodu~boddu* ‘tundra_{generic}’ does not use the locational case markers but the same markers as postpositions, demonstratives, and adverbs. It is the only noun that exhibits such behavior.

211. *mä?* ‘chum’ as a 11b noun shows stem variation within its paradigm and *mäď* is the general GEN.SG/ACC.SG form. Together with example (12) it is safe to assume that ‘chum’ is realized in the genitive

- (15) *pedi-da* *đobtu-š* *pä*
 drum-PX.ACC.3SG hit-CON start.3SG
 ‘He started to beat his drum.’ [LDB Shaman]

Homonymy is also attested for all non-singular possessives in the nominative and accusative paradigms and there is no morphological difference between PX_{NOM} non-singular and PX_{ACC} non-singular:

<i>te</i> ‘reindeer’ + PX_{ACC}			
POSSESSOR	SG _{POSSESSEE}	DU _{POSSESSEE}	PL _{POSSESSEE}
1SG	<i>te-i?</i>	<i>te-xuñ</i>	<i>tiñ?</i>
2SG	<i>te-d</i>	<i>te-xuđ</i>	<i>tiđ</i>
3SG	<i>te-da</i>	<i>te-xuđa</i>	<i>tida</i>
1DU	<i>te-i?</i>	<i>te-xuñ?</i>	<i>tiñ?</i>
2DU	<i>te-di?</i>	<i>te-xuđi?</i>	<i>tidi?</i>
3DU	<i>te-di?</i>	<i>te-xuđi?</i>	<i>tidi?</i>
1PL	<i>tee?/ teba?</i>	<i>te-xuna?</i>	<i>tina?</i>
2PL	<i>te-đa</i>	<i>te-xuđa?</i>	<i>tida?</i>
3PL	<i>te-du?</i>	<i>te-xuđu?</i>	<i>tidu?</i>

Table 5-4: Paradigm of possessive accusative with *te* ‘reindeer’

The central function of the accusative case is to mark the P role in transitive clauses:

- (16) *soku* *mana* *kači* *bu* *ni* *ma-t-?*
 relative say.3SG disease 3SG NEG.AUX.3SG tell-FUT-CN
 ‘“Relative,’ she said, ‘the disease, she will not tell!’”
 [EIB Clairvoyant]
- (17) *đa* *bärtu-š* *pä-?* *añ*
 earth_[ACC] throw-CON begin-3PL FOC
 ‘They started to throw earth (on her grave).’ [EIB Clairvoyant]
- (18) *ää-b* *ne-da* *oo-ta-go*
 mother-PX.1SG child-PX.ACC.3SG eat-CAUS-DUR.3SG
 ‘My mother feeds her child.’ [LDB & NKB I 110]

Occasionally, direct objects of imperatives can also appear in the accusative. This seems to be a recent syntactic borrowing from Russian:

- (19) *bari-d* *noń?* *pońi-r*
 song-PX.ACC.2SG 1 SG.LAT hold-IMP.2SG
 ‘Sing me your song.’ [ZNB III 68]
- (20) *kuru-d* *märuk* *tođa-ʔ*
 knife-PX.ACC.2SG quick.ADV bring-IMP.2SG
 ‘Bring me your knife quickly!’ [ANP Taimen]

This innovation is, however, not representative for all consultants, as the expected encoding with nominative case is equally attested:

- (8) *uu* *ää-r* *mana-š* *äsi-r* *pärđi-ʔ*
 2SG mother-PX.2SG say-3SG.PST father-PX.2SG help-IMP.2SG
 ‘Your mother said: “Help you father!”’²¹² [LDB & NKB II 21]

With negated imperatives, object marking with accusative is obligatory.

5.3.7 Grammatical cases in earlier accounts

Nouns in contemporary Forest Enets are not overtly marked for grammatical case in singular when non-possessed. Also in dual and plural, no formal case distinction can be made. In this respect, the current shape of the language differs from that found in almost all earlier accounts.

Although this grammar describes contemporary Forest Enets, it is particularly interesting to show other accounts of Enets grammatical cases by Castrén (1853), Prokof'ev (1937) and Tereščenko (1966), which documented a slightly different constellation:

CX/NUM	Castrén	Prokof'ev	Tereščenko
NOM (SG)	-∅	-∅	-∅
GEN (SG)	-ʔ ²¹³	-ʔ for class I nouns -∅ for class II nouns	-ʔ
ACC (SG)	-ʔ	-∅	-∅

Table 5-5: Grammatical cases in earlier description of Enets

In contrast to the accounts above, Puszta (1978), who worked with Dar'ja Bolina, a speaker of the last generation (a representative of the language variety on which this

212. Forest Enets has no possibility to render indirect speech.

213. “Der Genitiv im Singular nimmt die Aspiration ʔ an (Castrén's sign for the glottal stop –F.S.), die in alltäglichem Gebrauch auch fortgelassen zu werden pflegt und in diesem Dialekt nie durch n ersetzt wird. Mit dem Genitiv stimmt der Accusativ sowohl im Singular als auch Dual und Plural überein” (Castrén 1854: 170).

grammar is based) documented the same case marking system as I encountered, without overt case marking for GEN and ACC.²¹⁴

Also concerning plural paradigms, the encountered situation differs radically from Tereščenko's sketch grammar. Although not mentioned explicitly, ACC.PL formation in several of her examples shows the same complex formation as known from Tundra Nenets (see Salminen 1997: 120–123), yet nowadays no examples for this are found.²¹⁵ However, in her paradigmatic overview, Tereščenko claims that ACC.PL is also unmarked.

In contemporary Forest Enets, ACC.PL and NOM.PL are homonymous in both the non-possessive and possessive declension. To a certain degree, diverging accounts on how grammatical cases are marked can already be found in Castrén's grammar.²¹⁶

Finally, another observation by Tereščenko needs to be discussed. In her 1966 sketch (but also later, e.g. 1973: 174, 179; 1993: 347), Tereščenko claimed that Forest Enets employed differential case marking, a fact not mentioned by other grammarians of Forest Enets, including Sorokina (2010b). According to Tereščenko's description, definite objects would be marked with nominative case and indefinite with the genitive case.²¹⁷ However, no evidence of this could be found in my data. Further, during several random tests where I presented Tereščenko's examples to my consultants, all original examples were judged as ungrammatical.²¹⁸ No clear examples could be found for the time being in ET either. With the absence of a significant corpus of narratives from the generation of speakers with whom Tereščenko could work, the existence of such a differential case marking strategy cannot be verified and seems therefore very unlikely.

5.3.8 A final note on alignment

As non-possessive nouns show no overt case marking in the singular, dual, or plural, grammatical roles such as S, (sole argument of intransitive verbs e.g. 21), A (agents or similar arguments of transitive verbs, e.g. 22), and P (patient and similar arguments of transitive verbs, e.g. 22) remain morphologically unmarked, which results in an A=S=P encoding system.²¹⁹

214. In principle, Sorokina (2010b: 62–65; 99–113) also opts against the case system as presented by Tereščenko (1966). This is particularly interesting, as both researchers seemed to have worked with the same speakers, but their results differed quite drastically from one another.

215. Further, Tereščenko (1966) stands in sharp contrast to Prokof'ev (1937) who, while having little to say on objects, does not mention Nenets-type ACC.PL formation for Forest Enets.

216. “Die Endungen des Genitivs und des Accusativs des Plurals ist in diesem wie auch in anderen Dialekten etwas unbestimmt und wechselnd. In der zweiten und dritten Declination (here class IIa and IIb, FS) besteht sie immer in u', in der ersten verhält es sich aber mit ihr folgender Maassen: a) die Nomina auf e, i, u nehmen keine besondere Endung an, sondern bilden den Genitiv und Accusativ des Plurals wie den Nominativ; b) bei den Wörtern auf o wechseln die Endungen i', u' und die Wörter auf a können so wie in dem Tawgy-Dialekt, u', e', i' annehmen” (Castrén 1854: 170–171).

217. “Насколько можно судить по собранным нами материалам, совпадение формы винительного падежа с формой основного служит для выражения определенности объекта, а совпадение формы винительного падежа с формой родительного – для выражения его неопределенности [...]” (Tereščenko 1966: 443).

218. This point has been addressed in somewhat more detail in Sigl 2008.

219. The morphological alternation for nouns in class IIa and IIb is not relevant here.

- (21) *äki enči? kodi*
 this person sleep.3SG
 ‘This person sleeps.’ [ZNB I 53]
- (22) *kasa äči pu sumu-ita*
 [man_[N/G] youngster] stone_[ACC] fall-CAUS.3SG
 ‘The boy let the stone fall.’ [VNB IV 113]

A=S≠P (NOM-ACC) alignment is attested with possessed nouns:

- (23) *enči piši-ŋa*
 person laugh-FREQ.3SG
 ‘This person is laughing.’ [LDB & NKB I 109]
- (24) *enči ŋe-da piši-lta-đa*
 person child-PX.ACC.3SG laugh-CAUS-SG.3SG
 ‘This person makes his child laugh.’ [LDB & NKB I 109]

In this respect, alignment shows a possessive split, whereby NOM-ACC alignment is only expressed in possessive declension. Otherwise, alignment is neutral.

For the sake of completeness, personal pronouns, which will be addressed in more detail later on, follow a coherent NOM-ACC alignment:

- (25) *mod' täda kaŋi-ď?*
 1SG now go-1SG
 ‘I’m going now.’
- (26) *mod' täxä te kaď-da-a*
 1SG that reindeer_[ACC] kill-FUT-SG.1SG
 ‘I will kill that reindeer.’ [LDB I 109]
- (27) *äsi-r ši? bodu-n modä-š*
 father-PX.2SG 1SG.ACC tundra-LOC see-3SG.PST
 ‘Your father saw me in the tundra.’
- (28) *mod' šit soiďa-an täni-ď?*
 1SG 2SG.ACC good-PROL know-1SG
 ‘I know you well.’ [NKB I 177]

5.4 Local cases – general comments

In contrast to the grammatical cases, local cases encode spatial orientation, such as movement towards or away from a target, as well as position. Local cases in Forest Enets do not make an exterior/interior distinction as in a variety of Uralic Languages²²⁰, and local cases are used only for interior case distinction. A semantic distinction between exterior and interior can be expressed by postpositions, which will be discussed later.

Local cases tend to have several secondary functions based on metaphorical extensions. In contrast to grammatical cases, local cases do not have their own set of PX but use the genitive PX series instead. Here, PX is derivational and not inflectional. Note that possessive lative has a special case allomorph used only with PX.

	<i>d'oxa</i> 'river' (Class I)			<i>enčiči?</i> 'man, person' (Class IIa)			<i>mä?</i> 'chum' (Class IIb)		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
LAT	<i>d'oxad</i>	<i>d'oxaxi? nä?</i>	<i>d'oxaxiđ</i>	<i>enčičit</i>	<i>enčičigi? nä?</i>	<i>enčičiđ</i>	<i>mät</i>	<i>mäki? nä?</i>	<i>mäkiđ</i>
LOC	<i>d'oxaxan</i>	<i>d'oxaxi? nän</i>	<i>d'oxaxin</i>	<i>enčičigun</i>	<i>enčičigi? nän</i>	<i>enčičigin</i>	<i>mäkun</i>	<i>mäki? nän</i>	<i>mäkin</i>
ABL	<i>d'oxaxađ</i>	<i>d'oxaxi? näđ</i>	<i>d'oxaxit</i>	<i>enčičiguđ</i>	<i>enčičigi? näđ</i>	<i>enčičigit</i>	<i>mäkuđ</i>	<i>mäki? näđ</i>	<i>mäkit</i>

Table 5-6: Paradigms of local cases in Forest Enets

5.4.1 Local cases, number and morphology

5.4.1.1 Local cases in the dual

Before we proceed with a description of the functions of local cases, special attention must be paid to the dual forms. In contrast to singular and plural local cases, dual local cases are formed analytically with the postposition *nä-* 'at', which is further inflected for local case:²²¹

- (29) *šiči to-xi? nä-? to-ina?*
 two lake-_[GEN. DU] at-LAT come-R.1PL
 'We arrived at the two lakes.'

During elicitation, some consultants occasionally produced synthetic local duals such as *toxuxiđ* / *toxuxuđ* 'from the two lakes' (lake.DU.ABL.PL, lake.DU.ABL.SG) instead of *toxi? näđ*, but as no such forms are attested in texts, these forms represent artifacts of elicitation. Especially during elicitation, dual local case forms were avoided by using the

220. E.g. Finnish *pöydä-llä* <table-adessive> 'on a/the table' versus *auto-ssa* <car-inessive> 'in a/the car'.

221. Several postpositions and adverbs have a different set of case markers, which will be described later in this chapter. The postposition *nä-* belongs to this category of postpositions.

numeral *šiči* ‘two’ with a singular noun instead. Therefore, instead of *toxi? näd* ‘from the two lakes’ <lake_[GEN. DU] at.ABL> *šiči toxuđ* <two lake.ABL.SG> is both possible and grammatical, and was preferred:

- (30) *šiči to-xun kariđa oka*
 two lake-LOC.SG fish.PL.3SG many.3PL
 ‘There is a lot of fish in these two lakes.’ (Lit. In the two lake fish are many)
 [EIB I 146]

5.4.1.2 Local cases and their non-dual realization

With respect to their morphological realization, all local cases share another characteristic: plural reference is expressed by a portmanteau morpheme. Further, the shape of ABL.PL and LAT.PL differs from their singular forms:

- (31) *to-xun to-xin*
 lake-LOC.SG lake-LOC.PL
 ‘in the lake’ ‘in the lakes’

- (32) *to-xuđ to-xit*
 lake-ABL.SG lake-ABL.SG
 ‘from the lake’ ‘from the lakes’

- (33) *to-d to-xiđ*
 lake-LAT.SG lake-LAT.PL
 ‘to the lake’ ‘to the lakes’

5.4.2 Lative

Morphologically, the non-possessive lative is marked *-d/-t* in singular and *-xiđ/ -giđ/-kiđ* in plural.

5.4.2.1 Possessive lative

The possessive lative differs from all other cases as it does not follow the usual pattern of adding PX directly to the CX marker. Instead, a special case allomorph is used: *-xul/-gul/-ku* for possessive reference in the singular and *-xi/-gi/-ki* for possessive reference in the plural. PX in the genitive series are attached to these endings:

- (39) *mod' koda-d koma-dʔ*
 1SG sleep_{NLZ}-LAT.SG want-1SG
 ‘I want to sleep.’ [ZNB I 81]

Further, the lative is used to encode recipients (40) and addressees (41):

- (40) *säsür-ʔ säsür-ʔ kari-ʔ terik enči-t mi-ku-ina-t'*
 fox-[ACC.PL] fox-[ACC.PL] fish-[ACC.PL] rich man-LAT.SG give-DUR-PL.1PL-PST
 ‘Foxes, foxes, fish, we gave the rich man.’ [ANP Flood]

- (41) *obu-đu-n' ne-xu-n' mə-bi-dʔ²²²*
 what-BEN-PX.GEN.1SG child-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG say-PERF-1SG
 ‘Why did I tell my child?’ [NKB Auka]

The encoding of benefactivity is reserved for the specialized benefactive, which will be presented in more detail in chapter 11.

5.4.3 Locative

The locative case is marked by *-xVn/-gVn/-kVn* in the singular and *-xin/-gin/-kin* in the plural.

5.4.3.1 Possessive locative

The following table shows the morphosyntactic realization of possessive locatives:

<i>tuči</i> ‘a woman’s small bag’ (class I)		
POSSESSOR	SG _{POSSESSEE}	PL _{POSSESSEE}
1SG	<i>tučixuniń</i>	<i>tučixiniń</i>
2SG	<i>tučixunid</i>	<i>tučixinid</i>
3PL	<i>tučixunda</i>	<i>tučixinda</i>
1DU	<i>tučixunińʔ</i>	<i>tučixinińʔ</i>
2DU	<i>tučixunidiʔ</i>	<i>tučixinidiʔ</i>
3DU	<i>tučixunidiʔ</i>	<i>tučixinidiʔ</i>
1PL	<i>tučixuninaʔ</i>	<i>tučixininaʔ</i>
2PL	<i>tučixunidaʔ</i>	<i>tučixinidaʔ</i>
3PL	<i>tučixuniduʔ</i>	<i>tučixiniduʔ</i>

Table 5-8: Possessive locative *tuči* ‘little bag’

222. Once in a while, NKB produced reduced vowels in forms where other speakers pronounce /a/ or /o/. According to DSB and ZNB (p.c.), this idiolectal variation was also prominent in the speech of NKB’s father and is preserved wherever it was encountered.

5.4.3.2 Function of the locative case

The prototypical function of the locative is to encode spatial location inside something:

- (42) *busi-da no? Potabu-xun ŋa-xi-t*
 man-PX.GEN.3SG with Potapovo-LOC.SG be_{LOC}.3DU-PST
 ‘She was in Potapovo with her husband.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]
- (43) *mudna? tina? tina? dooba-? kođu-xun*
 1PL reindeer.PL.1PL reindeer.PL.1PL get.lost-3PL snow.storm-LOC.SG
tina? tina? lumb-iđ?
 reindeer.PL.1PL reindeer.PL.1PL run.away-R.3PL
 ‘Our reindeer, our reindeer got lost, our reindeer, our reindeer ran away in a snowstorm.’ [LDB Shaman]

The locative has a further, secondary meaning, expressing instrumentality:

- (44) *äku-xuđ muđ Potabu-xuđ nona ratsi-xun mana-č [...]*
 here-ABL.SG so Potapovo-ABL.SG 1PL.LAT radio-LOC.SG say-3PL.PST
 ‘So from here, from Potapovo, they told us by radio...’ [LDB Plundered sled]
- (45) *koru-xun doktu-š ma-n kebi čiki-r*
 knife-LOC.SG cut-CON say-ASS.3SG sin this-PX.2SG
 ‘Cutting it with a knife is a sin, one says.’ [LDB Taboo]

The locative can also express a comitative meaning:

- (46) *äki enči-gun mod kadä-š dađu-ŋa-d-uđ*
 this person-LOC.SG 1SG hunt-CON go-FREQ-1SG-PST
 ‘With this person I went hunting.’ [ZNB I 53]

Another extension of the locative is to express location in time:

- (47) *säu čas-xun mudna? o-da-a? äki deri*
 seven hour-LOC.SG 1PL eat-FUT-1PL this day
 ‘We will eat at seven o’clock today.’ [NKB II 20]
- (48) *naak deri-xun kiudnuju aň mär nār-ij?*
 other day-LOC.SG morning.ADV FOC quick stand.up-R.1SG
 ‘The other day, too, I got up early.’ [ZNB Weekend]

Occasionally, in passives and participle constructions, the agent can be encoded with the locative, however this is rare:²²³

- (49) *tuđuku-?* *nä* *äči-xin* *tođa-ra-i?*
 mushroom-_[NOM.PL] [woman_[N/G] youngster]-LOC.PL bring-PASS-PTCP.PFT
 ‘Mushrooms brought by the girls.’ [ZNB 12.12.07]

5.4.4 Ablative

Morphologically, the ablative is realized as *-xVđ/-gVđ/-kVđ* in the singular and as *-xit/-git/-kit* in the plural.

5.4.4.1 Possessive ablative

The possessive ablative is realized as follows:

<i>odu</i> ‘boat’ (class I)		
POSSESSOR	SG _{POSSESSEE}	PL _{POSSESSEE}
1SG	<i>oduxuđuń</i>	<i>oduxituń</i>
2SG	<i>oduxuđud</i>	<i>oduxitud</i>
3PL	<i>oduxuđda / oduxuđuda</i>	<i>oduxituda</i>
1DU	<i>oduxuđuń?</i>	<i>oduxituń?</i>
2DU	<i>oduxuđudi?</i>	<i>oduxitudi?</i>
3DU	<i>oduxuđudi?</i>	<i>oduxitudi?</i>
1PL	<i>oduxuđuna? / oduxuđna?</i>	<i>oduxituna?</i>
2PL	<i>oduxuđda? / oduxuđuda?</i>	<i>oduxituda?</i>
3PL	<i>oduxuđdu?</i>	<i>oduxitudu?</i>

Table 5-9: Possessive ablative *odu* ‘boat’

5.4.4.2 Function of the ablative case

The prototypical function of the ablative is to mark the source of movement:

- (50) *oo* *kudaxai* *đá-xađ* *mud* *to-đ?*
 excl distant place-ABL.SG 1SG come-1SG
 ‘Oh, I come from a distant place.’ [LDB Shaman]

223. This feature seems to be an instance of language change; this topic will be discussed again in chapter 12.

- (51) *tonin enči-giđ ηob' soiđa nä noń*
 there.LOC person-ABL.PL one good woman 1SG.LAT
biľu-da mi?ä-š
 ticket-PX.ACC.3SG give-3SG.PST
 ‘A good woman from the crowd (Lit. ‘out of the people’) gave me her ticket.’
 [ZNB Weekend]

Another function of the ablative, probably based on metaphorical extension, is to express out of which material something is made:

- (52) *koba-xađ-du? obu mä-đa-?*
 skin-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG what make-FUT-3PL
 ‘What will they make out of their one skin?’ [LDB & NKB II 28]
- (53) *näakuju kasa ěe-đa mana te*
 other.ADV [man child]-PX.3SG say.33SG [reindeer]_[N/G]
osa-xađ bui piri-?
 meat]-ABL.SG soup cook-IMP.2SG
 ‘But the other said: “cook soup out of reindeer meat”.’ [ANP Three brothers]
- (54) *morga-xađ lota-ku čukči nalđi-ĵa*
 cloudberry-ABL.SG laida-DIM all be.red-FREQ.3SG
 ‘The little laida is all red because of cloudberries.’ [IIS IV 154]

The entity to which something is compared to is also marked with the ablative. As there are no morphological means of gradation, this construction is its closest functional equivalent:

- (55) *te bunku-xuđ märiä*
 reindeer dog-ABL.SG²²⁴ fast.3SG
 ‘A reindeer is faster than a dog.’ [LDB I 126]
- (56) *mud' koru-i uu koru-xuđ-ud soiđa*
 1SG knife-PX.1SG 2SG knife-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.2SG good.3SG
 ‘My knife is better than your knife.’ [LDB IV 179]

224. The realization *bunkuxuđ* is unusual here; one would expect *bunkixud*.

5.4.5 Excursus – expression of time by case

For the expression of time, several cases are used. In several instances, considerable differences between Forest Enets and Tundra Nenets are observable and a more differentiated account is necessary.

As could be seen above, the locative can be used for the expression of location in time. This seems to be a metaphorical extension of its function expressing spatial location:

- (47) *säu* *čas-xun* *mud'na?* *o-da-a?* *äki dëri*
 seven hour-LOC.SG 1PL eat-FUT-1PL this day
 ‘We will eat at seven o’clock today.’ [NKB II 20]
- (48) *naak* *dëri-xun* *kiudnuju* *añ* *mär* *när-ij?*
 other day-LOC.SG morning.ADV FOC quick stand.up-R.1SG
 ‘The other day, too, I got up early.’ [ZNB Weekend]

The locative case is, however, not the only way to express location in time. Occasionally, it can also be expressed by the nominative (57), however the locative (58) is clearly preferred:

- (57) *äki pi* *kañi-ñi-i* *mu* *oti-ñi-i*
 this night go-COND-1DU PART wait-COND-1DU
 ‘This night we should go, we should wait.’ [LDB Fishermen]
- (58) *i-bu-d* *to* *ši* *šer-gu-š* *mana*
 NEG.AUX-CON-PX.GEN.2SG come.CN 1SG.ACC bury-DUR-CON say.3SG
čik-ru *pi-xun* *mana* *mu*
 this-LIM night-LOC.SG say.3SG PART
 ‘‘If you do not come to bury me,’’ she said ‘‘on the very same night,’’ she said...’
 [EIB Clairvoyant]

The expression of time with the nominative is unusual, as in Tundra Nenets the same temporal meaning is encoded by the genitive:

- (59) *тюко-ход* *һэрë-’* *хан-та-ва’’*
 here-ABL.SG fall-GEN go-FUT-1PL
 ‘From here we leave in fall.’ (Ru: ‘Отсюда мы уедем осенью.’) [T65: 876]

This unusual encoding is the outcome of the already mentioned fact that Forest Enets has lost its case markers for GEN/ACC. It is very likely that e.g. *pi* ‘night’ in (50) was followed by a glottal stop expressing genitive before this case marker was eliminated. Synchronically there is no possibility for assigning genitive case to *pi* as it cannot be combined with PX, and therefore it must be analyzed as nominative. An alternative glossing, e.g. GEN_{TEMP} is not feasible, as no language-internal evidence can be found.

5.5 Minor cases

Two lesser productive cases, prolative and essive-translative, can be identified. Due to their restricted productivity and several derivational characteristics, they are excluded from the list of core cases.

5.5.1 Prolative case

The prolative case is marked by the suffix *-Vn*; plural forms are not attested. When attached to nouns, the prolative refers to movement through, across, or along a location:

- (60) *vezdexod* *äki* *đeri* *to-ču* *boddo-on* *to-đa*
 all.terrain.vehicle this day come-NESS.3SG tundra-PROL come-FUT.3SG
 ‘A vezdexod is supposed to come today; it will come through the tundra.’
 [LDB & NKB I 170]

The prolative case on nouns is indeed very rare²²⁵, but it is commonly used with local postpositions. Further, adjectives inflected in the prolative case serve as manner adverbs, e.g. *soiđa* ‘good’ → *soiđaan* ‘well’.

Finally, in the meaning ‘to speak a language’, the verb *đorid* governs the prolative case on the accompanying noun:

- (61) *bu* *soiđa-an* *onai* *bađa-an* *đuri-ŋa*
 3SG good-PROL real language-PROL speak-FREQ.3SG
đurak *bađa-an* *ań?* *očig-on* *đori-ŋa*
 Nenets language-PROL FOC bad-PROL speak-FREQ.3SG
bu *oša* *bađa-an* *ńi* *đori-r?*
 3SG Evenki/Dolgan language-PROL NEG.AUX.3SG speak-FREQ.CN
 ‘He speaks Enets well but Nenets he speaks badly, he does not speak Evenki.’
 [ZNB I 37]

225. For crossing a river, the prolative is not used, and instead the verb *motraš* ‘cut’ expresses this meaning:

äki *enči* *šidi* *đoxa* *mut-r-iđa-š*
 this person two river_[ACC] cut-FREQ-PL.3SG-PST
 ‘This person crossed two rivers.’ (Lit. ‘he cut two rivers’) [LDB I 100]

5.5.2 The essive-translative case

The essive-translative case *-Vš* has a double-label, as its function resembles that of its functional equivalents in Finnic. The vowel of the essive-translative case suffix is not specified, and the stem-final vowel becomes lengthened instead. No plural forms have been found thus far.

The essive-translative case marks noun phrases that function as an adjunct and express the role, function, or identity of the subject referent (62, 63), as the predicative complement of the copula *kañiš*²²⁶ or as an adjunct that expresses the purpose of the object of a transitive clause.

- (62) *tina* *bemu-uš* *Spiridon Petrovič...*
 reindeer.PX.GEN.PL. 1PL chief-TRSL PN
 ‘As the head of our reindeer brigade, Spiridon Petrovič...’ [LDB Brigades]
- (63) *Leonid* *te* *ponida-š* *mosara-š*
 PN [reindeer]_[N/G] herder]-TRSL work-3SG.PST
 ‘Leonid worked as a reindeer herder.’ [LDB & NKB I 135]
- (64) *narei* *đeri-iš* *kañi* *uže* *mud’* *đurak*
 spring.ADJ day-TRSL go.3SG already 1SG Nenets
nääči-iš *kañi-đ?*
 youngster.woman-TRSL go-1SG
 ‘And it became spring and I already turned into a Nenets girl.’ [NKB Childhood]
- (65) *bunk-i* *aga* *bunki-iš* *kañi* *točguđ* *ka-ñu*
 dog-PX.1SG big dog-TRSL go.3SG then die-ASS.3SG
 ‘My dog became old and then he died.’ [LDB I 109]

Occasionally, translative case can be found on adjectives too, yet apparently not in attributive position.

- (66) *đeri-r* *đabu-uš* *kañi*
 day-PX.2SG long-TRSL go.3SG
 ‘The days get longer.’ [LDB & NKB II 67]

Syntactically speaking, the essive-translative is the preferred means to express depictive secondary predication:

226. Here a constructional interpretation is necessary, as *kañiš* can only be analyzed as a copula with an essive-translative-marked noun phrase. This construction expresses a change of state and is resultative. Otherwise, *kañiš* remains a verb of movement.

- (67) *te* *poñida* *te* *kađ-da*
 [reindeer_[N/G] herder] reindeer_[ACC] kill-FUT.3SG
malč-a-da *koba-š*
 malitsa-PX.GEN.3SG fur-TRSL
 ‘The reindeer herder will kill a reindeer for a malitsa skin.’
 (Lit. ‘kill a reindeer as his malitsa skin’)²²⁷ [LDB I 109]

5.6 Nominal derivational morphology

A variety of derivational suffixes are attested. Here, only the most typical suffixes will be discussed.

5.6.1 Similitive *-raxa/-laxa*

The similitive suffix *-raxa/-laxa* expresses that the entity or its behavior resembles a certain property. It is best translated as ‘like X’.²²⁸ It can be found on both nouns and adjectives. For the latter, it is currently attested only in predicative position. The following examples are typical of its usage:

- (68) *mā-kun* *šeu* *ñi-n* *mušči* *bunki-raxa*
 chum-LOC.SG *šeu*_[GEN]²²⁹ on-LOC lie.3SG dog-SIM
 ‘He lies on the *šeu* like a dog.’ [ESG Two Brothers]
- (69) *taxa-n* *bogla-raxa* *modā-đ?*
 behind-LOC bear-SIM_[ACC] see-1SG
 ‘There in the distance, I see something like a bear.’ [ZNB I 36]
- (70) *kasi* *tu* *ŋulú* *tu-đa* *kasi-raxa*
 [dry lake] one lake-PX.3SG dry-SIM.3SG
 ‘The dry lake, this lake is somehow dry.’²³⁰ [ANP Lakes around Potapovo]

Further, *-raxa* is used for deriving two color terms *šudraxa* ‘blue’ (lit. ‘like smoke’) and *odiđraxa* ‘green’ (lit. ‘like grass’). Also, in at least one place name on the right side of the Yenisei, roughly 15 km north of Potapovo, *-raxa* is attested too: *korioraxa to* ‘xorej-like lake’. The name is explained by its unusual shape, which is said to look like two crossing xorej.

227. Although this clause seems semantically close to a purposive clause, it is clearly an instance of secondary-predication. Purposive clauses will be discussed in some detail in chapter 12.

228. *-raxa* plays an equally prominent role in verbal morphology as it can be found in several moods which diachronically have arisen from earlier nominalizations.

229. Certain place in a chum.

230. *kas to* ‘dry lake’ is a lake (actually said to consist of several lakes) on the left side of the Yenisei, around 40–45 km west of Potapovo. The area around the lake was the core settlement area of ZNB’s family Enetses throughout much of the earlier 20th century. The lake is said to be rather shallow and does not allow fishing in winter; therefore it is referred to as the ‘dry lake’. Also on Russian maps of the area, the lake is called *Cyxoe ozero*.

5.6.2 Diminutives

The diminutive is used to diminish the size of an entity or to create a more familiar or intimate association.²³¹ Diminutive formation is synchronically difficult to grasp, as several competing markers seem to exist and in the case of *-ku* vs. *-kuča* only a diachronic explanation can explain the distribution. When talking about the deceased, a special diminutive *-kuji+PX* must be used. A small class of nouns ending in *-ik*, e.g. *bunik* ‘dog’ or *tobik* ‘mouse’, consists of historical diminutives. Due to the loss of the suffix vowels, they are no longer recognized as such.²³²

5.6.2.1 Diminutive *-ku* vs. *-kuča*

The prototypical diminutive *-ku*, which expresses small size or intimacy, can be found in the following examples:

- (71) *tobku-ku* *säxäri-ku-da* *me-on* *käni*
 mouse-DIM way-DIM-PX.GEN.3SG in-PROL go.3SG
 ‘The little mouse went along its little way.’ [NKB Mouse and Fish]

- (72) *čiki* *nääči-ku-r* *ań* *pađir?*
 this woman.youngster-DIM-PX.2SG FOC spotted
neđi-ku-đa *tonä-bi*
 reindeer.calf-DIM-PX.3SG exist-PERF.3SG
 ‘This little girl had a spotted small reindeer calf.’ [NKB Auka]

The second diminutive *-kuča* shows no difference in meaning in contrast to *-ku*, and one should therefore classify *-kuča* as an allomorph of *-ku*.²³³ Concerning its formation, *-kuča* is attached to monosyllabic nouns which end in a short vowel, e.g. *to* ‘lake’ → *tokuča* ‘little lake’ or *še* ‘hole’ → *šekuča* ‘little hole’. However, monosyllabic nouns ending in either a diphthong or a long vowel are followed by the general diminutive marker *-ku*, e.g. *koo* ‘ear’ → *kooku* ‘little ear’, *sei* ‘heart’ → *seiku* ‘little heart’, *ŋau* ‘duck’ *ŋauku* ‘little duck’.

- (73) *ää-xuđa* *äsi-xuđa* *čiki* *ir*
 mother-PX.DU.3SG father-PX.DU.3SG this own
te-kuč-iđi *tonä-bi-xi?*
 reindeer-DIM-PX.PL.3DU exist-PERF-3DU
 ‘Her parents had their own reindeer.’ [NKB Auka]

231. NKB has a clear preference for diminutives while telling stories. Other consultants consider this a little exaggerating.

232. As already mentioned once, Tereščenko (1966: 444) reported a non-derived lexeme *bu?* ‘dog’ which has fallen out of usage and is no longer known.

233. In the suffix inventory in ET (335), *-ku* and *-kuča* are presented as different suffixes, for which I have found no evidence.

5.6.2.2 Double diminutives

There is no evidence for stacking of diminutives, such as *-kuku* or the like, in contemporary Forest Enets. In example (71), the lexeme *tobik* ‘mouse’ is historically a diminutive, but is no longer understood as such; the linking vowel is therefore the regular outcome of vowel insertion necessary for phonotactic reasons:

- (71) *tobku-ku säxäri-ku-da me-on käni*
 mouse-DIM way-DIM-PX.GEN.3SG in-PROL go.3SG
 ‘The little mouse went along its little way.’ [NKB Mouse and Fish]

Sorokina’s morpheme inventory in ET registers besides the diminutive in *-kuča* also an independent diminutive in *-ča* (ET 335), but for the latter I do not have any clear evidence in my own materials.

5.6.2.3 Diminutives with the deceased

When talking about the deceased and especially about deceased close kin, the deceased must be addressed with a special diminutive *-kuji+PX*. As many recorded stories contain personal stories about the distant past including relatives as protagonists, such examples are numerous:

- (74) *kudaxai mud’ ää-kuji-b’ badä-đa-š bagla*
 long.ago 1SG mother-DIM-PX.1SG tell-SG.3SG-PST Selkup
busi ma-ń tonä-bi
 old.man say-ASS.3SG exist-PERF.3SG
 ‘Long ago my deceased mother told this story. There was a Selkup man...’
 [LDB Chervo]

- (75) *kasa enču čiki äsi-kuji-b’ točguđ čiki busi*
 [man]_[N/G] [person]_[NOM.PL] this father-DIM-PX.1SG then this old.man
 ‘These men, my deceased father and then this old man...’ [NKB Prisoners]

5.6.3 Augmentative/Pejorative

The function of *-je* is ambiguous, and much idiosyncratic variation could be documented. Whereas in stories, a clear pejorative function prevails, e.g. in (76) and (77), elicitation data suggests that it can still function as an augmentative (78):

- (76) *ŋoʔ roða-je ma-mnu-ða*
 one Russian-PEJ say-AUD-3SG
 ‘A tall Russian said...’ [NKB Prisoners]
- (77) *näaku-ju-xo minxuda očik liđi-ru-ku-je minxuda*
 other-TOP-INDEF suddenly bad bone-LIM-DIM-PEJ suddenly
ođi-ma pe-d
 go.out-RES.3SG outside-LAT.SG
 ‘The other one, suddenly, the little bad bony guy came out.’ [NKB Prisoners]
- (78) *täxä šuđib logri-je taxa-n*
 that huge mountain-AUG_[GEN] behind-LOC
 ‘There, behind the huge mountain...’ [ZNB I 16]

When *-je* expresses a clearly pejorative meaning, it can even be preceded by a diminutive (see also 77):

- (79) a. *adu-je* <louse-PEJ> ‘a nasty louse’
 b. *adu-ku-je* <louse-DIM-PEJ> ‘a nasty little louse’ [ZNB IV 26]

In several cases, the pejorative is almost lexicalized; both the cuckoo, *kuči*, and the moon, *d’iri*, are very often referred to with the augmentative/pejorative, with the forms *kučije* and *d’irije*, respectively.

5.6.4 Comitative and Caritive

Both the comitative as well as the caritive are discussed together for a variety of reasons, as they stand in clear opposition to each other.

5.6.4.1 Comitative

The function of the comitative *-sai/-đai/-čai* is to express possession (80), a general property (81) or with whom (82) or what (83) an action takes place:

- (80) *bu te-sai enči*
 3SG reindeer-COM person.3SG
 ‘He is a man with reindeer.’ (Lit. ‘he is a reindeery man’) [ZNB 13/2/06]
- (81) *čor tu piri kari-sai*
 [chor_[N/G] lake] always fish-COM.3SG
 ‘The chor lake is always full of fish.’ (Lit. ‘fishy’) [ANP Chor To]

(82) *enču* *ńe-sai* *ďaďa-č*
 people_[NOM.PL] child-COM go_[UD]-3PL.PST
 ‘People travelled with their child.’ [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]

(83) *seŋi-b* *ań* *Vitalik* *karabin-sai* *nä*
 see-SG.1SG FOC PN rifle-COM stand.3SG
 ‘I saw that Vitalik stood (there) with his rifle.’ [LDB Bear]

The comitative is not used to express by which instrument a particular action is done; for this, the locative case is used. Finally, concerning number marking, it seems to be possible to add number to the comitative marker [ROOT-COM-PL], but much variation is attested (see also 84c). The comitative stands on the borderline of case, but resists classification as such. Although pronouns lack a comitative form, the secondary instrumental-comitative function of the locative case expresses concomitance, which points towards derivation. This is further supported by lexicalization patterns, which show a marked difference between (84b) and (84c).

(84) a. *dupu-caŋ* *nu*
 moon-COM night
 ‘moonlit night’ (Lit. ‘moon with light; Ru: лунная ночь’) [ET 118]

b. *ne-sai* *enči*
 woman-COM person
 ‘a gifted man’ (Lit. ‘woman-with man’)

c. *kasa* *enči* *ne-sai* *te-sai* *bodu-n* *ďiri*
 [man person] woman-COM reindeer-COM tundra-LOC live.3SG
 ‘The man lives with the woman and the reindeer in the tundra.’ [ZNB I 65]

5.6.4.2 Caritive

The caritive stands in semantic opposition to the comitative; it states the absence of something. In earlier analyses of the caritive, several related categories have been mixed with each other and its description in previous research, including Siegl (2011b), was incorrect. In Sorokina (2010b: 148–150) and similar earlier accounts, a caritive in *-šida/-ďida/-čida* was postulated. This interpretation is incorrect, as *-šida* consists of two morphemes *-ši*, the verbal caritive and *-da* the imperfective participle. As a modifier, the caritive is of course a nominal category (85a), but in predicative function, it is clearly verbal, as is demonstrated by negation:

- (85) a. *osa-ši-ḏa* *enči*
 meat-CAR-PTCP.IPF person
 ‘person without meat’ (Lit. ‘meatless-being person’)
- b. *enči* *osa-ši*
 person meat-CAR.3SG
 ‘The person is without meat.’
- c. *bu* *ni* *osa-ši-ʔ*
 3SG NEG.AUX.3SG meat-CAR-CN
 ‘He is not without meat.’ [ZNB IV 44]

The caritive in *-šiḏa/-ḏiḏa/-čiḏa* is therefore an instance of verbal caritivity. *-ši* is a denominal verbal suffix expressing absence, but it should not be confused with the prototypical nominal caritive in *-šud̄/-ḏud̄/-čud̄* which appears, as one would expect syntactically, as an adjunct.

- (86) *tori-jet* *bednye* *kari-šud̄* *kaji-bi-ši-jet*
 such-EMPH poor_[ADJ.RU] fish-CAR remain-PERF-3PL.PST-EMPH
 ‘So, the poor remained without fish.’ [LDB Fishermen]
- (87) *mud̄* *bi-čud̄* *ad̄i-ḏʔ* *eri-č* *kañi-š* *tara*
 1SG water-CAR sit-1SG fetch.water-CON go-CON must.3SG
 ‘I am without water, I must go fetch some.’ [LDB IV 99]
- (89) *ḏetsu* *mi-n* *ɲul̄* *šiḏu-ru-š* *kod-šud̄* *kaiʔe-iʔ*
 Yenisei_[GEN] in-LOC very two-LIM-TRSL sled-CAR remain-1DU
 ‘We, only by the two of us, remained without a sled on the Yenisei.’ [NKB Yenisei]

5.6.5 Limitative suffix *-ru/-lu*

The limitative suffix *-ru/-lu*, equivalent to the English ‘only’, emphasizes that something is limited to an action, entity, individual, place or the like:

- (90) *āba-ru-ḏa* *seri-š* *kaji-bi* *bini-xun*
 head-LIM-PX.3SG bind-CON stay-PERF.3SG rope-LOC.6SG
 ‘Only the head tied with a rope remained.’ [LDB Plundered sled]
- (91) *mod̄* *sil̄eigu* *te-ru-ʔ* *modiʔä-ḏʔ*
 1SG white reindeer-LIM-_[ACC.PL] see-1SG
 ‘I saw only white reindeer.’ [ZNB I 73]

- (92) *mod' labka-ru-d dáđu-ď?*
 1SG store-LIM-LAT.SG go_{MUDI}-1SG
 'I will only go to the shop.' [LDB II 32]

5.6.6 Indefinite and negative suffixes

The last pair of derivational suffixes to be discussed fall into the sphere of indefinite and negative meaning. Of these suffixes, neither the indefinite (occasionally also emphatic) *-xo/-go/-ko* nor the negative *-xuru/-guru/-kuru* are frequent with lexical nouns. Instead, they are much more characteristic of pronouns. In fact, both examples (93) and (94) are the only attested instances in transliterated narratives so far.

5.6.6.1 Indefinite-emphatic *-xo/-go/-ko*

The function of the indefinite-emphatic marker *-xo/-go/-ko* is to express a further non-specifiable property of an entity:

- (93) *bäsi-xo ni kebi ma-ń*
 iron-INDEF NEG.AUX.3SG be.sinful.CN say-ASS.3SG
 'Anything of iron is not a sin, one says.' [LDB Taboo]

- (94) *kaďa-xu piri ŋa-ńu*
 snow.storm-INDEF always be_{LOC}-ASS.3SG
 'There is always some snowstorm.' [LDB I 142]

5.6.6.2 Negative *-xuru/-guru/-kuru*

The negative marker *-xuru/-guru/-kuru* is used to mark the non-existence of a property. The only non-pronominal example attested in transliterated narratives is with a numeral:

- (95) *no-kruďu ni-ď nă-r*
 one-NEG.PX.PL.3PL NEG.AUX-R.3SG stand-FREQ.CN
 'Not a single one of them was alive.' (Lit. 'not a single one stood')
 [LDB Plundered Sled]

5.7 Benefactive *-ḏu/-du/-tu* (predestinative declension)

The suffix *-ḏu/-du/-tu* expressing benefactivity, ‘X for Y’, is clearly the most intriguing of all nominal suffixes. Due to its complex behavior, which brings this morpheme close to case, it is not classifiable as a simple derivational morpheme. As this category remains among the most poorly understood categories in Northern Samoyedic, a detailed discussion concerning its syntax and semantics will be given in chapter 11. For the time being, the following two examples show the basic function of the benefactive on either A or P arguments:

- (96) *te-ḏu-i?* *to*
 reindeer-BEN-PX.1SG come.3SG
 ‘A reindeer came for me.’²³⁴

- (97) *mod’ kodu-ḏu-da kamiḏa-go-ḏ?*
 1SG sled-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG make-DUR-1SG
 ‘I’m currently making a sled for him.’ [ZNB I 44]

5.8 Adjectives

Adjectives form a small, apparently closed class of nominals with reduced morphology. Apart from the essive-translative case, adjectives do not attract other inflectional morphology.

- (66) *ḏeri-r ḏabu-uš kaḏi*
 day-PX.2SG long-TRSL go.3SG
 ‘The days get longer.’ [LDB & NKB II 67]

As several derivational suffixes, e.g. limitative *-ru/-lu*, also attach to adjectives, sufficient evidence for their classification as a nominal category is at hand. Adjectives can be inflected for prolativ case, but this results in a manner adverb interpretation.

- (4) *bunik aga-an moḏu-ḏa*
 dog big-PROL bark-FREQ.3SG
 ‘The dog barks loudly (Lit. bigly).’ [ZNB I 38]

A topic reserved for future research concerns the question of whether adjectives are indeed a closed word class, as the gathered data suggests. The overall number of non-de-

234. As this sentence is semantically odd in English, its translation is better rendered as follows: ‘A reindeer came for me and I benefit from its coming – it is now at my disposal.’

rived adjectives is medium; currently around 50 instances are attested. Other concepts, which one would often find in languages with large adjective classes, are expressed as stative intransitive verbs. In attributive position, such stative intransitive verbs are encoded as imperfective participles, and although participles will be addressed in chapter 8 in more detail, a short excursus will be offered in 5.8.4.

5.8.1 Derivational morphology and adjectives

The following short overview presents the most frequently encountered derivational suffixes which can be found on adjectives. Apart from the augmentative-pejorative and the limitative, there seems to exist some derivational morphology whose appearance is restricted to adjectives.

5.8.1.1 Augmentative-pejorative *-je*

The augmentative-pejorative *-je* is compatible with both nouns and adjectives:

- (98) a. *aga-je* *čiki* *šebloitse-je* *ma-mnuđa...*
 big-PEJ this prisoner-PEJ say-AUD.3SG
 ‘The big one, this prisoner said...’ [NKB Prisoners]
- b. *alki-je* *čiki* *rođa-je* *ma-mnuđa*
 enormous-PEJ this Russian-PEJ say-AUD.3SG
 ‘The enormous one, this Russian said...’ [NKB Prisoners]

It is even possible to mark both adjectives and nouns with the pejorative, however this is not an instance of agreement. Such instances are nevertheless very rare and are pragmatically highly marked:

- (99) *älki-je* *kari-je* *ä-đa-raxa*
 huge-PEJ fish-PEJ be-PTCP.IPF-SIM.3SG
 ‘This seemed to be a huge fish.’ [ANP Taimen]

5.8.1.2 Limitative *-ru/-lu*

The limitative on adjectives is rare and there are currently no examples in transliterated speech. In elicitation, however, the limitative on adjectives is possible, e.g. *aga-ru* <big-LIM> ‘only big’ or *ibleigu-ru* <small-LIM> ‘only small’.

5.8.1.3 Contrastive topic marker *-ju* (polaritive)

As much as the available data allows for addressing the function of *-ju*, it seems to be a contrastive or polaritive topic marker reserved for adjectives. *-ju* is added when an action concerns two entities to be chosen from:

(100)a. *čiki aga-ju no oburi-đa čiki mädä?ä*
 this big-TOP PART thing-PX.3SG this see.3SG
 ‘The big one, so, the thing, this he saw...’ [NKB Prisoners]

b. *no nääku-ju-xo minxuda očik liđi-ru-ku-je minxuda*
 so other-TOP-INDEF suddenly bad bone-LIM-DIM-PEJ suddenly
ođi-ma pe-d...
 appear-RES.3SG out-LAT.SG
 ‘The other one, the bad bony one suddenly appeared outside...’ [NKB Prisoners]

Example (101) from an elicitation session serves as the answer to a hypothetical question, which fish a person should chose if two were at one’s disposal:

(101) *aga-ju mu*
 big-TOP take.IMP.2SG
 ‘Take the big(ger) one.’ [ZNB IV 18]

5.8.1.4 *-(V)igu* derivation

This suffix is not productive in contemporary Enets, but can be found in a variety of adjectives which are derived from nouns focusing on property, e.g. *iblēigu* ‘little, young’ from *iblá* ‘youngster’, *silēigu* ‘white’ from *sił/sira* ‘white/snow’. Also *ňubčaiigu* ‘soft’ must belong to this derivation, although no immediately related noun could be found.²³⁵

5.8.1.5 *-ita* ‘a little more X than usual’ derivation

This suffix is not productive either. Its function is to derive a kind of minimal augmentative, which was translated as ‘a little more X than usual’.

(102) *täxä aga-ita-d mu*
 there big-AUG₂-PX.ACC.2SG take.IMP.2SG
 ‘Take the (fish) that is a little bigger.’ (Lit. ‘take that little bigger one’)²³⁶
 [ZNB IV 18]

235. It might be possible that this unproductive derivation triggers some morphological alternation of the stem vowel /a/ → /e/ before /i/. In Castrén’s materials, /a/ is attested in examples for both Enets varieties, e.g. *úlaigu* Ch. ‘klein, wenig’ or *kē’elaiggu* Ch. *kémilaiku* B. ‘kurz’ (Castrén 1855: 79, 80)

236. This is another clear example of language change as the direct object is encoded by the accusative case.

The increasing augmentative function is further attested by the fact that *ibleigu* cannot be further derived with this suffix as ‘a little smaller’: **ibleiguita* is judged as ungrammatical.

Manner adverbs can also be derived from this adjectival base:

- (103) *oka-ita-an* *oo-r*
 many-AUG₂-PROL eat-IMP.SG.2SG
 ‘Eat a little more!’ [ZNB IV 18]

5.8.1.6 *-rka* ‘a little more than X’ derivation

In meaning, the *-rka* derivation comes close to being the functional equivalent of a comparative. Still, since in all translations, the Russian *чуть* ‘a little’ was used, this restriction must be accommodated and therefore it will not be labelled as comparative. So far, *-rka* is only found in predicative position:

- (104) a. *bu* *äsi-xuđ-da* *pidi-rka*
 3SG father-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG tall-AUG₃.3SG
 ‘He is a little taller than his father.’ [ZNB IV 18]
- b. *bu* *noduñ* *düdi-rka*
 3SG 1SG.ABL young-AUG₃.3SG
 ‘He is a little younger than me.’ [ZNB IV 18]
- c. *äki* *đoxa* *detšu-guđ* *tädi-rka*
 this river Yenisei-ABL.SG broad-AUG₃.3SG
 ‘This river is a little broader than the Yenisei.’ [ZNB IV 18]²³⁷

5.8.2 Number and PX on adjectives

Prototypically, adjectives do not agree with their head in number or possession, however under certain pragmatic functions, apparently definiteness, a kind of number agreement (though not in the dual) seems to be possible. Concerning PX on adjectives, the situation is clearer and will be introduced first. In (105), the adjective is marked for possession and serves as the transitive subject. This use, which points to noun ellipsis and conversion via PX, is infrequent yet attested and shows that under certain definiteness conditions, here contrastive focus, adjectives can be marked for PX and function as pivots of transitive predicates:

237. Although *detši* ‘Yenisei’ was reported as being a IIa noun in earlier research, this is one of the very few examples where it behaves as such.

- (105) *ibleigu-r* *aga kasa-da* *sakra*
 little-PX.2SG [big child]-PX.ACC.3SG bite.3SG
 ‘Your little one bit the older boy (and not your older son).’ [ZNB IV 54]

However, PX marking of both the adjective and the noun, e.g. *sileigu-r te-r* <white-PX.2SG reindeer-PX.2SG> ‘your white reindeer’, seems impossible and only the noun would receive PX marking in such instances.

Concerning agreement, the picture is highly fragmented. Trubetskoj (2010) claims that he discovered some kind of agreement in case, though, as much of the data in his article is apparently based on elicitation plus deriving from a very short visit to Potapovo and without reference to consultants, it is impossible to verify his observation. Although I have some examples for agreement in plural of the type ADJ-PL N-PL, these instances are too uncertain for any interpretation at this moment in time. Instances of agreement in case are absent in my data.

5.8.3 *-i* derivation

Another, again unproductive item of derivational morphology is the suffix *-i*, which derives adjective-like modifiers from nouns.²³⁸ In the following two examples, adjectives are derived from a noun or from a postposition:

- (106) *obu* *dodigun* *utuđu-i* *ŋa-aš* *kāni*
 what_[GEN] period.LOC.SG autumn-ADJ sky-TRSL go.3SG
 ‘At some time, autumn arrived.’ (Lit. ‘autumnal sky’) [ANP Stupid people]

- (107) *to* *doda-i* *um*
 summer_[GEN] middle_{PP}-ADJ north
 ‘Northern wind around midsummer’ (Lit. ‘midsummerish north’) [ZNB IV 185]

Also, the same suffix occurred in an earlier example:

- (64) *narei* *đeri-iš* *kañi* *uže* *mud* *đurak*
 spring.ADJ day-TRSL go.3SG already 1SG Nenets
nääči-iš *kañi-đ?*
 youngster.woman-TRSL go-1SG
 ‘And it became spring and I already turned into a Nenets girl.’ [NKB Childhood]

238. Interestingly, this morpheme is homonymous with the perfective participle in *-i(?)*, a fact which was already observed by Tereščenko (1968: 295).

5.8.4 Excursus – participles as modifiers

Switching from a morphological to a syntactic perspective, a few preliminary comments on participles as modifiers are in order. As has been shown above, derivational means of adjective formation are unproductive in Forest Enets. Instead of adjectives, many attributive modifiers are imperfective participles of stative verbs (see also 8.3.2). In the following example, ‘black’ is a participle of the stative verb *poldid*’ meaning ‘to be black’:

- (108) *poldi-da* *bunk-i* *pogu-d* *poñi-mub-äü*
 be.black-PTCP.IPF dog-PX.ACC.1SG fish-CON hold-HAB-SG.1SG
 ‘I keep the black dog for fishing.’ [LDB II 27]

In predicative position, the stative intransitive verb behaves as a usual verb:

- (109) *bunki-xuñ* *poldi-ŋa-xi?*
 dog-PX.DU.1SG black-FREQ-3DU
 ‘My two dogs are black.’ [LDB II 27]

Concerning negation, participles of stative verbs are negated as usual verbs with a negative auxiliary verb:

- (110) *mud* *bunki-xuñ* *ñi-xi?* *poldi-r-?*
 1SG dog-PX.PL.1SG NEG.AUX-3DU black-FREQ-CN
 ‘My two dogs are not black.’ [LDB II 27]

In contrast, adjectives are negated as nouns by *ñi ŋa?*. This will be addressed in more detail in 9.4; the following two examples illustrate this phenomenon:

- (111) *poju* *koru* *soida-an* *motora*
 sharp knife good-PROL cut.3SG
 ‘A sharp knife cuts well.’ [ZNB I 32]

- (112) *koru* *poju* *ñi* *ŋa?*
 knife sharp.3SG NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC}-CN
 ‘The knife is not sharp.’ (Lit. ‘the sharp knife is, it is not’) [ZNB I 32]

5.8.5 Expression of gradation

Forest Enets has no synthetic morphology for the gradation of adjectives expressing a construction ‘X-er than Y’. The prototypical construction employed sets two nouns into relation by marking the entity under comparison for ablative case. As adjectives cannot be marked for case, any other proper nominal category must be marked instead:

- (113) *uu noduñ aga-d*
 2SG 1SG.ABL big-2SG
 ‘You are older than me.’ (Lit. ‘from me you are big’) [LDB I 126]

- (114) *te bunki-xuđ märiä*
 reindeer dog-ABL.SG quick.3SG
 ‘A reindeer is faster than a dog.’ [LDB I 126]

Functionally close to gradation of adjectives are the aforementioned instances of derivation based on *-ita* and *-rka*:

- (102) *täxä aga-ita-d mu*
 there big-AUG₂-PX.ACC.2SG take.IMP.2SG
 ‘Take the (fish) that is a little bigger.’ (Lit. ‘take that little bigger one’)²³⁹
 [ZNB IV 18]

- (104)a. *bu äsi-xuđ-da pidi-rka*
 3SG father-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG tall-AUG₃.3SG
 ‘He is a little taller than his father.’ [ZNB IV 18]

5.9 Numerals

The numeral system of contemporary Forest Enets is basically decimal, although relicts point to a different system used in the past. For example ‘eight’ *šidiät* seems to be a fossilized compound of *šidiät* ‘two four’. *šidu* ‘twenty’ seems to be synchronically unsegmentable, too.²⁴⁰

Numerals do not show number morphology (no dual or plural) and apparently cannot be used with PX either. Numerals, too, take only some derivational morphology.

239. This is another clear example of language change as the direct object is encoded by the accusative case.

240. This numeral is also unsegmentable in a variety of other Uralic languages (e.g. Udmurt, Komi, and Hungarian).

5.9.1 Cardinals

- (115) *ŋolú*²⁴¹ ~ *ŋo(?)* 1 *šidi* 2 *näxu(?)* 3 *tät* 4 *sob(i)rig* 5
motu(?) 6 *säu* 7 *šidiät* 8 *näda* 9 *bi?* 10

A variety of observations concerning the phonetic representation of numerals could be made. First, the glottal stops in ‘three’ and ‘six’ are no longer audible. By adding the limitative *-ru*, assimilation to *-lu* occurs, which shows that both numerals are underlyingly still glottal stop stems. Whether these numerals belong to class IIa or IIb could no longer be determined. Second, the phonetic shape of several numerals differs from speaker to speaker; instead of *ŋolú* ‘one’ and *sobirig* ‘five’, also *ŋulu* and *sobrig* occur frequently. ANP pronounces *motu(?)* ‘six’ generally as *mutu* and occasionally, instead of *säu* ‘seven’ the historically older *säɽu* is infrequently attested. Also the glottal stop in *bi?* ‘ten’ is sometimes omitted and once a while *biu?*, a form matching older accounts, could be heard too.

Numerals from 11–19 are morphologically complex and could be eventually interpreted as clauses. The last element, *boɽad*, a stative intransitive verb meaning ‘is more’, is apparently a defective stative verb which requires its first teen in the ablative, followed by a cardinal number. The numerals ‘eleven’ and ‘twelve’ translate as follows:

- (116) *bi-kuɽ* *ŋolú* *boɽad*
 ten-ABL.SG one be.more.3SG
 ‘From ten one is more = 11’

- (117) *bi-kuɽ* *šidi* *boɽad*
 ten-ABL.SG two be.more.3SG
 ‘From ten two are more = 12’

In spontaneous speech, such clauses are often simplified:

- (118) *ŋolú* *boɽad*
 one be.more.3SG
 ‘One is more = 11’

The numerals 13–19 are formed on the same principles.

The numeral ‘twenty’ differs from the rest as it is not a compound of the highest power of ten followed by ten and cardinals, which is the pattern for numerals from 30–99. Instead, an invariable *šidu* ~ *šiduu* ~ *šidiu* ‘twenty’, which is then followed by cardinals, is used:

241. Another version of ‘one’, *ŋo?* or *ŋob*, is also attested. It may well be the case, that *ŋolu* is a fossilized form of the numeral ‘one’ *ŋo?* and the limitative *-ru/-lu*.

- (119) a. *šiduu* 20
 b. *šiduu ŋolu* 21...

Higher numbers from 30 to 99 are compounds whose second component is the numeral *bi?* ‘ten’.

- (120) *näxubi?* 30 *tätbi?* 40 *sobrigbi?* 50 *motabi?* 60
säubi? 70 *šidätbi?* 80 *nädabi?* 90

Further, cardinals are attached, e.g. *motubi?* *tät* ‘64’

d’u? meaning ‘hundred’ is used following then same pattern as for figures with ten. The glottal stop is often omitted:

- (121) *đu?* ~ *ŋolu đu?* 100 *šidi đu* 200 *näxu đu* 300

The native Forest Enets system seems to end with 999. Whereas the numeral ‘thousand’ is known, there is considerable variation among the speakers in how it is expressed. Speakers who were born in monolingual Forest Enets marriages use the Tundra Nenets lexeme for ‘thousand’ *jonar ju*. In contrast, speakers raised in bilingual Forest Enets Nenets families prefer the Russian *тысяча*.²⁴² Still, in spontaneous speech numerals exceeding thousand are always uttered in Russian, preserving the syntactic peculiarities of Russian numeral agreement:

- (122) *tišiti devit sot sorok vošmoi* *po-xon* *mä-bi-đu?*
 1948th year-LOC.SG make-PERF-SG.3PL
 ‘They built it [the hospital] in 1948.’ [ANP Hospital]

The same is registered in a narrative by LDB who told about the transfer of a large flock of reindeer to Potapovo in the early 1960s. After some hesitation as he could not produce the numerals in Forest Enets, he switched to Russian:

- (123) *dóxora* *rođa* *bađa-n* *kuñ* *ma-ť*
 not.know.SG.1SG Russian word-PROL how say-CON
dve tyšišči pet sot *sem sot* *golov*
 2500 700 head.GEN.PL.FEM
 ‘I don’t know it; how to say in Russian, 2500, 2700 heads.’ [LDB Yamal]

242. As Forest Enets reindeer herds were small because large-scale reindeer breeding was previously unknown around Potapovo, there was apparently no necessity to talk about things in thousands.

5.9.2 Ordinals

Ordinals are formed by adding the suffix *-dä* to cardinals. The first two ordinals are suppletive. Also, other numerals (e.g. five) seem to use two different stems. No glottal stop fusion was encountered with ‘three’ and ‘six’.

CARDINALS		ORDINALS	
<i>ŋolu ~ ŋo(?)</i>	1	<i>orte</i>	1st
<i>šidi</i>	2	<i>nak ~ naak</i>	2nd
<i>näxu?</i>	3	<i>näxudä</i>	3rd
<i>tät</i>	4	<i>tätudä</i>	4th
<i>sobrig</i>	5	<i>sobudä</i>	5th
<i>motu?</i>	6	<i>motudä</i>	6th
<i>säu</i>	7	<i>säudä</i>	7th

Table 5-10: Cardinals and ordinals

5.9.3 Other numerals and their morphology

Tereščenko’s sketch (1966: 446–447) provided an overview of the morphology of collectives, distributives, iteratives, fractionals, and temporals.²⁴³ In the language of the current generation, only the collectives have survived. Morphologically, the collectives are cardinals, which are case-marked for translative case:

- (124) *otuđnuju* *näxu-uš* *dođu-ŋa-a-č*
 fall.ADV three-TRSL go_{MUDI-FREQ-IPL-PST}
 ‘In fall, we went by the three of us.’ [LDB Supernatural]

- (125) *mud’* *deťšu* *mi-n* *ŋolu-uš* *kaija-đ?*
 1SG Yenisei_[GEN] in-LOC one-TRSL remain-1SG
 ‘I remained alone on the Yenisei.’ [NKB Yenisei]

Tereščenko’s distributive is attested, but this might be a simple postpositional construction and not a special kind of numeral:²⁴⁴

- (126) *kirba* *šidi* *lođ* *tidä-đ?*
 bread_[ACC] two DIST buy-1SG
 ‘I bought bread in twos.’ [ZNB IV 71]

243. The labels derive from Künnap (1999).

244. Although postpositions govern genitive case, no modification for numerals is attested; therefore they are analyzed as NOM.SG which is not glossed separately.

- (127) *budĭ* *osa-diʔ* *šidi* *lođ* *täʔä-điʔ*
 3DU meat-PX.ACC.SG.3DU two DIST divide-SG.3DU
 ‘They divided their meat in two.’ [ZNB IV 71]

The iterative, which according to Tereščenko is based on the plural of numerals, is no longer attested. For this, either Russian *раз* ‘time’ or its Enets equivalent *d’or* is used:

- (128) *bu* *šidi* *d’or* *d’oditu-ŋa*
 3SG two time shoot-FREQ.3SG
 ‘He shot twice (Lit. ‘two times’).’ [ZNB IV 71]

Fractionals could not be documented.

5.9.4 Limitative on numerals

The limitative *-ru/-lu* is the final element that occurs with numerals:

- (129) *näxu-lu* *kari* *tođa*
 three-LIM fish_[ACC] bring.3SG
 ‘He brought only three fishes.’ [ZNB IV 72]

5.9.5 Syntax of numerals

Numerals trigger singular on the nouns they modify. Whereas verbs agree with nouns in person and number, predicates with numerals remain in the singular:

- (130) *tu* *bar-xun* *sobrig* *mugadi* *điri-bi*
 lake_[GEN] shore-LOC.SG five clan live-PERF.3SG
 ‘On the shore of a lake lived five mugadi Enetses.’ [ANP Seven girls]

- (131) *tät* *nä* *enči* *lata* *kolta-go-đa*
 four [woman_[N/G] person] floor_[ACC] clean-DUR-SG.3SG
 ‘Four women clean the floor.’ [ANP Hospital]

Concerning the numeral *šidi* ‘two’, both dual and singular can be found. In this respect, semantic agreement between the predicate and the NP can also be found, as example (133) shows:

- (132) *šidi enči-gi?* *to-xi?* *äku-xun* *šidi* *enči-gi?*
 two person-[NOM.DU] come-3DU here-LOC.SG two person-[NOM.DU]
tonä-xi-č *operativnik-xi?*
 exist-3DU-PST operativnik-3DU
 ‘Two men came. Here [in Potapovo] were two men, two special policemen.’
 [NKB Prisoners]

- (133) *šidi-ru enči mädi-đa* *enči* *onai* *mä-či*
 two-LIM person nomadize-PTCP.IPF person real chum-PX.ACC.SG.3DU
mokta-gu-š *pä-xi?*
 put.up-DUR-CON begin-3DU
 ‘Only two persons, two people practicing nomadizing began to put up a their chum.’
 [LDB Shaman]

The non-obligatoriness of the dual after *šidi* ‘two’ is best demonstrated by dual local cases which are formed periphrastically (see earlier in this chapter). During elicitation, periphrastic dual locative forms were usually avoided, as the singular can be used too. Whereas (134) shows a periphrastic dual, examples such as (135) are, however, clearly preferred:

- (134) *šidi toxi?* *nä-?* *to-ina?*
 two [lake]_[GEN.DU] LOC_{PP}-LAT] come-R.1PL
 ‘We arrived at the two lakes.’
- (135) *šidi to-xun* *karida* *oka*
 two lake-LOC.SG fish.PL.3SG many.3PL
 ‘There are many fish in these two lakes.’ [EIB I 146]

5.10 Pronouns and interrogatives

Forest Enets has a set of free-standing pronouns for three persons in singular, dual and plural. As a typical Uralic language, both specification for gender and clusivity are unknown. Special honorific pronouns such as the Hungarian *ön/önök* have never been reported nor could consultants recall any honorific use of plural pronouns (cf. German *Sie*, Finnish *te*).

Case inflection for pronouns differs from nominal case inflection in several respects:

- Pronouns are suppletive and have three stems, which correspond to their distribution as S/A, O, and OBL. Thereby pronouns follow NOM-ACC alignment.
- Pronouns lack a genitive, translative-essive, or comitative paradigm.
- In locational cases, pronominal latives have a restricted recipient and goal function.
- Locative-marked pronominals express comitativity.

As verbs must index the subject, pronouns can be dropped. In contrast to many other Uralic languages, Forest Enets also allows pro-drop of 3P pronouns.

5.10.1 Pronouns in nominative case

The internal morphological structure of nominative pronouns is unusual. Dual and plural pronouns are actually derived from singular pronouns followed by possessive suffixes belonging to the genitive series:

NOM	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>mod'</i> ~ <i>mud'</i> ²⁴⁵	<i>mod'ín?</i>	<i>mod'na?</i>
2P	<i>uu</i>	<i>uud'i?</i>	<i>uuda?</i>
3P	<i>bu</i>	<i>bud'i?</i>	<i>budu?</i>

Table 5-11: Personal pronouns in nominative case

The phonetic realization reveals considerable variation. The vowel in 1st person pronouns is another example of *o/u* variation, and besides *mod'*, also *mud'* is frequently attested. Only ANP used *mud'*, *mud'ín?* and *mud'na?* consistently. NKB's idiolect differs from all the other consultants as she pronounces *mod'* also as *məd'* or even *mid'*. In careful speech, at least ZNB tended to pronounce both 2SG and 3SG pronouns with a final glottal stop. Also, the vowel in 3SG *bu* can sound like a long vowel.

Whereas lexical nouns in imperatives are inflected for nominative case, pronouns in imperatives must be used in the accusative.

- (136) *šita* *pārđi-?*
 3SG.ACC help.IMP.2SG
 ‘Help him!’

5.10.2 Excursus – genitive possessive pronouns

Tereščenko/Künnap presented a full genitive paradigm though without any examples (Künnap 1999b: 21). Also Sorokina's account (2010b: 227–234) mentions such pronouns, but no further evidence nor examples are given. Despite having invested quite some time into this question, I was unable to verify their existence.

245. Once in a while, the archaic *mod'i* for 1sg was encountered.

In contexts where other Uralic languages would use a genitive pronoun as a possessive pronoun e.g. Finnish (138 a, c) or Udmurt (138 b, d), Forest Enets relies on nominative pronouns:

(137) *uu ní-l obu // mud' ańń í-im Lóńa*
 you name-PX.2SG what.3SG 1SG FOC name-PX.1SG PN
 'What is your name? My name is Leonid.' [LDB I 141]

(138) a. *minä työskentele-n* b. *мон ужа-сько*
 1SG work-1SG 1SG work-PRS.1SG
 'I am working/I work.' 'I am currently working.'

c. *tämä on minun kirja-ni* d. *та мынам книга-е*
 this be.3SG 1SG.GEN book-PX.1SG this 1SG.GEN book-PX.1SG
 'This is my book.' 'This is my book.'

In this respect, Forest Enets and Northern Samoyedic in general are typologically much closer to Hungarian, as also here nominative personal pronouns can be used as possessive pronouns:²⁴⁶

(139) a. *én dolgoz-om* b. *ez az én könyv-em*
 1SG work-1SG DET ART 1SG book-PX.1SG
 'I am working.' 'This is my book.'

c. *te dolgoz-ol* d. *ez az te könyv-ed*
 2SG work-2SG DET ART 2SG book-PX.2SG
 'You are working.' 'This is your book.'

5.10.3 Pronouns in accusative case

Accusative pronouns have a unique stem, *ši-*, which is then followed by accusative possessive suffixes. The non-singular stem is further extended by a synchronically unanalyzable linking element *-đ*. Pronouns in accusative case encode direct objects.

ACC	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>ši(j)?</i>	<i>šidín?</i>	<i>šidna?</i>
2P	<i>šit</i>	<i>šidđi?</i>	<i>šidđa?</i>
3P	<i>šita</i>	<i>šidđi? ~ šid'd'i?</i>	<i>šiddu?</i> ²⁴⁷

Table 5-12: Personal pronouns in accusative case

246. See also Helimski (1982).

247. The underlying form is apparently *šiddu?*

5.10.4 Pronominal forms of local cases

From a historical perspective it seems that Forest Enets (and as a matter of fact also its closest Northern Samoyedic relatives) apparently did not have independent pronouns in oblique cases. What from a synchronic functional perspective can be called pronoun is a periphrastic construction consisting of the nominative pronoun followed by a local postposition *no-*, which is marked for case and possession; possessive suffixes attached to *no-* derive from the genitive series. As *no-* was originally a postposition, the case markers for local cases derive from the postpositional/adverb series which will be discussed in the latter part of this chapter.²⁴⁸

As this periphrastic construction [personal pronoun + local postposition-CX-PX] fills a cell in a paradigm, such constructions are labeled as compound pronouns here. That said, a final note is in order; in casual speech, the first component, the personal pronoun in nominative case is usually omitted. Nevertheless, in carefully elicited speech or under emphasis, as in example (140), the whole construction is uttered. As the realization of these is transparent, compound forms are only shown for singular in the paradigms.

5.10.4.1 Lative compound pronouns

Lative compound pronouns consist of a facultative personal pronoun followed by the postposition *no*. In contrast to locative and ablative pronouns, the lative is morphologically unmarked as no formal case marker is segmentable.²⁴⁹

LAT	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>mud'noñ</i>	<i>noñ?</i>	<i>nona?</i>
2P	<i>uu nod</i>	<i>nod'i?</i>	<i>noda?</i>
3P	<i>bu noda</i>	<i>nod'i?</i>	<i>nodu?</i>

Table 5-13: Equivalents of personal pronouns in lative case

The function of pronominal compound latives differs from lexical nouns. Pronominal compound latives are restricted to such semantic roles as recipient, addressee or goal of movement:

- (141) *mud'na* *nona* *tođa-ubida* *ma-ń*
 1PL 1PL.LAT bring-HAB.PL.3PL say-ASS.3SG
 ‘So he brought them [his reindeer] to us, one says.’ [LDB Chervo]

- (142) *Alík-or* *noñ* *baďä-ďa-š*
 PN-PX.2SG 1SG.LAT tell-SG.3SG-PST
 ‘So this Alik told me...’ [LDB Clairvoyant]

248. *no(?)* can be used without a *PX* which then translates as ‘together with’.

249. No assimilation between *PX* and the postpositional lative marker *-?* is attested which would allow to identify a case marker via glottal stop assimilation.

Pronominal agents of passives are also encoded with the lative:

- (143) *mud' bu noda kolu-t tođa-r-i?*
 1SG 3SG 3SG.LAT school-LAT.SG bring-PASS-R.1SG
 'I was brought to school by her.' [ZNB IV 54]

Pronominal benefactives are not encoded with lative compound pronouns. This function is taken over by the benefactive, which will be addressed in chapter 11.

5.10.4.2 Locative compound pronouns

Locative compound pronouns consist of a non-obligatory personal pronoun; the postposition *no* inflected for locative case *-n* followed by PX_{GEN} . Occasionally, the *i*-insertion rule as sketched in chapter 1 applies, but for reasons unknown this does not occur regularly:

LOC	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>nonin</i>	<i>noniń?</i>	<i>nonina?</i>
2P	<i>nonid</i>	<i>nonid'i?</i>	<i>nonda?</i>
3P	<i>nonida</i>	<i>nonid'i?</i>	<i>nonidu?</i>

Table 5-14: Equivalents of personal pronouns in locative case

The function of the pronominal locative differs from the prototypical function of the locative as it is reserved for the expression of concomitance:

- (144) *ŋulú pi nonin ä-đa-d*
 one night 1SG.LOC be-FUT-2SG
 'You will be one night with me.' [ANP Seven girls]
- (145) *to d'obun nonina ešo čor-? čor-? điri-č*
 that_[GEN] time.PROL 1PL.LOC still clan-[NOM.PL] clan-[NOM.PL] live-3PL.PST
 'In those days a Chor family lived together with us.' [NKB Prisoners]

5.10.4.3 Ablative compound pronouns

Ablative compound pronouns consist of a non-obligatory personal pronoun; the postposition *no* is inflected for ABL *-đ* followed by PX_{GEN} .²⁵⁰

250. For reasons currently unknown, the *i*-insertion rule does not fully apply here. In 1sg and 2sg, the vowel /u/ seems to belong to the ablative suffix and the *i*-insertion rule applies and only to 1du.

ABL	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>nođuń</i>	<i>nođiń?</i>	<i>nođna?</i>
2P	<i>nođud</i>	<i>nođiđi?</i>	<i>nođda?</i>
3P	<i>nođda</i>	<i>nođdi?</i>	<i>nođdu?</i>

Table 5-15: Equivalents of personal pronouns in ablative case

In contrast to the lative and locative pronominal equivalents, no case-to-meaning mismatch is attested here. Similarly to the non-local use of the ablative on nouns, pronouns, too, can express the concept of gradation:

- (146) *bu čiki odu nođda? mo-đa-š*
 3SG this boat_[ACC] 2PL.ABL take-SG.3SG-PST
 ‘He took the boat from you.’ [ZNB 10.02.2006]

- (147) *uu nođuń aga-d*
 2SG 1SG.ABL big-2SG
 ‘You are older than me.’ [LDB I 126]

5.10.5 Intensive-Emphatic Pronoun *ker+PX_{GEN}*

In Künnap’s Enets sketch grammar, *ker+PX_{GEN}* is erroneously classified as a reflexive pronoun (Künnap 1999b: 22). In Tereščenko’s sketch (1966: 448), the same pronoun is labeled a determinate pronoun and translated via Russian *сам*, though no examples of its usage are provided. Some examples can be found in Tereščenko (1973: 181–183), though the discussion is not exhaustive. The analysis chosen here departs from both earlier attempts and analyzes this pronoun as an intensive-emphatic pronoun. Morphologically, the stem *ker-* is followed by *PX_{GEN}* resulting in the following paradigm:

	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>keriń</i>	<i>keriń?</i>	<i>kerina?</i>
2P	<i>kerit ~ kert</i>	<i>keriti?</i>	<i>kerita? ~ kerta?</i>
3P	<i>kerta</i>	<i>keriti?</i>	<i>kertu?</i>

Table 5-16: Intensive-emphatic pronouns

ker+PX_{GEN} emphasizes the syntactic subject. As subject pronouns can be dropped, *ker+PX_{GEN}* can be found in sentence-initial position, too:

- (148) *čiki äjeiču-kuji-b' kudaxai [∅] ker-ta*
 this older.relative-DIM-PX.1SG long.ago PRODROP self-PX.GEN.3SG
ker-ta bari-đa tor' tonä-š
 self-PX.GEN.3SG song-PX.3SG such exist-3SG.PST
 'So this dead relative²⁵¹ of mine, long ago, she herself had her own song.'
 [EIB Clairvoyant]

In (149) *kerta* establishes emphatic anaphoric co-reference with its lexical antecedent *sola enči?* 'stupid person'.

- (149) *tor' sola enči ki-ku-da toi-đ*
 such stupid person side-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG come-R.3SG
ań ker-ta piširi-ma
 FOC self-PX.GEN.3SG laugh-RES.3SG
 'So this stupid person came to his side. Again he laughed.' [ANP Stupid people]

Example (150) is another clear example of emphasis:

- (150) *đurak enči bu ker-ta đurak bađa-an peri*
 Nenets person 3SG self-PX.GEN.3SG Nenets word-PROL always
đuri-mubi-š mensi-đa ań đurak bađa-an
 speak-HAB-3SG.PST old.woman-PX.3SG FOC Nenets word-PROL
đuri-ŋa-š
 speak-FREQ-3SG.PST
 'This Nenets, he usually spoke in Nenets. His wife spoke Nenets too.'
 [LDB Shaman]

Also concerning clausal co-reference, the function of *ker-* is clearly one of an emphasizer. The following two examples are 'minimal pairs' with regard to 3P clausal co-reference:

- (151) *nä ŋe-da mosu-go*
 women child-PX.ACC.3SG wash-DUR.3SG
 'The woman_i is washing her_j child.' [ZNB 15.02.06]
- (152) *nä bu ŋe-da mosu-go*
 women 3SG child-PX.ACC.3SG wash-DUR.3SG
 'The woman_i is washing her_j child.' [ZNB 15.02.06]

By adding 3SG *kerta*, the emphatic interpretation is enforced. Further, the object must now be interpreted as being co-referential with the subject, ruling out an interpretation as in (152):

251. Concerning *äjeiču*, translations of this kinship term gave rise to much confusion. For EIB it meant 'wife of older brother', but other consultants disagreed yet failed to propose a better translation. For the time being, it is simply glossed as elder relative.

- (153) *nä ker-ta ñe-da mosu-go*
 women self-PX.GEN.3SG child-PX.ACC.3SG wash-DUR.3SG
 ‘The woman_i herself is washing her_i own child.’ [ZNB 15.02.06]

5.10.6 Reflexive-like pronoun *puđu*+PX_{ACC}

Forest Enets does not have a real reflexive pronoun, and instead a full noun *puđu* ‘body’ followed by PX_{ACC} can be used in this function.²⁵² For this interpretation, PX on *puđu* must be co-referential with the syntactic subject:

- (154) *mud’ zerkal-xun puđu-i modä-dʔ*
 1SG mirror-LOC.SG body-PX.ACC.1SG see-1SG
 ‘I see myself in the mirror.’ [LDB & NKB II 162]
- (155) *mud’ čiki koru-xun puđu-i mota-dʔ*
 1SG this knife-LOC.SG body-PX.ACC.1SG cut-1SG
 ‘I cut myself with this knife.’ [LDB IV 141]

Although from a cross-linguistic perspective it is well known that body parts can develop into reflexive pronouns, there are some arguments which speak against such an interpretation for Forest Enets.²⁵³ Verbs that prototypically allow a reflexive interpretation of an event, e.g. *motaš* ‘cut’, prefer full NPS as objects. Both ZNB and NKB insisted many times that it would be impossible to translate ‘he cut himself’ into idiomatic Forest Enets and offered the following as the closest possible translation:

- (156) *kasa äči čubai-da mota*
 [man_[N/G] youngster] thumb-PX.ACC.3SG cut.3SG
 ‘The boy cut his thumb.’

During consecutive fieldwork, ZNB hesitatingly offered the following as equivalent of ‘cut x-self’ but often stressed that this was “not good Enets”:

- (157) ? *kasa äči puđu-da mot-ubi*
 [man_[N/G] youngster] body-PX.ACC.3SG cut-HAB.3SG
 ‘The boy usually cuts himself.’

252. In Tereščenko’s accounts (1966: 448; 1973: 182) the same was attributed to *nyxoʒ* ‘body’, and it seems that this lexeme has since undergone further erosion.

253. It may well be the case that Forest Enets has entered such a cline of grammaticalization, but at present this is no more than speculation. Due to the immediate extinction of the language, this process will obviously not reach its end.

- (158) *mod' puđu-i motu-ŋa-đ?*
 1SG body-PX.ACC.1SG cut-FREQ-1SG
 'I cut myself often.'

Further, another prototypically reflexive verb such as *mataš* 'to wash oneself', (note conjugation I) is not preferred with the reflexive reading. Whereas (159) is fine, (160) was again offered with some hesitation:

- (159) *mud' mata-đ?*
 1SG wash-1SG
 'I washed myself.'

- (160) *mud' puđu-i mata-đ?*
 1SG body-PX.ACC.1SG wash-1SG
 'I washed myself.' [All examples ZNB III 67]

The following examples show a variety of other verbs with *puđu* in a reflexive pronoun-like position:

- (161)a. *đu-kn-in ker-in puđu-i modiä-đ?*
 dream-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.1SG self-PX.GEN.1SG body-PX.ACC.1SG see-1SG
 'I myself saw myself in my dreams.'
- b. *bu ker-ta puđu-da dodiä*
 3SG self-PX.GEN.3SG body-PX.ACC.3SG hit.3SG
 'He **himself** hit himself.'
- c. *bu puđu-da maida-bi*
 3SG body-PX.ACC.3SG commit.suicide-PERF.3SG
 'He killed himself.' [All examples ZNB III 67]

As can be seen, reflexive interpretations are restricted to highly transitive verbs. This is, of course, no accident as reflexives express an action which is targeted at the syntactic subject. Co-referentiality is created with *puđu* and *PX_{ACC}*, and although a reflexive interpretation is close at hand, the sentence itself remains syntactically transitive. So far, there is no instance of *puđu* without a *PX* in the role of a 'reflexive' in my data. Finally, co-referential recipients, such as *he poured himself some tea* cannot be encoded with *puđu+LAT*²⁵⁴ for which the benefactive must be used (see chapter 11).

254. In this respect, the situation stands in sharp contrast with other Uralic languages that allow reflexive pronouns in other cases e.g. Finnish:

hän osti itse-lle-en uude-n auto-n
 3SG buy.PST.3SG self-ALL-PX.3SG new-ACC car-ACC
 'He bought himself a new car.'

5.10.7 Reciprocal-like *kasa*+PX

The lexeme *kasa* ‘companion’ can function as a reciprocal pronoun-like element, however only when accompanied with PX co-referential with the subject:

- (162) *šidi enči-gi? kašidi? dūt-bi-xi?*
 two man-[NOM.DU] companion.PX.ACC.PL.3DU beat-PERF-3DU
 ‘Two men beat each other.’ [LDB I 107]

The distribution of this reciprocal-like element is again uneven and somehow resembles that of *puđu*+PX ‘X-self’. However, in contrast to *puđu*+PX, which cannot be used with local cases, *kasa*+PX can be used, however only with the appropriate postpositions:

- (163)a. *äčui-? kaštu? ke-xun adi-?*
 child-[NOM.PL] companion.PX.GEN.3PL²⁵⁵ side-LOC.SG sit-3PL
 ‘The children sit next to each other (Lit. ‘on each other’s side’).’ [LDB I 107]
- b. *te koba-? kod ní-n kaštu?*
 [reindeer]_[N/G] [skin]-[NOM.PL] sled_[GEN] on-LOC companion.PX.GEN.3PL
ní-n mošti-?
 on-LOC lie-3PL
 ‘The reindeer skins lie on each other on the sled.’ [LDB I 108]
- c. *pu-? bärtu-ŋa-? kaštu? dēd*
 stone-[ACC.PL] throw-FREQ-3PL companion.PX.GEN.3PL toward
 ‘They throw stones at each other.’ [LDB II 83]

The equivalent of ‘with each other’ cannot be expressed with *kasa*+PX. Instead, adverbs (164) or postpositions (165) must be used:

- (164) *uu kasa né-r mud’ kasa né-i ŋot sanko-xi?*
 2SG [man child]-PX.2SG 1SG [man child]-PX.1SG together play-3DU
 ‘Your son and my son play with each other ~ together.’ [LDB I 107]
- (165) *te ponida enču-? pomn-idu? kouđu-ŋa-?*
 [reindeer]_[N/G] herder person-[NOM.PL] between-PX.GEN.PL.3PL argue-FREQ-3PL
 ‘The reindeer herders argue with each other (Lit. ‘among themselves’).’
 [LDB I 108]

255. The palatalization of /s/ before /i/ for *kasa* was addressed in chapter 2. In some examples /i/ was dropped, but palatalization nevertheless remained. In careful speech /i/ is attested.

5.10.8 Interrogative pronouns

Although the impact of animacy in Forest Enets morphosyntax is low, interrogative pronouns are a noteworthy exception. For human reference, the interrogative pronoun *še* ‘who’ is used; it is also used for the bear.²⁵⁶ Everything else falls under *obu* ‘what’.

- (166) *kuñ ań dōku-š ań a mud ańi še-d*
 how FOC orphan-TRSL FOC but 1SG FOC you-2SG
 ‘How, as an orphan – again I – but who are you?’ [ESG Two Brothers]

- (167) *uu ni-l obu*
 2SG name-PX.2SG what.3SG
 ‘What is your name?’

Morphologically, interrogative pronouns behave as proper nouns and show no overt case marking for genitive or accusative:

- (168) *äki še kodu*
 this who_[GEN] sled.3SG
 ‘This is whose sled?’ [ZNB IV 67]

- (169) *čiki täni-r obu te nami*
 this know-SG.2SG what_[GEN] reindeer_[GEN] tongue.3SG
 ‘Do you know whose reindeer’s tongue this is?’ [NKB Auka]

- (170) *busi obu pu-go kod-da ni-ʔ*
 old.man what_[ACC] put-DUR.3SG sled-PX.GEN.3SG on-LAT
 ‘What did the old man put on his sled?’ [LDB Clairvoyant]

- (171) *še modä-d*
 who_[ACC] see-2SG
 ‘Who do you see?’ [ZNB IV 67]

It is, however, possible to attach PX to interrogative pronouns which then co-express case:

- (172) *busi-r bitu-ŋa še-da toidu-ŋa*
 old.man-PX.2SG think-FREQ.3SG who-PX.ACC.3SG ask-FREQ.3SG
 ‘The old man thinks whom he can ask.’ [VNB I 118]

256. This is a relict of old religious belief. The bear, as a holy animal, should not be offended or killed, nor could its meat be eaten. There are also other taboos connected to this animal, though they are not reflected in grammar.

Whether interrogative pronouns allow marking for number is unknown; currently there are no examples in my data.

Both pronouns are also attested with local cases; the same secondary case extensions as attested with lexical nouns are found:

- (173)a. *še-d to*
 who-LAT come.3SG
 ‘He came to whom?’ [NKB IV 182]
- b. *še-xun to-sa-d*
 who-LOC.SG come-IRG.2SG
 ‘With whom did he come?’ [ZNB V 2]
- c. *še-xuđ to-sa-d*
 who-ABL.SG come-IRG.2SG
 ‘From whom did he come?’ [ZNB V 2]
- (174)a. *obu-d koma-d*
 what-LAT.SG want-2SG
 ‘What do you want?’ [ZNB V 2]
- b. *obu-xun kan-ta-ri?*
 what-LOC.SG go-FUT-2PL
 ‘With what will you go?’ [ZNB V 2]
- c. *obu-xuđ sumo-id*
 what-ABL.SG fall-R.2SG
 ‘From what did you fall?’ [ZNB V 2]

The following table presents the attested interrogative pronouns paradigmatically

	<i>še</i> ‘who’	<i>obu</i> ‘what’
NOM	<i>še</i>	<i>obu</i>
GEN	<i>še</i>	<i>obu</i>
ACC	<i>še</i>	<i>obu</i>
LAT	<i>šed</i>	<i>obud</i>
LOC	<i>šexun</i>	<i>obuxun</i>
ABL	<i>šexuđ</i>	<i>obuxuđ</i>

Table 5-17: Interrogative pronouns and cases

Interrogatives for spatial reference are based on a different stem, *ko-/ku-*. Further, the case markers derive from an independent set, although some resemblance with the one used with adverbs and postpositions can be found:²⁵⁷

- (175) *ku-ʔ* *kan-ta-đ* *äse-i* *uu* *kadi-ŋa-d*
 where-LAT go-FUT-1SG father-PX.1SG 2SG be.ill-FREQ-2SG
ku-ʔ *kan-ta-đ*
 where-LAT go-FUT-1SG
 ‘Where will I go my father, you are ill, where will I go?’ [ESG Two Brothers]

- (176) *Kasali* *ku-nin* *ŋa*
 PN where-LOC be_{LOC}.3SG
 ‘Kasali, where is he?’ [ESG Two Brothers]

- (177) *ko-kodđ* *toidu-š* *pä-đu* *ko-kodđ* *to-d*
 where-ABL ask-CON begin-SG.3PL where-ABL come-2SG
 ‘‘From where,’’ they started asked him ‘‘from where do you come?’’
 [LDB Shaman]

INTERROGATIVES EXPRESSING LOCAL RELATIONS	
LAT	<i>kuʔ</i>
LOC	<i>kunin</i>
ABL	<i>kokodđ</i>

Table 5-18: Interrogative pronouns and locational cases

Other interrogative pronouns are e.g. *kursi* ‘what kind/which’ (178), *sän* ‘how much’ (179), *kuñ* ‘how’ (180) and *kuna* ‘when’ (181):

- (178) *seŋi-ŋa-đ* *kursi* *tonin* *ŋa*
 look-FREQ-1SG which there.LOC sky.3SG
 ‘I looked which kind of weather is (out) there.’ [ZNB Hat]
- (179) *sän* *po* *kañe-bu-ta* *obu* *po* *e-i*
 how.much year go_{NLZ}-CON-PX.GEN.3SG what year NEG.AUX-PTCP.PFT
ää-bu-đa *đurta-u*
 be-CON.PX.3SG forget-SG.1SG
 ‘How many years have passed, what year this was, I have forgotten this.’
 [LDB Plundered Sled]

257. Compare *kuʔ* ‘where to’ vs. *mi-ʔ* ‘into’; *kunin* ‘where’ vs. *mi-n* ‘inside’; *kokodđ* ‘from where’ vs. *mi-đ* ‘from inside’. The LOC marker on *kunin* can also be found on demonstratives, e.g. *tonin* ‘there’.

- (180) *mud'* *baða-i* *ań* *doxora-đu?* *kuń* *sanuku-ða-đ*
 1SG language-PX.ACC.1SG FOC forget-ASU.1SG how play-FUT-1SG
torsi *ni-xin*
 so children-LOC.PL

‘I must have forgotten my language, how can I play with the children?’
 [NKB Childhood]

- (181) *bäüða* *ma-ńu* *školu-t* *kani-ta-d* *ańi* *kuna* *tonin*
 soon say-ASS.3SG school-LAT.SG go-FUT-2SG FOC when there.LOC
ođi-da-d *kaða-d* *tak i* *ńe-d* *modi-t*
 come.out.FUT.2SG granny-PX.ACC.2SG so and NEG.AUX-2SG see-FUT.CN

‘‘Soon’’, she said ‘‘you will go to school. When you come out (of school) you won’t see your grandmother (any longer).’’ [NKB Childhood]

The interrogative *obuš* ‘why’ is based on the interrogative pronoun *obu* ‘what’ marked with the translative case:

- (182) *obu-š* *lubaxiń* *ńi-n* *ädi-d*
 what-TRSL cloth.PX.GEN.PL.1PL on-LOC sit-2SG
 ‘Why do you sit on our clothes?’ [ANP Seven Girls]

Interrogative pronouns can be used in both main and subordinate clauses, but not with indirect questions, as Forest Enets lacks indirect speech.

Finally, a highly specialized quantifying pronoun ‘who of X’ is known. It is no longer actively used by speakers of the current generation, but a full paradigm could be collected nevertheless. As this pronoun refers two at least two individuals, singular forms are absent. The forms for 1DU and 1PL turn out to be homonyms; personal reference is maintained via PX_{NOM} :

- (183) *kokiju?* ‘who of us two’ *kokiju?* ‘who of us’
kokiri? ‘who of you two’ *kokira?* ‘who of you’
kokiđi? ‘who of them two’ *kokiđu?* ‘who of them’ [DSB V 48]

5.10.9 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are formed by the addition of the indefinite suffix *-xo~xu*. Case markers are added after the indefinite marker. For locational cases, markers of the post-position/adverb series are used:

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS		
NOM	<i>šexo</i> ‘somebody’	<i>obuxo</i> ‘something’
GEN	<i>šexo</i>	<i>obuxo</i>
ACC	<i>šexo</i>	<i>obuxo</i>
LAT	<i>kuxo?</i> / <i>koxo?</i> ‘somewhere’	
LOC	<i>koxon</i>	
ABL	<i>koxođ</i>	

Table 5-19: Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns express that a further unspecified person or entity is responsible for or affected by a certain action. With local cases, indefinite pronouns express movement from or to an unspecified place or location at such a place:

- (184) *aa to đori še-xo toš đođu-ŋa-š ań*
 EXCL that talk who-INDEF down go_{MUDI}-FREQ-3SG.PST FOC
Potabu-d đođu-ŋa-š ań
 Potapovo-LAT.SG go_{MUDI}-3SG-PST FOC
 ‘And then such a rumor, somebody went down, somebody went to Potapovo.’²⁵⁸
 [LDB Shaman]

- (185) *še-xo so moga-xan soo*
 who-INDEF_[GEN] voice forest-LOC.SG be.heard.3SG
 ‘Someone’s voice can be heard in the forest.’ [ZNB IV 66]

- (186) *obu-xo sumo-id? lata ni-?*
 what-INDEF fall-R.3SG ground_[GEN] on-LAT
 ‘Something fell on the ground.’ [LDB I 117]

- (187) *mođ še-xo-d đut-r-ij?*
 1SG who-INDEF-LAT.1SG beat-PASS-R.1SG
 ‘I was beaten by somebody.’ [ZNB IV 8]

The indefinite *-xo* on personal pronouns emphasizes a speaker’s personal judgment:

- (188) *mud-xo nonin torsi šer pinuri-đa-raxa-š*
 1SG-INDEF 1SG.LOC such thing fear-PTCP.IPF-SIM-3SG-PST
 ‘For me it was frightening.’ (Lit. ‘to me, this thing was somehow frightening’)
 [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]

258. *toš dođuč* ‘to go down’ was used as a general expression meaning ‘going to Potapovo’

- (189) *uu-xo mana-d modña kañi-sabam*
 2SG-INDEF say-2SG 1PL go-PROB_{PST}.1PL
 ‘You said that we have gone?’ [ZNB III 9]

Also, interrogative pronouns can be marked with *-xo*:

- (190) *kuñ-xo ä-sau*
 how-INDEF be-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘How was that?’ [LDB Shaman]

- (191) *ir te-kuč-iđi tonä-bi-xi? sän-xo tonä-sau*
 own reindeer-DIM-PX.PL.3DU exist-PERF-3DU many-INDEF exist-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘They had their own little reindeer, several there were.’ [NKB Auka]

5.10.10 Negative pronouns

Negative pronouns are formed by the addition of the negative suffix *-xoru ~xuru/-guru/-kuru*. The case markers for local cases are shared with those used by postpositions and adverbs.

NEGATIVE PRONOUNS		
NOM	<i>šexuru</i> ‘nobody’	<i>obuxuru</i> ‘nothing’
GEN	<i>šexuru</i>	<i>obuxuru</i>
ACC	<i>šexuru</i>	<i>obuxuru</i>
LAT	<i>kuxuru?</i> ‘nowhere’	
LOC	<i>kuxurun</i>	
ABL	<i>kuxuruđ</i>	

Table 5-20: Negative pronouns

Negative pronouns express the non-existence or non-movement of something. Negative pronouns are used together with negation (192) and (193) or with negative verbs (194) and (195):

- (192) *đak muđ sija-đ? sija-đ? obu-xuru ñe-đ modä-s?*
 no 1SG look-1SG look-1SG what-NEG_[ACC] NEG.AUX-1SG see-CN
 ‘No, I’m looking and looking, I don’t see anything.’ [LDB Supernatural]
- (193) *uu añ obu-xuru isi modi-s*
 2SG FOC what-NEG_[ACC] NEG.AUX.ASU.3SG see-CN
đak muđ obu-xuru ne-đ-uđ modi-s
 no 1SG what-NEG_[ACC] NEG.AUX-1SG-PST see-CN
 ‘Did you not see anything? – No I did not see anything.’ [LDB Bear]

- (194) *mud' ma-ńeđu^v obu ań enči ä-đa še-xuru dāgu-š*
 1SG say-ASS.1SG what FOC person be-FUT.3SG who-NEG not.exist-3SG.PST
 ‘I said what person will this be – there is nobody.’ [LDB Supernatural]
- (195) *sān obu-xuru dōxora*
 how.many what-NEG_[ACC] not.know.SG.1SG
 ‘I don’t know more.’ [LDB Chervo]

No example of *obu* with negatives in local cases is attested, but for *še* there is at least one:

- (196) *še-xuru-n ńi-ď dōri-r*
 who-NEG-LOC NEG.AUX-1SG speak-FREQ.CN
 ‘I did not speak with anybody.’ [LDB I 117]
- (197) *obu-xuru še-xuru-d ńi-ď? toda-ra-?*
 what-NEG_[ACC] who-NEG-LAT.SG NEG.AUX-R.3SG bring-PASS-CN
 ‘Nothing was brought by nobody.’ (Lit. ‘nothing was not brought by anybody’)
 [ZNB IV 54]

Also other negative interrogatives are formed this way:

- (198) *ōy кун-хару ну мо-3*
 3SG when-NEG NEG.AUX.3SG come-FUT.CN
 ‘He will never come.’ [ERRE 59]

Whether personal pronouns can be marked with the negative is currently not known. No such examples have been encountered so far.

5.10.11 Personal pronouns and the limitative

The unusual morphological structure of Forest Enets pronouns [pronominal stem+ PX_{GEN}] has already been stated. In contrast to other Samoyedic languages such as Nganasan and Selkup, which have partly preserved the old pronoun system, Forest Enets uses PX_{GEN} to derive dual and plural pronouns from singular pronouns.²⁵⁹ When the limitative marker *-ru* is added to personal pronouns, they become split, as *-ru* appears in a position closer to the stem than PX.²⁶⁰ After the insertion of the limitative suffix, even singular pronouns are marked by a PX from the genitive series.

259. This phenomena and its history was addressed in more detail in Siegl (2008).

260. As already stated above, consultants once a while pronounced a glottal stop with 2SG *uu* and 3SG *bu*. However, as the limitative *-ru* for 2SG is *uu-ru-d* ‘only you’ and *bu-ru-da* ‘only he/she’, it is safe to assume that pronouns do not behave like glottal stop stems, as otherwise assimilation to *-lu* would be attested. In this position, the glottal stop is not etymologic but secondary.

	SG	DU	PL
PRONOUN 1P	<i>mod'</i>	<i>mod'iñ?</i>	<i>mod'na?</i>
PRONOUN+LIM	<i>mod'ruñ</i>	<i>mod'riñ?</i>	<i>mod'ruña?</i>
PRONOUN 2P	<i>uu</i>	<i>uud'i?</i>	<i>uuda?</i>
PRONOUN+LIM	<i>urud</i>	<i>uurud'i?</i>	<i>uuruda?</i>
PRONOUN 3P	<i>bu</i>	<i>bud'i?</i>	<i>budu?</i>
PRONOUN+LIM	<i>buruda</i>	<i>burud'i?</i>	<i>burudu?</i>

Table 5-21: Pronouns and the limitative

Concerning its function, limitative-marked pronouns express that ‘only X’ participated, was agentative or was affected in a situation:

- (199) *mud-ru-ñ* *äki* *deri* *äku-xun* *mosara-đ?*
 1SG-LIM-PX.GEN.1SG this day here-LOC.SG work-1SG
 ‘Only I am working here today.’ [ZNB IV 63]

Accusative pronouns, too, can be split by the limitative. In this case, *-ru* is inserted between the pronominal accusative stem *ši-* and the PX_{ACC} :

- (200) *mud'* *ši-ru-da* *bodun* *modä-đ-ud'*
 1SG PRO_{ACC} -LIM-PX.ACC.3SG tundra-LOC see-1SG-PST
 ‘I saw only him in the tundra (and nobody else).’ [ZNB III 14]

The same morphological split appears in locational pronouns, here exemplified with ablative and lative. For morphological reasons, instead of the usual glossing of pronouns, a full specified morpheme glossing is given:

- (201) *bu* *bäsi-?* *no-ru-đ-uñ* *moo-š*
 3SG money- $_{[ACC.PL]}$ PRO_{OBL} -LIM-ABL-PX.GEN.1SG take-3SG.PST
 ‘He took money only from me.’ [ZNB V 1]

- (202) *bu* *no-ru-ñ* *bäsi-?* *mi-ta*
 3SG PRO_{OBL} -LIM-PX.GEN.1SG money- $_{[ACC.PL]}$ give-FUT.3SG
 ‘He will give the money only to me.’ [ZNB V 1]

5.11 Demonstratives and determiners

Demonstratives have never been addressed in earlier research, and, therefore, no point of reference is available. As the expression of spatial reference via demonstratives shows considerable variation, no coherent picture can be presented at this moment, and the following description should therefore be understood as preliminary.²⁶¹ Morphologically, demonstratives are closer to adverbs and postpositions as they use the same set of markers for local cases.

5.11.1 Demonstratives *äki* 'this', *täxä* 'that' and *čiki* 'this'

Three demonstratives, *äki* 'this' *čiki* 'this' and *täxä* 'that' have been registered. These are clearly the most prototypical demonstratives; other potential candidates will be discussed in the end of this section:

- (203) *äki dīdi tidiä-t koma-đ*
 this bowl_[GEN] buy_{NLZ}-LAT.SG want-1SG
 'I want to buy this bowl.' [LDB & NKB IV 159]

- (204) *čiki tu čukči kari-sai*
 this lake always fish-COM.3SG
 'This lake is always rich in fish.' (Lit. 'lake is with fish') [ANP Chor To]

- (205) *täxä dīdi tidiä-t koma-đ*
 that bowl_[GEN] buy_{NLZ}-LAT.SG want-1SG
 'I want to buy that bowl.' [LDB & NKB IV 159]

Both *äki* 'this here' (proximal) and *täxä* 'that over there' (distal) have an inherent spatial meaning. In contrast, *čiki* 'this' seems to be a kind of general presentational determiner expressing anaphoric reference to an entity previously mentioned in discourse. In the following example this function can be seen best: *čiki* refers to *dúđigada enči* 'clairvoyant' in an afterthought and a spatial interpretation can be ruled out:

- (206) *ši toida-d-uš či dúđigada enči obu čiki*
 1SG.ACC ask-2SG-PST so clairvoyant what this
 'So you asked me, a clairvoyant, what is this...' [EIB Clairvoyant]

čiki can be accompanied by *px* for expressing referentiality:²⁶²

261. One is, of course tempted, to see signs of language death in variation but at present, this is nothing more than speculation.

262. This function of *px*.2SG will be discussed in more detail in 10.5.

- (209) a. *ää-ni* *kađa* *tonin* *čiki* *pošolka-xan* *điri-š*
 mother-PX.GEN.1SG granny there.LOC this village-LOC.SG live-3SG.PST
 ‘My mother’s granny lived there in this village.’ [NKB Childhood]
- b. *toniđ* *to* *ań* *mana* *kań*
 there.ABL come.IMP.2SG FOC say.3SG go.IMP.SG
 ‘‘Come from there’’, she said ‘‘go!’’ [EIB Clairvoyant]
- c. *no* *aga* *bäsi* *đuku-je //* *toni* *kaada-bi-xi?*
 PART big iron trap-PEJ there.LAT bring-PERF-3DU
 ‘So, a big iron trap, they brought here.’ [LDB Fishermen]
- (210) a. *točgođ* *äü* *to-đ?* *čiki-ru-n* *modä-u*
 then here.LAT come-1SG this-LIM-LOC see-SG.1SG
 ‘Then I came here, and only this I see...’ [ZNB Hat]
- b. *kudaxai* *äkun* *ŋo?* *oša* *busi* *điri-š*
 long.ago here.LOC one Dolgan/Evenki man live-3SG.PST
 ‘Long ago, an Evenki lived here.’ [LDB Clairvoyant]
- c. *Xorila* *mariä* *mi-n* *äđi* *biitu-ŋa* *kuń*
 PN bag_[GEN] in-LOC sit.3SG think-FREQ.3SG how
äkuđ *uđi-da-đ?*
 here.ABL come.out-FUT-1SG
 ‘Horila is sitting in the bag and is thinking: ‘‘how will I get out of here?’’
 [ANP Man and Giant]

5.11.4 Other possible deictic demonstratives

Although work on spatial deixis was done almost entirely with fluent speakers, the results vary profoundly. With a much higher probability than chance, *inu(k)* seems to be a deictic demonstrative expressing a location farther away from the speaker. During an elicitation session, ANP used *inu(k)* as follows:

- (211) *Baka inuku-n uđi*
 Baka there-LOC be.visible.3SG
 ‘Baka over there, it is visible.’²⁶⁴ [ANP II 49]

ZNB and LDB also agreed on *inukun* as meaning ‘there, a little farther’. Further, the individual systems contradict one another; whereas LDB and ZNB claim the existence of

264. Originally translated as ‘‘Бака недалеко, уже видно.’’ Anton has a balok at Baka, 15 km northwest from Potapovo on the left side of the Yenisei. If the weather is clear, Baka can be seen from Potapovo.

four degrees of distance, work with ANP produced a threefold system. NKB also criticized her husband LDB during our sessions for the fourfold system, which she called wrong.

	ZNB	LDB	ANP	NKB
HERE _{PROX}	<i>äkuxun</i> (LOC)	<i>äkun</i> (LOC)	<i>äkun</i> (LOC)	<i>äkun</i> (LOC)
THERE _{PROX.MED}	<i>inukun</i> (LOC)	<i>inukui</i> (ADJ)	<i>inukun</i> (LOC)	<i>inukun</i> (LOC)
THERE _{DIST.MED}	<i>tojun</i> (LOC)	<i>toju</i> (ADJ) ²⁶⁵	n.a.	n.a.
THERE _{DIST}	<i>tonin</i> (LOC)	<i>tonin</i> (LOC)	<i>tonin</i> (LOC)	<i>tonin</i> (LOC)

Table 5-23: Further spatial demonstratives

As cognition is culture-dependent and as the orientation system of Forest Enets is relative, a village or a city are not ideal surroundings for working on a spatial system, which would most likely produce better results in the tundra. It remains to be seen whether this can be achieved during future fieldwork.

5.12 Postpositions and relational nouns

In accordance with OV word order, Forest Enets uses postpositions; prepositions are unknown. Syntactically, postpositions are heads of postpositional phrases and immediately follow the noun phrase they govern. In all the examples at my disposal, postpositions govern genitive case.²⁶⁶

5.12.1 The morphology of postpositions

From a morphological perspective, postpositions fall into three major classes. One set of postpositions is inflected for local cases including prolativ and, if required, also for possessor. Case marking on inflectable postpositions differs from that on nouns as a different set of local case markers is used; only for the prolativ, the same case marker (-*ŋ*) is shared.

CX WITH INFLECTABLE POSTPOSITIONS		
LAT	LOC	ABL
-ʔ	- <i>n</i>	- <i>ä</i>

Table 5-24: Case markers of local cases with postpositions, adverbs and several other wh-words

265. This was produced only with hesitation and disapproved of by NKB.

266. As already seen numerous times, the postulation of a genitive case can only be made via PX and morphological alternations of IIb nouns. Postpositions governing nominative case can not be ruled out, but cannot be proven either. As far as I know, postpositions in other Northern Samoyedic languages govern only genitive case and this should be postulated for Forest Enets, too.

A second set of postpositions inflects for lative and prolative only and apparently can be followed by possessive suffixes. From a morphosyntactic perspective, these postpositions show several features of adverbs and are located somewhere between postpositions and adverbs. The third set of postpositions either lack morphological inflection entirely or are marked with *PROL*, which can no longer, however, be synchronically segmented.

In contrast to this set of apparently etymologically old postpositions, there is a small set of postpositions whose case-marking pattern follows that of nouns. These postpositions, which could also be called relational nouns, are most probably later grammaticalizations.

5.12.2 Inflectable postpositions

The following list shows the most important postpositions which can be inflected for all four spatial cases.

mi- ‘inside’

- (212)a. *mariä* *mi-đ* *đá-d* *ka-idʔ*
 bag_[GEN] in-ABL ground-LAT.SG fall-R.3SG
 ‘He fell out of the bag onto the ground.’ [ANP Man and Giant]
- b. *nä* *kašínʔ* *ańʔ* *ää-duʔ*
 [woman_[N/G] companion].PX.PL.1PL FOC mother-PX.ACC.SG.3PL
măđ *mi-n* *pəsri-go-ʔ*
 chum_[GEN] in-LOC help-DUR-3PL
 ‘The daughters helped their mother in the chum.’ [ANP Baka]²⁶⁷
- c. *bagu-ń* *mi-ʔ* *ši* *pu-bu-tu* *ań* *mana*
 hole-PX.GEN.1SG in-LAT 1SG.ACC put-CON-PX.GEN.3PL FOC say.3SG
 ‘“While they are laying me in my grave”, she said...’ [EIB Clairvoyant]
- d. *tóbkuku* *đoxo* *me-on* *đáda*
 mouse.DIM river_[GEN] in-PROL go_{UDI}.3SG
 ‘The little mouse went on on the river...’ [NKB Mouse]

In the singular, the locative inflected postposition *min* is used parallel to the locative case *-xVn* for which numerous examples can be found in both spontaneous and elicited speech.²⁶⁸ This development of substituting a synthetic case by an analytic postpositional construction is reserved for singular only and no change in meaning could be documented. For the plural context, only synthetic case forms have been registered.

267. In the speech of other Forest Enetses, the verb is realized as *párdiš*.

268. This was already observed by Pusztay, who attributed it to language decay (1978). Although this tendency to analyticize morphology is clearly unusual, it is questionable whether this should be connected to either language decay or Russian influence, as Pusztay assumed.

To show this behavior in some detail, the nouns *mä?* ‘chum’ and *balok* ‘special type of cottage’ are used:

- (213)a. *mä-kun* *šeu* *ni-n* *mušči* *bunki-rxa*
 chum-LOC.SG *šeu*_[GEN] on-LOC lie.3SG dog-SIM
 ‘He lies on the *šeu* in the chum like a dog.’ [ESG Two Brothers]
- b. *säxäti* *po-xon* *onai* *mä-kun* *điri-ba-t’*
 ancient year-LOC.SG real chum-LOC.SG live-1PL-PST
 ‘In the old days we lived in an Enets chum.’ [ANP Old Way of Life]
- c. *tonin* *kutui-đu=jet* *onai* *mä-kun* *điri*
 there.LOC some-PX.3PL-EMPH real chum-LOC.SG live.3PL
kutui-đu *bolok* *mi-n* *điri-?*
 some-PX.3PL *balok*_[GEN] in-LOC live-3PL
 ‘Some lived in chums, some lived in baloks.’ [NKB Childhood]
- d. *čuhi-ta-đ* *müđ* *mi-n* *đuba* *ä-đa*
 heat-FUT-1SG *chum*_[GEN] in-LOC warm be-FUT.3SG
 ‘I will heat and it will be warm in the house.’ [ANP Oven]
- e. *nonina* *ešo* *ŋulú* *müđ* *mi-n* *đir-ńebam* *to*
 1PL.LOC still one *chum*_[GEN] in-LOC live-ASS.1PL *that*_[GEN]
đobun *nonina* *ešo* *čor-?* *čor?* *điri-č*
 period 1PL.LOC still clan-_[NOM.PL] clan-_[NOM.PL] live-3PL.PST
 ‘With us, we lived in one chum, in those days with us a family of *čor* still lived with us.’ [NKB Prisoners]

ńi- ~ *ńe-* ‘on, on top of’

- (214)a. *kod* *ńi-?* *ad-ńi?*
 sled_[GEN] on-LAT sit-R.1DU
 ‘We sat on the sled.’ [NKB Yenisei]
- b. *ŋolú* *koba* *ńi-n* *mušči*
 one skin_[GEN] on-LOC lie.3SG
 ‘(He) lies on one skin.’ [ESG Two Brothers]
- c. *kodu-ń* *ńi-đ?* *sumo-íb*
 sled-PX.GEN.1DU on-ABL fall-R.1SG
 ‘I fell from our sled.’ [NKB Yenisei]

- d. *modiŋ?* *lota* *ne-on* *dóđu-ŋa-i?*
 1_{DU} laida_[GEN] on-PROL go-FREQ-1_{DU}
 ‘We went along the laida.’ [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]

iru- ‘under, below’

- (215)a. *kodu* *iru-?*
 sled_[GEN] under-LAT
 ‘under the sled (movement)’ [ZNB I 75]
- b. *tonin* *logri* *iru-n*
 there.LOC mountain_[GEN] under-LOC
 ‘There, under the mountain...’ [ESG Two Brothers]
- c. *kodu* *iru-đ*
 sled_[GEN] under-ABL
 ‘from under the sled’ [ZNB I 75]

oru- ‘in front of, before’

- (216)a. *kodu* *oru-?*
 sled_[GEN] front-LAT
 ‘in front of the sled (movement)’ [ZNB I 75]
- b. *kodu* *oru-n* *adi*
 sled_[GEN] front-LOC sit.3SG
 ‘He is sitting in front of the sled.’ [ZNB I 75]
- c. *kodu* *oru-đ*
 sled_[GEN] front-ABL
 ‘from in front of the sled’ [ZNB I 75]
- d. *kodu* *ornen* *dada*
 sled_[GEN] front.PROL²⁶⁹ go_{UDI}.3SG
 ‘He is going along the front of the sled.’ [ZNB I 75]

269. The segmentation of this form is currently unclear.

taxa- ‘back, behind’

- (217) a. *bunik kodu taxa-? nābr-ed?*
 dog sled_[GEN] back-LAT run-R.3SG
 ‘The dog ran to the back of the sled.’ [ZNB I 75]
- b. *kodu taxa-n*
 sled_[GEN] back-LOC
 ‘behind the sled’ [ZNB I 75]
- c. *bunik kodu taxa-đ ođi-ma*
 dog sled_[GEN] back-ABL appear-RES.3SG
 ‘The dog appeared from behind the sled.’ [ZNB I 75]

5.12.3 Postpositions with decreased inflection

A small number of postpositions show a reduced case inventory.

d'e- ‘movement towards’

The postposition *d'e-* inflects for two cases only, LAT and PROL. Further, the lative marker is unusual, as it has an erroneous form *-đ*.

- (218) a. *i Potab d'e-đ kañi-đ? ođda-š*²⁷⁰
 and Potapovo_[GEN] toward-LAT go-1SG pick.berries-CON
 ‘And I went to Potapovo to pick berries.’ [ZNB Potapovo]
- b. *sāsur d'i-on terik enči nona đasa saxar*
 fox_[GEN.PL] toward-PROL rich person 1PL.LAT flour_[ACC] sugar_[ACC]
šoru kirba toda-ubi
 papirosso_[ACC] bread_[ACC] bring-HAB.3SG
 ‘And in return for the fox skins (Lit. foxes) the rich man brought us flour, sugar, cigarettes, bread.’ [ANP Flood]

In addition to its spatial meaning, it can be used with the verb *kadaš* ‘hunt’:

- c. *mud' bodu-? kañi-đ? sāsor đed kada-š*
 1SG tundra-LAT go-1SG fox_[GEN] toward hunt-CON
 ‘I went in the tundra to hunt for foxes.’ [ANP Fox hunting]

270. Later corrected by the speaker to *ođida-š*

d'od'i?

Although no coherent meaning can currently be provided for this postposition, glottal stop alternation shows that both (208a) *d'od'it* ‘until, to’ and (208c) *d'od'igon* ‘during, while’ must be connected with *d'od'i?*. When marked with LAT²⁷¹, both spatial and temporal meanings are attested:

- (219) a. *äku-đ* *Dudinka-xađ* *Potab* *d'od'i-t* *paraxod*
 here-ABL Dudinka-ABL.SG Potapovo_[GEN] until-LAT.SG ferry_[GEN]
ñi-n *dađa-ba-č*
 on-LOC go_{UDI}-1PL-PST
 ‘From here, from Dudinka as far as Potapovo we went on a boat.’ [ZNB Potapovo]
- b. *četa* *d'od'i-t*
 tomorrow_[GEN] until-LAT.SG
 ‘We meet tomorrow (Lit. ‘until tomorrow’).’

When marked with the locative, *d'od'igon* means ‘during, in a certain period’ and functions as a temporal adverbial:

- c. *nare-š* *kani-xađ-da* *mai* *đeri* *d'udi-gun*
 spring-TRSL come_{NLZ}-ABL.SG.PX-GEN.3SG May day_[GEN] during-LOC.SG
 ‘After spring arrived, in May...’ [LDB Chervo]
- d. *obu* *d'udi-gun* *modä-b*
 what_[GEN] during-LOC.SG see-SG.1SG
 ‘After a while I saw...’ [NKB Yenisei]

5.12.4 Other postpositions

The following postpositions do not fall into any of the other classes above and will be discussed separately as they show non-segmentable morphology²⁷² or no morphological inflection at all.

271. It appears that here, the lative singular marker *-d* is used which undergoes assimilations with the glottal stop.

272. Several postpositions in this group seem to be marked with PROL, but an independent base is missing.

d'abon 'along'

- (220) *kodu d'abon*
sled_[GEN] along
'along the sled' [ZNB I 75]

d'abut 'throughout'

- (221) *no kudaxan modin? ää-ń no?*
so long 1DU mother-PX.GEN.1SG with
tonin d'eri-bi-č otuđ d'abut
there.LOC live-PERF.1DU-PST fall_[GEN] throughout
'So for a long time, throughout fall my mother and I lived there.' [NKB Childhood]

naru ~ noru 'across'

- (222) *kodu naru~noru*
sled_[GEN] across
'(Lying) across a sled' [ZNB I 75]

poštiš 'around'²⁷³

- (223) *bunik kodu poštiš näbi-ŋa*
dog sled_[GEN] around run-FREQ.3SG
'The dog runs around the sled.' [ZNB I 76]

pomon 'between'

- (224) *dóxa-? logar pomon mod d'iri-d?*
river-_[GEN.PL] hill_[GEN.PL] between 1SG live-1SG
'I live between the rivers and the mountains.' [ZNB I 77]

pogid 'movement into the middle'

From a diachronic perspective it appears that *pogid* is related to *pomon*. Synchronically, they do not show a clear connection due to differences in their phonological form. Therefore *pogid* meaning 'movement into the middle' is classified as an independent postposition:

273. The final element of this postposition should be connected to the translative-essive case *-Vš*. It seems that this postposition could be a recent grammaticalization, as the first element must be connected to *poši* 'round'.

- (225) *näbi-š käni niga pugid taxa-r-id?*
 run-CON go.3SG bush_[GEN.PL] between hide-INCH-R.3SG
 ‘He left running, he hid between bushes.’ [ANP Man and Giant]

pogun ‘middle’

Apparently, this postposition is etymologically related to the above-mentioned one, yet synchronically it should be considered as an independent stem because the connecting vowel does not match:

- (226) *to-xi lota-xi pogun logar nä*
 lake-_[GEN.DU] laida-_[GEN.DU] middle mountain stand.3SG
 ‘Between the lake and the river (Lit. ‘in the middle’) stands a mountain.’
 [ZNB III 7]

no(?) ‘with’

Concerning the phonetic shape of this postposition expressing concomitance, forms with and without a glottal stop were registered.²⁷⁴

- (227) *mudiñ Genka no?*
 I_{DU} PN_[GEN] with
 ‘Genka and I’ (Lit. ‘we with Genadij’) [LDB Supernatural]

noju ‘towards’

- (228) *bu to noju dáda*
 3SG lake_[GEN] towards go_{UDI}.3SG
 ‘He went towards the lake.’ [ZNB I 51]²⁷⁵

isigun ‘from now’

- (229) *šidi čas isigun to-ñi-d*
 two hour_[GEN] from.now come-COND-2SG
 ‘Come again in two hours.’ [ZNB From Dudinka to Tartu]

274. Presumably, this postposition is the historical base for the pronoun-like obliques described earlier.

275. According to ZNB *déd* and *noju* are not synonyms; however, the difference in meaning could not be worked out.

kaun ‘besides’

- (230) *kaun-id* *še-xuru* *dagu*²⁷⁶
 beside-PX.GEN.2SG who-NEG not.exist.3SG
 ‘Beside you, I don’t have anybody.’ [ERRE 50]

kebon ‘along the side’

Although the stem *ke-* ‘side’ is attested as a relational noun, *kebon* is a prolocative form which synchronically cannot be connected to *ke-* due to the additional voiced stop. Therefore it is presented independently.

- (230) *kodu* *kebon*
 sled_[GEN] side
 ‘along the side of the sled’ [ZNB I 75]

5.12.5 Relational nouns inflecting for regular local cases

Relational nouns functioning as postpositions use the usual set of local case markers. The most frequent of them is *ke-* meaning ‘next to, side’. In the idiolect of ANP, this postposition is realized as *kiku-* ‘next to, side’. Other consultants consider it to be čor-style:

- (231)a. *kuna* *Potab* *ke-ud* *to-bu-na?*
 when Potapovo_[GEN] side-LAT.SG come-CON-PX.GEN.1PL
 ‘When coming to Potapovo...’ [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]
- b. *mäd* *ke-xun* *đuri-ŋa-?*
 chum_[GEN] side-LOC.SG speak-FREQ-3PL
 ‘They spoke (outside) next to the chum.’ [NKB Prisoners]
- c. *barte-d* *ke-xuđ* *ma-ŋu* *bogla* *soo-iđ-uč*
 reindeer-PX.GEN.2SG²⁷⁷ side-ABL.SG say-ASS.3SG bear jump-R.3SG-PST
 ‘He said: “a bear came from the side of your outer reindeer”.’ [LDB Bear]
- d. *mäd* *mi?* *čo-ba* *mäd* *šid* *nä*
 chum_[GEN] in-LAT enter-1PL chum_[GEN] two side_[GEN]
ke-on *ađ-na?*
 side-PROL sit-R.1PL
 ‘We entered the chum and sat down along the two sides of the chum.’
 [LDB Shaman]

276. *кауныд сехуруй дягу* in the original, which shows a typo, and therefore it is rendered in my orthography

277. A *barte* is a harnessed reindeer that runs on the side of a sled.

- e. *onai enči čiki enči kiku-xun điriä-t*
 real person this person_[GEN] side-LOC.SG live_{NLZ-LAT.SG}
ni koma-bi-?
 NEG.AUX.3SG want-HAB-CN
 ‘An Enets would not have wanted to live next to such a person.’ [ANP Hoax Bai]

5.13 Adverbs

As already mentioned in the chapter on parts of speech, adverbs from a heterogeneous group; manner adverbs are generally based on prolative case-marked adjectives and show some morphology. A rather productive derivational suffix which derives adverbs from nouns is *-nuju*; it encodes both temporal and spatial modification. Finally, a set of adverbs with local meaning is attested, and especially this group shares several morphological properties with both demonstratives and postpositions because they can be inflected for local case. Other adverbs are morphologically non-segmentable, yet a closer look reveals that this group consists of both morphologically simple adverbs and recent lexicalizations (which are partly still transparent). Modal adverbs are attested but seem to be less frequent, as Forest Enets has a rich mood inventory.

As the encountered variation is too diverse to be discussed in strictly morphological terms, adverbs are presented on the basis of their functional scope.

5.13.1 Degree adverbs

Degree adverbs seem to be non-derived.

peri ‘often, always’

- (232) *đu-kn-ida obu-ida mod-pu-da peri*
 dream-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.3SG what-PX.ACC.PL.3SG see-CON-PX.GEN.3SG always
bađi-ubiđa
 tell-HAB.PL.3SG
 ‘What she had been seeing in her dreams, she always told.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

ηul ‘very’

- (233) *ηa-kuča-đa ηul soiđa-š*
 sky-DIM-PX.3SG very good-3SG.PST
 ‘The weather was very good.’ [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]

mal'e 'already'

- (234) *morga-ʔ* *mal'e* *ŋul'* *soida-an* *pi-bi-ʔ*
 cloudberry-[NOM.PL] already very good-PROL be.ripe-PERF-3PL
 'The cloudberrries have already been ripe.' [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]

Frequently, *mal'e* is substituted by Russian *уже* in spontaneous speech:

- (235) *nare-i* *deri-š* *kañi* *uže* *mud'* *durak*
 spring-ADJ day-TRSL go.3SG already 1SG Nenets
nääči-iš *kañi-dʔ*
 girl.youngster-TRSL go-1SG
 'And spring arrived. I already had become a Nenets girl.' [NKB Childhood]

5.13.2 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs are usually adjectives which are inflected for prolicative case:

- (236) *mud'* *kadi-ŋa-d* *aga-an* *kadi-ŋa-d*
 1SG be.ill-FREQ-1SG big-PROL be.ill-FREQ-1SG
 'I am ill, I am very ill.' [ESG Two Brothers]
- (237) *točgođ* *ibleig-on* *divan* *ñi-n* *mošči-dʔ*
 then little-PROL sofa_[GEN] on-LOC lie-1SG
 'Then I rested on the sofa for a little while.' [ZNB Weekend]
- (238) *enčuʔ* *oka-an* *odu-ʔ* *ñi-n* *poroxod* *déd* *äddi-dʔ*
 person_[NOM.PL] many-PROL boat-_[GEN.PL] on-LOC ferry_[GEN] toward drive.R.3PL
 'People came in large numbers to the ferry.' [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]

In the following example, a very rare derivational suffix *-Vk* is encountered:

- (239) *busi* *lixun* *nä-xu-da* *mana* *mär-uk*
 old.man cry.LOC.SG woman-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG say.3SG quick-ADV
tu-đu-i *čuñi-ʔ* *suida-n* *luidi-ŋa-i*
 fire-BEN-PX.1SG light-IMP.2SG good-PROL burn-FREQ-IMP.3SG
 'The man shouting at his wife said: "quickly light a fire, may it burn well".'
 [ANP Hoax Bai]

Other manner adverbials are formally non-derived:

toř 'so, this way, in such a manner'

- (240) *toř mudna? řiri-ä?*
 so IPL live-1PL
 'So we lived' [ANP Oven]

minxuda 'suddenly'²⁷⁸

- (241) *näaku-ju-xo minxuda oćik liři-ru-ku-je minxuda*
 other-TOP-INDEF suddenly bad bone-LIM-DIM-PEJ suddenly
oři-ma pe-t
 appear-RES.3SG outside-LAT.SG
 'So the other, the bony one came out at once.' [NKB Prisoners]

lokri 'suddenly, then'

- (242) *lokri torsi mäři to-đa ma-řu...*
 then such wind come-FUT.3SG say-ASS.3SG
 '“Suddenly, such a wind will come”, she said...’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

5.13.3 Directional and spatial adverbs

Directional adverbs are equally heterogeneous. Adverbs such as *toř* 'down, downwards' and *pursi* 'back' show no synchronic morphology. Other adverbs are marked with the adverbializer *-nuju*, e.g. *tořnuju* 'down'²⁷⁹:

- (243) *ře-xo toř [...] Potabu-d řođu-řa-ř aň*
 who-INDEF down Potapovo-LAT.SG go_{MUDI}-FREQ-3SG.PST FOC
 'Somebody went down to Potapovo.' [LDB Shaman]
- (244) *pursi kaniä-ba kani-sabam obu pursi to-xo-na?*
 back go-1PL go-PROB_{PST}.1PL what back lake-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1PL
 'We went back; probably we went back to our lake.' [NKB Prisoners]
- (245) *toř-nuju kaa-gu-id soři ři-d*
 down-ADV come.down-DUR-R.3SG hill_[GEN] on-ABL
 'He came down, down the hill.' [LDB Supernatural]

278. Historically, this adverb is certainly complex, but it cannot be segmented synchronically. One of its components is the Proto-Samoyed verb **min-* (Janhunen 1977: 94), the etymological cognate of Finnish *mennä* 'to go'. As an independent verb, this verb is absent in Forest Enets.

279. This group of adverbs derived with *-nuju* is larger, and more examples follow.

The concepts ‘left’ (Lit. ‘face side’) and ‘right’ (Lit. ‘back side’) belong to this group:

- (246) *dísí* *sätnä* *bar-xun-da*
 Yenisei_[GEN]²⁸⁰ left_[GEN] shore-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.3SG
 ‘On the left bank of the Yenisei...’ [ANP Lakes around Potapovo]

- (247) *čiki tu-xuđ* *maxa-nuju*
 this lake-ABL.SG right-ADV
 ‘From this lake, on the right...’ [ANP Lakes around Potapovo]

Further, several local adverbs inflected for LOC have been registered. Further research is needed, because these could belong to the sphere of demonstratives:

- (248) *Potab Dudinka-xađ* *kudaxa-n* *ŋa*
 Potapovo Dudinka-ABL.SG distant-LOC be_{LOC}.3SG
 ‘Potapovo is far from Dudinka.’ [NKB IV 179]

- (249) *Červo Potabu-xuđ* *bileigu-n* *ŋa*
 Chervo Potapovo-ABL.SG close-LOC be_{LOC}.3SG
 ‘The Chervo laida is closer to Potapovo.’ [NKB IV 179]

- (250) *Nikolska-xađ* *Dudinka kuŋku-n* *ŋa*
 Nikolsk_{GEN,RU}-ABL.SG Dudinka close-LOC be_{LOC}.3SG
 ‘From Nikolsk, Dudinka is a little closer (than Potapovo).’²⁸¹ [NKB IV 179]

Connected to the sphere of spatial adverbs is the derivational suffix *-nuk*. Its function is not fully understood at present; it seems to indicate that a movement should be continued a little more than usual.²⁸²

- (251) *toš-nuk* *dađo-u?*
 down-ADV go_{UDI}-IMP.2SG²⁸³
 ‘Go further downstream!’ [NKB Mouse and Fish]

- (252) *säro-d* *koma-đ?* *taxa-nuk* *kän*
 dress_{NLZ}-LAT.SG want-1SG back-ADV go.IMP.2SG
 ‘I want to dress, go back further.’ [ANP Seven Girls]

280. This variant for Yenisei is restricted to the idiolect of ANP. Otherwise, either *detsi* ~ *detsu* is used.

281. According to NKB, *kuŋku* is somewhat closer than *bileigu*.

282. Similar forms are attested in Castrén’s manuscript on Tundra Enets. Castrén assumed that the *k*-element could be connected to the diminutive.

283. Emphatic imperative, the diphthong is otherwise not attested

In some examples, *-nuk* can be further modified by a morpheme *-i*, which looks similar to the non-productive adjectivizer:

- (253) *nođna toš-nuku-i Červo lotta*
 1SG.ABL down-ADV-ADJ Chervo laida
 ‘Further down from us (down the Yenisei) is the Chervo Laida.’
 (Probably: ‘from us is the downstreamish Chervo laida’) [NKB IV 178]

5.13.4 Temporal adverbs

A number of temporal adverbs are derived from nouns via *-nuju*:

- (254) *tin kodat-nuju sārini-ť kodu-ń še*
 reindeer.PX.ACC.PL.1DU evening-ADV harness-CON sled-PX.GEN.PL.1DU before
 ‘Our reindeer, in the evening, harnessing them...’ [LDB Clairvoyant]
- (255) *päusum-nuju ań säsor bago ko-ď?*
 evening-ADV FOC fox_[N/G] hole_[ACC] find-1SG
 ‘In the evening I found a fox hole.’²⁸⁴ [ANP Fox hunting]
- (256) *kiuđ-nuju pili-ʔ uka-aš kańi-ʔ*
 morning-ADV gadfly-_[NOM.PL] many-TRSL go-3PL
 ‘The gadflies became more and more in the morning.’ [LDB Bear]
- (257) *pi-nuju bogla dađu-bi ań čukči sumoi-ta-biđa*
 night-ADV bear go_{MUDI}-PERF.3SG FOC all fall-CAUS-PERF.PL.3SG
 ‘During the night a bear must have come and killed all reindeer.’²⁸⁵
 [LDB Plundered Sled]
- (258) *to-nuju otuđ-nuju otuđ-nuju näxu-uš dođu-ŋa-a-č*
 summer-ADV fall-ADV fall-ADV three-TRSL go_{MUDI}-FREQ-1PL-PST
 ‘During the summer, during fall we went by the three of us.’ [LDB Supernatural]
- (259) *nar-nuju ŋe-eč ŋa-ʔ tonin*
 spring-ADV NEG.AUX-1PL be_{LOC}-CN there.LOC
 ‘During spring we were not there.’ [LDB Supernatural]

284. Although in both examples the adverb translates into English as ‘in the evening’ (and into Russian as *вечером*), there is a difference in meaning. Whereas *kodatnuju* is based on a fossilized nominalization of the verb ‘sleep’ and means roughly ‘about the time of going to sleep’, *päusumnuju* is derived from the resultative verb ‘become dark’ and means ‘about the time of getting dark’. In an area beyond the Arctic circle with long polar nights (30.11–13.01) and bright polar days (19.05–25.07), the cultural-environmental reasons for having two different lexemes for an SAE concept of evening (the time when it is getting dark) is understandable.

285. This sentence contains remedies for bear-related taboos. Instead of saying that the bear killed all reindeer, the euphemism “the bear made all the reindeer fall” is used.

Two other temporal adverbs have been registered which express more or less the same notion, ‘after’. The first is *točguđ* ‘then, after this’²⁸⁶:

- (260) *subota-xan mār nār-i? čai-ŋa-đ?*
 saturday-LOC.SG quick stand.up-R.1SG drink.tea-FREQ-1SG
točguđ kiđiń moso-đ?
 then dish.PX.ACC.PL.1SG wash-1SG
 ‘Saturday I got up (Lit. ‘stood up’) early and drank tea; then I did the dishes.’
 [ZNB Weekend]

The other one, *pontaik(u)* ‘then, afterwards’²⁸⁷ is found almost exclusively in the speech of ANP:

- (261) *ŋulú sira ŋa điri-bi pontaiku ań kadaru-biđ?*
 one winter be_{LOC.3SG} live-PERF.3SG then FOC be.ill-PERF.R.3SG
 ‘One winter he was (there), he has lived. Then he fell ill...’ [ANP Seven Girls]

5.13.5 Modal adverbs

Forest Enets has a rich mood system, and perhaps therefore only a few modal adverbs are attested. The frequency of modal adverbs is, generally speaking, very low. In spontaneous speech they are only attested in recordings of fully fluent speakers.²⁸⁸ As the meaning of modal adverbs is hard to grasp, the English translations should not be taken too literally, but, rather, as an initial attempt to classify their possible meanings.

änsai ‘probably’ is used when there is good evidence based on inferentiality:

- (262) *bi-ń iru-n mana-đ? čiki soi-b’*
 mind-PX.GEN.1SG on-LOC say-1SG this hat-PX.1SG
tonin kaji-bi änsai
 there.LOC stay-PERF.3SG probably
 ‘I said to myself, probably my hat remained there.’ [ZNB Hat]

The possible meaning of *änrai* seems to be that something was done on purpose.²⁸⁹

286. Lexicalization of an adverbial phrase, possibly deriving from a construction related to *täda čikixod* <now this.ABL> ‘after this’. Its cognate in Tundra Nenets *međa’ mukaxăd* <now there.ABL> is still preserved.

287. This form does not occur in any text of a *mugadi* Bolin [LDB, NKB, ZNB, VNB] who constantly use *točguđ*. ANP uses *pontaik(u)* instead of *točguđ*. In the speech of EIB both forms could be found.

288. This frequency/speaker correlation is not surprising. In a closely related area of investigation during fieldwork, the area of mood and modality, work with semi-speakers produced no reliable results either. The infrequent use of modal adverbs in the speech of fluent speakers is hardly a matter of chance.

289. As the phonetic shape of *änsai* and *änrai* are rather close, a historical connection could exist, but no synchronic evidence is available.

- (263) *änrai mana täda piđa-da soida-ko-on*
 on.purpose say.3SG now scare-SG.3SG good-DIM-PROL²⁹⁰
 ‘And he purposely scared him well.’ [EIB Bear and Brothers]

The exact meaning of another modal adverb, *tominda*, could not be determined. The current glossing ‘and so’ points to a temporal meaning, but a modal component is likely as *tominda* could not be replaced by e.g. *točgod̆*:

- (264) *tominda toř soida-ko-on điri-r-id?*
 after.this such good-DIM-PROL live-INCH-3PL
 ‘And after this, so they began to live well.’ [EIB Bear and Brothers]

onsi is attested frequently in spontaneous speech. Its meaning is to express knowledge based on generally valid assumptions:

- (265) *bini ni-đa säbet ma-ń bintu*
 rope_[ACC] NEG.AUX-SG.3SG tear.CN say-ASS.3SG rope.PX.ACC.3PL
ni-đa säbet onsi ä-tau
 NEG.AUX-SG.3SG tear.CN SO be-POT.3SG
 ‘The rope, [the bear] did not tear it apart; he did not tear it apart. Yes, so it must have been.’ [LDB Plundered Sled]

The adverb *taruř* also shows a certain modal connotation, but a further characterization is currently not possible:

- (266) *kuń ne-đ? đori-t taruř äku-xun adí-ńu*
 how NEG.AUX-1SG say-FUT.CN MOD.ADV here-LOC.SG sit-ASS.3SG
 ‘How will I not say this, he is sitting here.’ [ZNB III 68]

290. The suffix *-ko* before *PROL* is attested several times but the difference between *PROL soida-an* and *soida-ko-on* has not been understood as yet. It has been preliminarily glossed as diminutive.

6. The Noun Phrase

In Forest Enets, the NP is head-final. With the exception of the floating quantifier *čukči* ‘all’, all other satellites precede the head.

- (1) *kasa-ń* *ńe*
 friend-PX.GEN.1SG child
 ‘My friend’s child’
- (2) *soida* *meju* *pagi* *pońi-dau*
 good new parka_[ACC] wear-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘He apparently wore a good new parka.’ [ZNB III 42]

Although a detailed syntactic investigation of the NP has yet to be conducted, fixed ordering principles point to its existence as a syntactic constituent.

The following description discusses the ordering principles of non-clausal dependents. The major types of adnominal dependents are determiners, possessors, attributive modifiers, non-possessive nominal dependents, and quantifiers. This chapter also addresses apposition and coordination in the nominal domain. An overview of clausal dependents (relative and complement clauses), as well as the place of the benefactive in the NP are to be found in chapters 11 and 13.

6.1 Determiners and demonstratives

Determiners such as *čiki* ‘this’ and demonstratives such as *äki* ‘this’ and *täxä* ‘that’ characterize a noun phrase for definiteness, referentiality, specificity and sometimes also quantification:²⁹¹

- (3) *čiki* *počtovij* *katir* *ńi-?* *ad-iń?*
 this postal_[ADJ.RU] boat_[GEN] on-LAT sit-R.1DU
 ‘We sat on this post boat.’ [NKB Childhood]
- (4) *äki* *tu* *uu* *ńi-l* *puni-ŋa-i*
 this lake 2SG name-PX.2SG hold-FREQ-IMP.3SG
 ‘This lake here should bear your name.’ [ANP Chor to]

291. The discussion of other possible demonstratives, as discussed in the previous chapter, must be postponed for the time being.

- (5) *täxä logar déđ kań*
 that mountain_[GEN] towards go.IMP.2SG
 ‘Go towards that mountain’ [ESG Two Brothers]
- (6) *busi čiki torsi đori noda-š ań*
 old.man this such rumor_[ACC] hear-CON FOC
koxo mäđđi-š kańi-š
 where.INDEF.LAT arguish-CON go-3SG.PST
 ‘The old man hearing these, such rumors, again went somewhere else.’
 [LDB Shaman]

The determiner *čiki* cannot take PX when modifying a head noun; only the head noun can be marked for possession:

- (7) *čiki äjeiču-kuji-b kudaxai*
 this relative-DIM-PX.1SG long.ago
 ‘Long ago, this relative of mine...’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

Further, agreement in person e.g. **čiki-r to-r* <this-PX.2SG lake-PX.2SG> ‘this lake of yours’ is ungrammatical. However, the determiner *čiki* can be marked to express referentiality via PX.2SG²⁹², resulting in two different constellations; in (8), the demonstrative is marked for PX and the noun is present. Such a constellation is, generally speaking, rare:

- (8) *[...] soši taxa nā ke-xun ma-ń*
 [...] hill_[GEN] back.LAT side_[GEN] side-LOC.SG say-ASS.3SG
čiki-r lota ma-ńu
 this-PX.2SG laida say-ASS.3SG
 ‘“Behind the hill, on its side”, he said, “this laida”, he said...’ [LDB Shaman]

In general, *čikir* takes the place of an ellipsed noun:

- (9) *čiki-r ma-ńiu^w auka-t ńaami*
 this-PX.2SG say-ASS.3SG pet.reindeer-PX.GEN.2SG tongue
 ‘“This” she said “is your pet reindeer’s tongue”.’ [NKB Auka]
- (10) *čiki-r mudna nonina aga-n kebi*
 this-PX.2SG 1PL 1PL.LOC big-PROL sin.3SG
 ‘This (behavior) is a real sin for us (Lit. ‘with us’).’ [LDB Taboo]

292. See also the discussion in 10.5.

Similar examples of substitution of ellipsed nouns are found with adjectives too:

- (11) *ib'leigu-r* *aga* *kasa-da* *sakra*
 little-PX.2SG big child-PX.ACC.3SG bite.3SG
 ‘Your little one bit the older boy (and not the older one).’ [ZNB IV 54]

Whether determiners can show number agreement with their head noun is not entirely settled, as this feature is more prominent in the idiolect of ZNB but less so in the speech of the other consultants:

- (12) *bu* *čiki-ʔ* *šer-ʔ* *tāni-j* *e-bu-đa*
 3SG this-[PL] thing-[ACC.PL] know-PTCP.PFT be-CON-PX.3SG
bu *āu* *i-ńi-š* *to*
 3SG here.LAT NEG.AUX-COND-3SG.PST come.CN
 ‘If he had known these things, he would not have come.’ [ZNB III 45]

A determiner cannot be located after a lexical possessor:

- (13) *čiki* *Leonid* *si'leigu* *bunik*
 this Leonid_[GEN] white dog
 ‘this Leonid’s white dog’

- (14) **Leonid* *čiki* *pogu*
 Leonid_[GEN] this net
 ‘this net of Leonid’s’

The determiner can precede the possessor, as seen above and in the following example:

- (15) *čiki* *Łonka* *pogu*
 this Leonid_[GEN] net
 ‘this Leonid’s net’ [LDB II 30]

It is probable that *naak* ‘other’ could be analyzed as a determiner, but no detailed investigation has been conducted.

6.2 Quantifiers and numerals

With the exception of *čukči* ‘all’, the position of quantifiers is fixed; quantifiers precede their heads. Scalar quantifiers differ from other quantifiers in that they trigger plural on heads. This seems to be a major syntactic difference between Forest Enets and Tundra Nenets, which lacks this feature. Most probably, this difference derives from bilingualism in Russian and has been borrowed from Russian.

Cardinal and ordinal numerals do not differ from other quantifiers and precede their heads. For *šidi* ‘two’, optional dual marking on the head is attested, but this is not obligatory. Otherwise numerals trigger singular on the head.

6.2.1 Universal quantifiers

6.2.1.1 *čukči* ‘all’

The universal quantifier *čukči* ‘all’ is a floating quantifier and may appear before or after the head:

- (16) *torsi čikuxuđ čukči kasa enču] tu*
 so this.ABL.SG all [man]_[N/G] person]_[NOM.PL] fire]_[GEN]
đeđ to-? sou-ŋa-? kinuo-?
 toward come-3PL jump-FREQ-3PL sing-3PL
 ‘So after this, all men came towards the fire, they sang, they jumped.’
 [ANP Hoax Bai]

- (17) *ńe-? čukči odamu oo-ŋa-č*
 child-_[NOM.PL] all food]_[ACC] eat-FREQ-3PL.PST
 ‘All the children ate the food.’ [ZNB I 72]

- (18) *ńe-? odamu čukči o-ma-đu?*
 child-_[NOM.PL] food]_[ACC] all eat-RES-SG.3PL
 ‘The children ate all the food.’ [ZNB I 72]

Although there may be a subtle difference in meaning concerning the position of *čukči*, there is currently too little material available for further characterizations. The picture is much clearer with regard to frequency. Example (16) is, indeed, one of the very few examples of *čukči* preceding its head in spontaneous speech; the quantifier is much more frequent after the head and appears almost to be default:

- (19) *kašina čukči ŋuma-ʔ kani-ä no šeru-gu-š pä-baʔ*
 friend.PX.PL.1PL all gathering-LAT go-1PL so bury-DUR-CON begin-1PL
 ‘All we friends went to the gathering and so we started to bury her.’
 [EIB Clairvoyant]
- (20) *enču čukči to mät no mudna*
 person_[NOM.PL] all come.3PL chum-LAT.SG so 1PL
enčuna čukči mā-k-du kani-aʔ
 person_[PL].PX.PL.1PL all chum-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3PL go-1PL
 ‘All people came, so we all went to their chum.’ [LDB Shaman]
- (21) *mudnaʔ kašin čukči oša-ʔ*
 1PL friend.PX.PL.1SG all Evenki-3PL
mudʔ ŋulu-š onai enči-đ-udʔ
 1SG one-TRSL real person-1SG-PST
 ‘All my colleagues (Lit. ‘friends’) were Evenkis. I was the only Enets.’
 [LDB Brigade]

6.2.1.2 *segmit* ‘every’

The other universal quantifier, *segmit* ‘every, each’, precedes the NP; *segmit* is otherwise very infrequent and has so far not been attested in recorded narratives:

- (22) *modʔ segmit šer tasla-š piriä-đʔ*
 1SG every thing_[ACC] explain-CON can-1SG
 ‘I can explain everything.’ [ZNB I 71]
- (23) *segmit nedelja-xan modʔ đasa tidi-go-đʔ*
 every week-LOC.SG 1SG flour_[ACC] buy-DUR-1SG
 ‘Every week I buy flour.’ [ZNB I 72]²⁹³

6.2.1.3 *kuruxaru* ‘anything’

The negative polarity quantifier *kuruxaru* ‘any, anything’ is attested only in pre-head position:

- (24) *kuruxaru oburu=jet kebi-š*
 any thing=EMPH sin-3SG.PST
 ‘Any kind of behavior was a sin.’ (Lit. ‘anything was a sin’) [LDB Taboo]

293. Interestingly, here *-go* resembles the Russian imperfective aspect although one would expect the Enets habitual *-ubi*.

6.2.1.4 *oburu* ‘any’

Another negative polarity item, *oburu* ‘any’, is attested in pre-head position only. At present, it is not clear how this quantifier differs from *kuruxaru* ‘anything’; further fieldwork is needed:

(25) *oburu kusi mu-ʔ*
any spoon take-IMP.2SG
‘Take any spoon.’ [ZNB I 71]

(26) *oburu tu kari-ʔ tonä-ʔ*
any [lake]_[N/G] fish]_[NOM.PL] exist-3PL
‘Any kind of lake fish²⁹⁴ is there (in this lake).’ [LDB Chervo]

6.2.2 Scalar quantifiers

Scalar quantifiers such as *oka* ‘many’ and *tänä* ‘few’ usually require the following NP to occur in the plural. As was already noted, this behavior is unusual, because it seems to be absent in the other Northern Samoyedic languages, e.g. Tundra Nenets (28), as the following examples with ‘many’ demonstrate:

(27) *oka enču šimi-ŋa-č oka enču toř*
many person]_[NOM.PL] run-FREQ-3PL.PST many person]_[NOM.PL] such
‘Many persons fled, there were many such persons.’ [NKB Prisoners]

(28) *ҟока книга-м’ тола-дм’*
many book-ACC.SG read-1SG
‘I read many books.’ (Ru: ‘Я прочёл много книг.’) [T65:369]

6.2.2.1 *oka* ‘much, many’

Apart from the previous example, the scalar quantifier requires even non-count nouns to be in the plural:

(29) *kurun oka-ʔ biđʔ lati-bi-ʔ*
everywhere much-_[PL] water]_[NOM.PL] burst-PERF-3PL
‘Everywhere much water has split (the ice).’ [ZNB IV 4]

294. For Enetses and probably other indigenous peoples of the Taimyr Peninsula living along the Yenisei, a sharp division between lake fish and Yenisei fish is made as both ecosystems host different species. This knowledge is central for planning fishing trips throughout the year.

Additionally, *oka* can be found in predicative position:

- (30) *karīda* *poga-xan-da* *ŋul* *oka* *puga-ru-ḏa*
 fish.PX.PL.3SG net-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.3SG very many.3PL net-LIM-PX.3SG
ñi *uḏi-ʔ*
 NEG.AUC.3SG be.visible-CN
 ‘The fish in his net were so many, his net was not visible.’ [ANP Chor to]

6.2.2.2 *kutui* ‘some, few’

Also the counterpart *kutui* ‘some, few’ triggers plural on its head:

- (31) *mud* *kutui* *enču* *tāni-n*
 1SG some person_[ACC.PL] know-SG.1SG
 ‘I know some people.’ [VNB I 118]
- (32) *tāḏa* *kutui* *enču* *kertu* *baḏa-du*
 now some person_[NOM.PL] own.PX.GEN.3PL language-PX.ACC.SG.3PL
dúrta-ʔ
 forget-3PL
 ‘Now, some Enetses have forgotten their language.’ [ZNB Autobiographic]

6.2.2.3 The status of *tānā* ‘few, little’

Evidence for the status of *tānā* as a pre-head quantifier in my material is insufficient and no real example of *tānā* meaning ‘few, little’ is attested. Although a variety of derivations of this stem, e.g. resultative 3SG *tānima* ‘it has become little’, have been attested, *tānā* does not qualify as a quantifier. In fact, my materials show *tānā* only in predicative position:

- (33) *ḏoxo-xan* *karīda* *tānā*
 lake-LOC.SG fish.PX.PL.3SG little.3SG
 ‘There is little fish in the lake.’ (Lit. ‘in the lake its fish is little’) [LDB I 152]

The lemma for *tānā* in ERRE has no examples, and only a Russian translation, *мало*, is given. ES has, at least, two examples, (ES 434) and classifies *tānā* as an adverb:

- (34) *məi* *mɛnɛ*
te-i *tānā*
 reindeer-PX.1SG little.3SG
 ‘I have few reindeer.’ (Ru: ‘Оленей у меня мало.’)

- (35) *тене каса-ə* *тене-р*
tänä kasa-d *tänä-r*
 little companion-PX.ACC.2SG know-SG.2SG
 ‘Little you know your companion.’ (Ru: ‘Мало ты товарища знаешь.’)

For the time being it appears that there is no quantifier meaning ‘little’, and it could equally be interpreted as an adverb, especially when taking (35) into consideration. If this is correct, then *kutui* seems to express not only ‘some’ but also ‘few’.

6.2.3 Numerals

Cardinal and ordinal numerals precede their heads. In contrast to scalar modifiers, numerals require their heads to occur in the singular:

- (36) *sobrig čas Viktor no? mosra-da-i*
 five clock Viktor_[GEN] with work-FUT-1DU
 ‘At five o’clock I will work with Viktor.’ (Lit. ‘we will work with Viktor’)
 [ZNB I 26]

- (37) *naak koru-i? nođda soida*
 second knife-PX.1SG 3SG.ABL good.3SG
 ‘My other knife is better (than his).’ [LDB I 126]

- (38) *bu orte kasa ne-i*
 3SG first [man_[N/G] child]-PX.1SG
 ‘He is my first son.’

For *šidi* ‘two’, optional dual marking on the head is attested, but it is not obligatory and singular is equally possible (40):

- (39) *šidi aga tuka-xi? kodu ni-n mošti-xi?*
 two big axe-DU sled_[GEN] on-LOC lie-3DU
 ‘Two big axes lie on the sled.’ [ZNB I 63]

- (40) *nida Dudinka-xan mosara-? šidi nă*
 child.PX.PL.3SG Dudinka-LOC.SG work-3PL two [woman_[N/G]
ne-đa kasa ne-đa äku-n ŋa
 child]-PX.3SG [man_[N/G] child]-PX.3SG here-LOC be_{LOC}.3SG
 ‘His children are working in Dudinka. Two daughters and a son are here (in the village).’ [LDB Brigade]

Collective numerals which are actually translative-marked cardinals are syntactic adjuncts (depictives):

- (41) *mud' ηulu-š onai enči-đ-ud'*
 1SG one-TRSL real person-1SG-PST
 'I was the only Enets.' [LDB Brigade]
- (42) *budī šīdi-iš ηolu te kađa-xi-č*
 3DU two-TRSL one reindeer_[ACC] kill-3DU-PST
 'They killed one reindeer.' (Lit. 'they as two') [VNB III 120]

6.3 Adjectives

Adjectives precede the heads they modify. Case agreement between adjectives and heads is not attested in Forest Enets.

- (43) *näxu silēig te [...]*
 three white reindeer
 'three white reindeer...' [ESG Two Brothers]
- (44) *[...] ηob' soida nä noñ biltu-da mi?ä-š*
 one good woman 1SG.LAT ticket-PX.ACC.3SG give-3SG.PST
 '...one good woman gave me her ticket.' [ZNB Weekend]
- (45) *čiki bo đeri minsi modä-bi*
 this bad day old.woman see-PERF.3SG
 'This bad day the woman foresaw.' [ANP Old Woman and Son]²⁹⁵
- (46) *utud-nuju aga muga-t dađa-a?*
 fall-ADV big forest-LAT.SG go_{UDI}-1PL
 'In the fall we went into the big forest.' [LDB Old Way of Life]
- (47) *oo kudaxai da-xađ mud' to-đ?*
 EXCL distant land-ABL.SG 1SG come-1SG
 'Oh, I come from a distant land.' [LDB Shaman]

An example from elicitation shows two qualitative adjectives; similar examples are absent in transcribed speech. Whether there is a preference for a certain order of adjectives has not been investigated separately.

295. This example is interesting for two reasons. First, although the word order is $S_{\text{TOP}}\text{SV}\sim\text{OSV}$ depending on the analysis of the left-detached noun, it does not trigger conjugation II. Further, although the verb is a glottal stop stem and *modäpi* should be expected, it was realized as a class I verb.

- (2) *soiða meju pagi poñi-dau*
 good new parka_[ACC] wear-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘He apparently wore a good new parka.’ [ZNB III 42]

As already reported for *čiki*, adjectives, too, can be marked for PX.2SG when substituting a noun via ellipsis. The resulting possessed adjective then serves as a nominalized subject, but this results in an interpretation of strong contrastive focus:

- (11) *ibleigu-r aga kasa-da sakra*
 little-PX.2SG big child-PX.ACC.3SG bite.3SG
 ‘Your little one bit the older boy (and not your older one).’ [ZNB IV 54]

6.4 NN constructions

In many instances, the modification of a head with another noun poses problems for analysis because of the absence of case marking. Only possessively inflected nouns and the small group of class IIb stems can be glossed unambiguously. From a wider perspective, NN constructions of the type $N_{\text{GEN}} N_{\text{NOM}}$ interact with possession, a fact which will be addressed in detail in 6.5. Unfortunately, this complicates the analysis even further.

As a starting point, we may begin with a clear example. For *kasa ñe*, there are two possible interpretations:

- (48) a. *kasa ñe-i?* <man_[NOM] child-PX.1SG> ‘my son’
 b. *kasa-ñ ñe* <man-PX.GEN.1SG child> ‘my friend’s child’

In (48a), the first dependent seems to be encoded with the nominative, as it refers to the general quality of an entity. Although lexicalization is probably also involved, the possessive suffix PX.1SG *-i?* marks the whole compound, and the first component should be seen as the general quality of the entity. This means that nouns which characterize the concept denoted by the head noun and do not specify the referee, are unmarked. In contrast, in (48b), the first component is encoded with the genitive, and one seems to be dealing with a special property relation or, more broadly speaking, with an associate relationship. Unfortunately, (48b) is also an instance of possession and could equally well be assigned to the discussion of possessive constructions in 6.5.

The following example, which is morphologically unsegmentable, should also be an instance of a special property relation encoded by the genitive. During an elicitation session on tools and tableware, LDB pointed to a pot that he characterized as ‘the special pot for cooking porridge’, as it was said to be used for nothing else but this.

- (49) *kaša dīdi* <porridge_[GEN] pot> ‘pot for (cooking) porridge’

In contrast, examples such as *d'etsi kari* ‘Yenisei fish’, which are equally unsegmentable, describe general properties and should be considered $N_{\text{NOM}} N_{\text{NOM}}$ constructions. The same should therefore hold also for the following two examples:

- (50) *ɲulú kasa ńe-đa mana umaa dótu*
 one [man]_[N/G] child-]-PX.3SG say.3SG mommy.PX.1SG goose
bui piri-ʔ
 soup cook-IMPP.2SG
 ‘His other son said, “Mother, cook goose soup”.’ [ANP Three Brothers]²⁹⁶

- (51) *ań kasa ńe-đa mana kari bui piri-ʔ*
 FOC [man]_[N/G] child-]-PX.3SG say.3SG fish soup cook-IMP.2SG
 ‘And the other son said, “cook fish soup”.’ [ANP Three Brothers]

A similar pattern, a general property encoded by a N_{NOM} dependent vs. special property encoded by N_{GEN} , was reported by Tereščenko (1973: 218–220), and one Forest Enets example is reproduced here:

- (52) *nə kōpy*
 wood knife
 ‘a wooden knife’ [T73:219]
- (53) *nə-’ kōpy*
 wood-GEN.SG knife
 ‘knife for making a hole in a tree’²⁹⁷ [T73:219]

As formal means for identifying a dependent as N_{NOM} or N_{GEN} are rare, and as Tereščenko’s potential genitive marker has been eliminated, a fully satisfying analysis is hard to achieve.

6.5 Possessive constructions

In the following subsections, possessive constructions containing pronominal and lexical possessors will be discussed. The prototypical function of PX and the structure possessor-possessum was described in detail in chapter 5.2.1ff. Discussion of the associated functions of the possessive NP, such as referentiality, will be postponed until the end of chapter 10.

296. Occasionally, PX.1SG expresses a kind of vocative. This is frequently combined with abnormal vowel-lengthening as in this example; instead of the regular PX.1SG *uma-i* <mommy-1SG> we find *umaa*.

297. Original translations of both examples (50) *деревянный нож*; (51) *нож для протачивания отверстий в дереве* (букв: нож для дерева).

6.5.1 Pronominal possessor

Concerning pronominal possession, the structure of the NP looks as follows:

[PERSONAL PRONOUN_{NOM}]_{OPTIONAL} POSSESSEE-NUM/CX/POSSESSOR

As was already shown, number, possessor, and case have merged into a portmanteau-morpheme. Further, to account for the difference between the partly homonymous genitive and accusative series, information on constituent order is needed. The following set of constructed examples shows what was addressed in chapter 5 in much more detail:

NOM

- (54) a. *mod' kodu-i soida*
 1SG sled-PX.1SG good.3SG
 'My sled is good.'
- b. *mod' kodu-xuñ soida-xi?*
 1SG sled-DU.1SG good-3DU
 'My two sleds are good.'
- c. *mod' kodu-ń soida-?*
 1SG sled-PL.1SG good-3PL
 'My sleds are good.'

GEN

- (55) a. *mod' kodu-ń ni-n oka koba-? ŋa-?*
 1SG sled-PX.GEN.1SG on-LOC many skin-[NOM.PL] be_{LOC}-3PL
 'On my sled are many reindeer skins.'
- b. *mod' kodu-xuñ ni-n oka koba-? ŋa-?*
 1SG sled-PX.GEN.DU.1SG on-LOC many skin-[NOM.PL] be_{LOC}-3PL
 'On my two sleds are many reindeer skins.'
- c. *mod' kod-iń ni-n oka koba-? ŋa-?*
 1SG sled-PX.GEN.PL.1SG on-LOC many skin-[NOM.PL] be_{LOC}-3PL
 'On my sleds are many reindeer skins.'

ACC

- (56) a. *bu kodu-i modä?ä*
 3SG sled-PX.ACC.1SG see.3SG
 ‘He saw my sled.’
- b. *bu kodu-xuñ modä?ä*
 3SG sled-PX.ACC.DU.1SG see.3SG
 ‘He saw my two sleds.’
- c. *bu kodu-ń modä?ä*
 3SG sled-PX.ACC.PL.1SG see.3SG
 ‘He saw my sleds.’

As Forest Enets is a pro-drop language, personal pronouns are usually omitted. Also in examples (56) the noun could, in principle, be preceded by a nominative personal pronoun *bu mud' kodui modä?ä*.

6.5.2 Lexical possessors

Lexical possessors are marked with the genitive case whereas the possessee usually remains unmodified. Although in non-possessive declension there is no overt case marking for GEN, fused CX/PX markers show that lexical possessors are indeed encoded with GEN:

- (57) *čiki Lónka poga*
 this Leonid_[GEN] net
 ‘This is Leonid’s net.’ [LDB II 30]
- (58) *mud' kasa-ń poga*
 1SG companion-PX.GEN.1SG net
 ‘my companion’s net’
- (59) *kašiń poga*
 friend.PX.GEN.PL.1SG net
 ‘my many friends’ (one) net’ [LDB II 30]

In several examples, the possessee can be marked with PX, which looks like a kind of NP-internal possessor.²⁹⁸ This topic, however, requires further investigation, and the fol-

298. Concerning intonation, an NP internally marked for possession must have both elements under the same contour.

lowing two examples are merely intended to demonstrate the possible existence of such a feature in Forest Enets:²⁹⁹

- (60) *čiki* *Lónka* *poga-đa* *še-sai*
 this Lenonid_[GEN] net-PX.3SG hole-COM
 ‘This one net of Leonid’s has a hole.’ (Lit. ‘is with a hole’) [LDB II 30]

- (61) *dóxa* *bi-ta* *aru-ma*
 river_[GEN] water-PX.3SG grow-RES.3SG
 ‘The water of the river is rising.’ [ZNB III 18]

6.5.3 Possession and recursion

The only example of recursion, in this case ‘my uncle’s grandfather’ comes from the opener of a recorded narrative:

- (62) *mud'* *dísi* *äsi-ń* *äsi...*
 1SG uncle_[GEN] father-PX.GEN.1SG father
 ‘My uncle’s grandfather...’ [ANP Chor To]

6.5.4 Alienable vs. inalienable possession

A formal distinction between alienable possession (‘my knife’) and inalienable possession (‘my nose’) does not exist. The following examples (all in first person) show a variety of instances of possession which would be encoded for alienable and inalienable possession in languages which make such a distinction:

- (63) *mud'* *ŋo-iń* *dä-?*
 1SG leg-PX.PL.1SG hurt-3PL
 ‘My legs hurt.’ [ZNB I 15]

- (64) *mud'* *kodu-i* *nabi* *sojja* *mä-b-uš*
 1SG sled-PX.1SG new.3SG only make-SG.1SG-PST
 ‘My sled is new, I just made it.’ [ANP II 11]

The following opener of a narrative shows a variety of different possessives in spontaneous speech:

299. For Tundra Nenets see Nikolaeva (2003).

- (65) *tak tonida kunida nääči-ku điri-bi*
 so somewhere sometimes girl.youngster-DIM live-PERF.3SG
 ‘So somewhere, sometimes there lived a girl.’
- ää-xuđa äsi-xuđa tonä-bi-?*
 mother-PX.DU.3SG father-PX.DU.3SG exist-PERF-3PL
 ‘She had parents.’ (Lit. ‘there were her mother and her father’)
- ää-xuđa äsi-xuđa čiki ir*
 mother-PX.DU.3SG father-PX.DU.3SG this own
te-kuč-iđi tonä-bi-xi?
 reindeer-DIM-PX.PL.3DU exist-PERF-3PL
 ‘Her mother and father had their own little reindeer.’ [NKB Auka]

However, a distinction which comes close to an alienable-inalienable distinction is observable. Close kin (e.g. father, mother, daughter, son, etc) are usually marked with PX; in annotated texts there are few instances of such kinship terms without a possessive marker. Domesticated reindeer can be and are usually also marked for possession, but wild reindeer, for example, cannot be marked. Tundra, mountains, the Yenisei or forests cannot be marked for possession either, but smaller lakes that have served as a ‘homeland’ for several families can be marked for possession. It is perhaps futile to speak of an alienable-inalienable distinction, as the conceptualization of possession is based on culturally-based principles. Whereas there are entities which can be owned independently, ranging from natural resources to close kin, there are other entities which cannot be owned, such as wild animals, nature, or supernatural beings, such as clairvoyants or shamans.

6.5.5 Dummy PX

In a subset of intransitive clauses referring to meteorological activities but also entities, such as the earth, the NP must be marked with PX.3SG. As no antecedent possessor can be identified, this PX must be classified as a dummy PX:³⁰⁰

- (66) *ŋa-đa tečšu-ma*
 sky-PX.3SG cold-RES.3SG³⁰¹
 ‘It’s getting cold.’ (Lit. ‘its sky is getting cold’) [ZNB III 18]

300. The usage of PX.3SG seems to be another instance of non-possessive referential usage of PX. Sorokina (1986: 71) assumed that the usage of PX.3SG with nouns, such as earth, sky, god would reflect “ancient aboriginal thinking”. As this sphere is no longer remembered in detail by the speakers of the last generation, no further investigation is possible.
 301. As cold is *tečši*, the vowel-change *i* → *u* suggests some kind of derivation.

- (67) *kiuđ-nuju-xo* *ŋa-đa* *soiđa-š*
 morning-ADV-INDEF sky-PX.3SG good-3SG.PST
 ‘That morning, the weather was good.’ [NKB Yenisei]
- (68) *i* *nari* *đeri-ku-š* *mart* *đeri* *ä-sau*
 and spring-ADJ day-DIM-3SG.PST march month be-PROB_{PST}.3SG
kaja-ku-đa *uže* *đubi-ma-š*
 sun-DIM-PX.3SG already warm-RES-3SG.PST
 ‘And it was a nice spring day, it might have been March. The sun was already warm.’ [NKB Childhood]
- (69) *Baka-xan* *đa-đa* *soiđa*
 Baka-LOC.SG ground-PX.3SG good.3SG
 ‘At Baka, the land is good.’ [ANP Autobiographic]

6.5.6 Part-whole relations

Part-whole relations do not differ from other lexical possessor constructions, however more research is needed in order to test whether some kind of NP-internal possessor could be possible here. Although as usual it is not entirely possible to determine whether the first part of such possessor constructions is really in the genitive, at least morphological alternations in example (64) show that the dependent ‘chum’ is not in the nominative case and should be considered genitive.

- (70) *mäđ* *tär*
 chum.GEN content
 ‘a chum’s content ~ people living together in a chum’
 (roughly equivalent to a family)

In the next example, no formal justification for a genitive-marked dependent can be found, as an analysis of this compound as a possessive part-whole relationship based on metaphorical extension is appealing:

- (71) *kod* *puja*
 sled_[GEN] nose
 ‘front tip of a sled’ (Lit. ‘sled’s nose’)

6.5.7 Pseudo-partitives

Pseudo-partitives of the type ‘a cup of tea’ have not been studied separately, but the few scattered examples in my data do not show any special or diverging structure within the noun phrase:

- (72) *dasa mariä*
 flour bag
 ‘a bag of flour’ (Lit. ‘a flour bag’)

When such pseudo-partitives are quantified, a change in word order is resulting but due to the absence of case morphology the first noun is not further analyzable (NOM vs. GEN). This is clearly the dependent as number marking and possession on the head demonstrate:

- (73) a. *šidi mariä dāsa-xi*
 two bag flour-DU
 ‘two bags of flour’ [ZNB III 2]
- b. *šidi mariä dāsa-xuñ*
 two bag flour-PX.DU.1SG
 ‘my two bags of flour’ [ZNB III 2]

6.6 Attributive oblique NPs and PPs

Oblique cases and postpositions as modifiers are unusual though attested.

- (74) *mensi-xi? odi-xi? no? mā*
 old.woman-_[GEN.DU] young.lad-_[GEN.DU] with chum
 ‘the chum of the old woman and the young lad’ [ZNB IV 15]

The comitative suffix, which is on the border between derivation and case, also fits here:

- (75) *te-sai te-sai enči e-bi ma-ń*
 reindeer-COM reindeer-COM person be-PERF.3SG say-ASS.3SG
 ‘He was a man with reindeer.’ (Lit. ‘a reindeery man’) [LDB Chervo]

Although postpositions such as (76) can be used as modifiers, there are several instances in my data in which postpositions undergo adjective derivation with *-i?*:

- (76) *to* *đoda-i* *um*
 summer_[GEN] middle_{pp}-ADJ north
 ‘Northern wind around midsummer’ (Lit. ‘midsummerish north’) [ZNB IV 185]

The same marker *-i* is found in a temporal context, too:

- (77) *četa-i* *đeri-xun* *tu-ču*
 tomorrow-ADJ day-LOC.SG come-NESS.3SG
 ‘He should come tomorrow.’ [NKB IV 164]

However, this derivation is not fully productive. Contrary to an expected derivation on the relational noun *nä* ‘side’, the head ‘chum’ is modified by two nouns in the genitive:

- (78) *bar* *nä* *mä-t* *ču-?*
 edge_[GEN] side_[GEN] chum-LAT.SG enter-IMP.2SG
 ‘Go into the chum at the edge!’ [ZNB IV 19]

6.7 Constituent order in the NP

The following order of dependents is attested in a simple NP. Currently it is not known whether all the positions can be filled in a maximal projection:

POSITION 1	POSITION 2	POSITION 3	POSITION 4	POSITION 5	POSITION 6
Determiner	Possessor	Quantifier	Adjective	Modifying Noun	Head

Table 6-1: Constituent order in the NP

As shown earlier, a determiner cannot occur after a lexical possessor:

- (13) *čiki* *Leonid* *sišegu* *bunik*
 this Leonid_[GEN] white dog
 ‘this Leonid’s white dog’

- (14) **Leonid* *čiki* *pogu*
 Leonid_[GEN] this net
 ‘this net of Leonid’s’

The determiner can precede the possessor, as seen above and in the following example:

- (15) *čiki* *Lonka* *pogu*
 this Leonid_[GEN] net
 ‘this Leonid’s net’ [LDB II 30]

Concerning pronouns in position 2, no difference concerning the nature of a pronoun is attested. Both personal pronouns (77) and indefinite pronouns (78) are attested in this position:

- (79) *mod' šiđi aga odu-xuń?*
 1SG two big boat-PX.DU.1SG
 ‘my two large boats’

- (80) *obu-xo äłki-je kari-je kiku-xun-id ŋa*
 what-INDEF enormous-PEJ fish-PEJ side-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.2SG be_{LOC}.3SG
 ‘‘Some enormous fish is next to you!’’ [ANP Taimen’]

6.8 Constituent order in NPs modified by relative clauses

Concerning the order of constituents in an NP with relative clauses based on participles (on relative clauses see 13.7), a slightly different picture emerges. First, in relative clauses that relativize an object, inflected participles precede quantifiers and number is marked separately twice, once on the participle via the PX and once on the NP:

- (81) *tidi-du-i-xiń šiđi meju koru-xi?*[...] *...*
 buy-DETR-PTCP.PFT-PX.ACC.DU.1SG two new knife_[NOM.DU]
 ‘The two new knives which I have bought...’ [ZNB III 14]

In the following example the relative clause also precedes the nominal possessor:

- (82) *ää-da tit-tu-i nã äči-da*
 mother-PX.GEN.3SG buy-DETRS-PTCP.PFT [woman]_[N/G] youngster]-PX.GEN.3SG
kukla baa ŋi-n mošči
 doll bed_[GEN] on-LOC lie.3SG
 ‘The girl’s doll bought by her mother lies on the bed.’ [LDB & NKB IV 181]

In this respect it appears that the constituent structure of NPs modified by relative clauses contains another slot before the possessor:

Pos 1	Pos 2	Pos 3	Pos 4	Pos 5	Pos 6	Pos 7
Determiner	Relative clause	Possessor	Quantifier	Adjective	Modifying Noun	Head

Table 6-2: Constituent order in NPs with relative clauses

6.9 Coordination within NP – general remarks

A variety of means is attested for NP coordination. The most typical instances are juxtaposition, postpositional constructions with *no?*, double dual with *no?*, comitative *-sai* and occasionally coordination with the locative case. Coordination of personal pronouns differs slightly and will be discussed separately at the end of this chapter.

6.9.1 Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition is the general strategy used to combine two NPS:

- (83) *soi-b* *obiñ?* *tol* *ni-n* *moští*
 hat-PX.1SG glove.PX.PL.1SG table_[GEN] on-LOC lie.3SG
 ‘My hat and my gloves lie on the table.’ [ZNB IV 15]

6.9.2 Double dual

Double dual is attested primarily with natural coordination, for example the equivalents of English ‘parents’.

- (84) *ää-xuñ* *äsi-xuñ*
 mother-PX.DU.1SG father-PX.DU.1SG
 ‘my parents’ (Lit. ‘my two, mother and my father’)

6.9.3 Postposition *no?* ‘with’

Also the postposition *no?* ‘with’ can be used to conjoin two NPS:

- (85) *mensi* *odi* *no* *mä-đi*
 old.woman young.lad_[GEN] with chum-PX.SG.3DU
 ‘The chum of the old woman and the young lad’ [ZNB IV 15]³⁰²

Double dual outside the scope of natural coordination, which coordinates two participants with *no?*, is also possible:³⁰³

302. Although expected, no assimilation with the PX is found with the Ilb noun ‘chum’.

303. Currently, non-animate entities are not encountered in this construction. Whether a clause ‘a man with an axe and knife’ could be rendered with the same construction is not known.

- (86) *mensi-xiʔ* *odi-xiʔ* *noʔ* *mä*
 old.woman-_[GEN.DU] young.lad-_[GEN.DU] with chum
 ‘The chum of the old woman and the young lad’ [ZNB IV 15]

6.9.4 Comitative *-sai/-đai/-čai*

The comitative marker *-sai* can be used both in pre-head and post-head position. Concerning its comitative interpretation, no difference in meaning is attested, however it appears to be more frequent in post-head position:

- (87) *kasa* *enči* *ne-sai* *te-sai* *bodu-n* *điri*
 [man_[N/G] person] woman-COM reindeer-COM tundra-LOC live.3SG
 ‘The man lives in the tundra with his wife and his reindeer.’ [ZNB I 65]

6.9.5 Coordination with Russian *i* ‘and’

NP coordination with the Russian connector *i* ‘and’ is attested in the speech of less-fluent speakers:

- (88) *ɲobkutun* *enču* *điri-č* *nä* *i* *kasa*
 once person_[NOM.PL] live-3PL.PST woman and man
 ‘Once people lived, a woman and a man.’ [ESG Two Brothers]³⁰⁴

Whereas *i* ‘and’ for NP coordination is not frequently attested in the speech of fluent consultants, *i* has entered Forest Enets as a connector on the clause level. This will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on co-ordination on the clause level.³⁰⁵

6.9.6 Excursus: *ańʔ*

Sorokina (1994) argued that *ańʔ* ‘and, and again, but’ functions as a coordinator in Forest Enets. This was explained as Russian-induced contact. In my data, coordination in NPs with *ańʔ* is far from obvious. Sorokina is correct when characterizing *ańʔ* as something connected to noun phrases, as it usually follows an NP. However, it seems that Sorokina based her assumptions too much on translatability, as the best translation of *ańʔ* into Russian is, indeed, the non-coordinating function of *i* as a kind of focusing element, e.g. *Я говорил и с братом*. ‘And I also spoke with my brother’. The following

304. During the transliteration of this narrative, ZNB mentioned that she found the sentence stylistically odd and corrected it to *šidi enči-giʔ* <two person-[NOM.DU]> ‘two persons’.

305. This topic was addressed in Sigl (2008).

example from a narrative shows that although the translated equivalent of *ań?* comes close to ‘and’ or ‘and again’, it is far from being a coordinating conjunction:

- (89) *pinuju bogla dađ-ubi ań čukči sumoi-ta-bida*
 night.ADV bear go-HAB.3SG FOC all fall-CAUS-PERF.PL.3PL
 ‘During the night, a bear came *and again* [he]_{PRODROP} killed them [=reindeer] all.’
 [LDB Plundered Sled]

It appears that *ań?* in (89) is a kind of focusing element; it focuses on the assertion that the bear is responsible for both coming and killing the reindeer. As the 3SG pronoun *bu* is dropped, *ań?* lacks its focus entity. In contrast to (89), where at least some kind of coordination could be interpreted, (90) cannot be explained as coordination:

- (90) *bem-ou bem-ou ań đébi-š to-d*
 master-PX.1SG master-PX.1SG FOC be.hot-CON come-2SG
 ‘My god, again you come drunk.’ [NKB II 64]

In the following examples, *ań?* can be interpreted neither as a coordinator nor as ‘and again’, but is rather a contrastive focus element close to ‘but’:

- (91) *kasa äči te tođa äsi-đa ań*
 [man_[N/G] youngster] reindeer_[ACC] bring.3SG father-PX.3SG FOC
na?a-đa
 drive.away-SG.3SG
 ‘The boy brought a reindeer, but his father drove it away.’ [ZNB I 25]

- (92) *bu soida-an onai bađa-an đuri-ŋa*
 3SG good-PROL real language-PROL speak-FREQ.3SG
đurak bađa-an ań? očigo-on đori-ŋa
 Nenets language-PROL FOC bad-PROL speak-FREQ.3SG
bu oša bađa-an ni đori-r-?
 3SG Evenki/Dolgan language-PROL NEG.3SG speak-FREQ-CN
 ‘He speaks Enets well, but Nenets he speaks badly, he does not speak Evenki.’
 [ZNB I 37]

Whereas Sorokina is certainly correct stating that *ań?* is ‘multifunctional’ meaning both ‘and’ and ‘and again’, ‘again’ or even ‘but’, her classification of *ań?* as being primarily a coordinator is not backed up by the data underlying this study. Further, as *ań?* can split a constituent, here a postpositional phrase, it is clearly a particle:

- (93) *pu* *dēđ* *kani-ä* *Vitalik* *ań* *no*
 mountain_[GEN] toward go-1DU PN_[GEN] FOC with
 ‘With Vitalij I went towards the mountain.’ (Lit. ‘with Vitalij we went...’)
 [LDB Bear]

Given the available evidence, only *i* ‘and’, which is clearly a recent borrowing, functions as a coordinating conjunction. In contrast to Russian, where *i* ‘and’ can be used for coordination of both NPs and clauses, only the latter function is indisputably attested in my fieldwork data.

6.10 NP coordination in different syntactic positions

The following examples show coordination of NP in different syntactic positions. This collection of examples adds further material to the description given above.

- (94) *kasa* *enči* *ne-sai* *te-sai* *bodu-n* *điri*
 [man_[N/G] person] woman-COM reindeer-COM tundra-LOC live.3SG
 ‘The man lives in the tundra with his wife and his reindeer.’ [ZNB I 65]

- (95) *kasa* *enči* *nä-da* *no?* *te-sai*
 [man_[N/G] person] wife-PX.GEN.3SG with reindeer-COM
bodu-n *điri-xi?*
 tundra-LOC live-3DU
 ‘The man together with his woman and with reindeer live in the tundra.’ [ZNB I 65]

Concerning the difference in coordination, (94) shows semantic dual agreement between the predicate and the argument ‘man together with his wife’ whereas in (93) the predicate agrees with the pivot ‘man’.

6.10.1 Coordination of NPs in object position

Coordination of NPs in subject and object positions does not differ with regard to means. The following examples show an interesting case of coordination and its impact on verbal morphology:

- (96) *mod* *čiki* *kasa* *enči* *kasa* *ńe-da*
 1SG this [man_[N/G] person]_[ACC] [man_[N/G] child]-PX.GEN.3SG
no? *modä-xuń-uš*
 with see-DU.1SG-PST
 ‘I saw the man with his son.’ [ZNB IV 15]

Although the NP in object position is encoded as a singular object, the predicate refers to an object in dual. In this respect, reference follows semantic criteria because syntactically, only one NP is encoded as an object.

6.10.2 Coordination of NPs in modifier position

Concerning coordination of two NPs in modifier position, an equally complex example is attested:

- (97) *mod'* [kəmnä-ʔ] [mɛnsi-xiʔ] busi-xiʔ] mā
 1SG poor-PL old.woman-[GEN.DU] old.woman-[GEN.DU] chum[ACC]
modä-dʔ
 see-1SG
 'I see the chum of the poor old man and the poor old woman.' [ZNB IV 15]

The syntax of this example is slightly unusual as there is some number concord between the adjective and the other modifiers and the NP shows natural dual coordination. However, semantically, it is understood as plural and agrees with the object.³⁰⁶

Also the following example shows a syntactically less complex case of NP coordination in modifying position:

- (98) *kasa* äči-xiʔ äsi-diʔ noʔ kirba-d̄ moo-d̄ʔ
 [man_[N/G] youngster]-[GEN.DU] father-PX.GEN.SG.3DU with bread-BEN take-1SG
 'I bought bread for the father and his son.' [ZNB IV 15]

6.11 Coordination with personal pronouns

Finally, a short note on coordination with personal pronouns is needed. The usual strategy for conjoining two pronouns is to use the locative forms of pronouns. When personal pronouns and lexical nouns (including names) are coordinated, a different strategy similar to the Russian *Mbl c* PN_{INST} is used.

306. This example of agreement on the NP is problematic. It might be the case that numeral agreement on adjectives excludes dual, as other examples I have gathered also never showed agreement for dual. If these observations turn out to be correct, it would mean that concerning number agreement in NPs, dual can only be used for natural dual coordination on lexical nouns; by contrast, adjectives show only singular and plural. This should nevertheless be understood as a working hypothesis.

6.11.1 Coordination of two pronouns

Although the locative is seldom used to conjoin two lexical NPs, the default choice for coordination of two pronouns is the locative form. Frequently, the subject pronoun is dropped:

- (99) *nonida äku-n ðiri-da-ð?*
 2PL.LOC here-LOC live-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will live here with you.’ [LDB Shaman]

6.11.2 Coordination of pronoun and noun

The Forest Enets strategy of conjoining pronouns and personal names with a postposition is rather close to the Russian *мы с тобой* or *мы с PN_{INST}* (Lit. ‘we with you’ meaning ‘you and I’ or ‘we with PN_{INST}’ meaning ‘X and me’) as the initial pronoun refers already to the number of conjoined entities. Due to pro-drop, the pronoun can remain unexpressed, but in the following instances, verb agreement still shows that we are dealing with a *мы с PN_{INST}* construction:

- (100) *pu ðeð kani-ä Vitalik aň no*
 mountain_[GEN] toward go-1DU PN_[GEN] FOC with
 ‘With Vitalij I went towards the mountain.’ (Lit. ‘with Vitalij we went...’)
 [LDB Bear]

- (101) *no kutkut tonin ŋa-bi-č ää-ń no?*
 so some there.LOC be_{LOC}-1DU-PST mother-PX.GEN.1SG with
 ‘So, for a while I was there with my mother.’ (Lit. ‘we two with my mother’)
 [NKB Childhood]

When a lexical noun is conjoined with a pronoun, the pronoun has to be encoded in the locative case as expected:

- (102) *to ðobun nonina ešo čor-? čor-? ðiri-č*
 that time.PROL 1PL.LOC still Chor-_[NOM.PL] Chor-_[NOM.PL] live-3PL.PST
 ‘In those days with us, a family of Chor lived with us.’ [NKB Prisoners]

7. Verb complex

The following description of the verb complex highlights the most important categories of verbs, such as conjugation type, tense, mood, aspect and evidentiality (henceforth TAME). Further, this chapter also offers notes on clausal negation.

The second part of this description is devoted to operations decreasing or increasing transitivity; a more detailed account on the passive can be found in chapter 12.

7.1 Conjugation types

As a Northern Samoyedic Language, Forest Enets has three different conjugation types³⁰⁷, which have been labeled in different ways by different researchers. Three central positions can be identified. Tereščenko (1966: 894–895) labeled the three conjugation types as I *субъектный тип спряжения* (subjective conjugation), II *объектный тип спряжения* (objective conjugation) and III *субъектно-безобъектный тип спряжения* (subjective-non-objective conjugation). A similar approach was followed by Salminen (1997) in his description of Tundra Nenets, in which he called the three conjugation types the subjective, objective and reflexive conjugations.³⁰⁸ From a typological perspective, the labels proposed in earlier research are misleading, as the nature of these conjugation types is much more complex than their labels suggest. A different approach based on Tundra Nenets data was advocated by Körtvély (2005), who called the three conjugations indeterminate, determinative and reflexive-medial conjugation.³⁰⁹

Concerning morphology, every conjugation type has its own set of verbal endings (vx) which indicate agreement with the subject in number and person, and additionally in specialized contexts, with the number of the object as well.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, conjugation types correlate with certain syntactic features which will be described below, though these features are not sufficient to motivate the labels subjective, objective and reflexive.³¹⁰ In principal, Forest Enets has three sets of vx for each conjugation; further specialized vx can be found with several peripheral moods and to a certain degree also within the imperative mood. Alternative vx forms are presented where necessary.

307. Conjugation type and inflectional class are two independent concepts and should not be confused. Inflectional class (class I vs IIa and IIb) is a morphological label that shows which morphological alternations are to be expected due to the phonetic shape of a verb stem. Conjugation type, on the other hand, is a morphosyntactic label that shows which set of vx is used for a given verb.

308. Künnap (1999) also used these labels in his translation of Tereščenko (1966).

309. The labels *indeterminative* and *determinative* seem to be based on Hungarian concepts of grammaticography following a similar characterization of the Hungarian conjugation. The third label, *reflexive-medial*, is a result of Körtvély's analysis, which identified a medial component in addition to earlier reflexive interpretations.

310. Several verbs whose exact number awaits a more thorough investigation can be used in all conjugations, though the choice of conjugation type alters their semantics.

7.1.1 Conjugation I (subjective conjugation)

Conjugation I, traditionally called the subjective conjugation, can be labeled as the default conjugation, as the vast majority of verbs fall into this class regardless of whether they are intransitive or transitive.³¹¹ Verbs conjugated in conjugation I agree with their subject in number and person.³¹² The following table shows the paradigm for *näš* ‘stand’ (class I) and *ped* ‘look for’ (class IIa):

	<i>näš</i> ‘stand’			<i>ped</i> ‘look’		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>nä-dʔ</i>	<i>nä-bʔ</i>	<i>nä-baʔ</i>	<i>peŋa-dʔ</i>	<i>peŋa-iʔ</i>	<i>peŋa-baʔ</i>
2P	<i>nä-d</i>	<i>nä-riʔ</i>	<i>nä-raʔ</i>	<i>peŋa-d</i>	<i>peŋa-riʔ</i>	<i>peŋa-raʔ</i>
3P	<i>nä</i>	<i>nä-xiʔ</i>	<i>näʔ</i>	<i>peŋa</i>	<i>peŋa-xiʔ</i>	<i>peŋa-ʔ</i>

Table 7-1: Sample paradigm of conjugation I

As the paradigm shows, two allomorphs, *-bʔ* and *-iʔ*, are attested for 1DU; also, for 1PL a lengthened vowel *-Vʔ* is attested instead of *-baʔ*. A morphological rule which would predict the occurrence of either allomorph has not yet been identified.

The following two examples show that both intransitive (1) and transitive verbs (2) can be encoded with conjugation I:

- (1) *bunik aga-an mođu-ŋa*
 dog big-PROL bark-FREQ.3SG
 ‘The dog barks loudly (Lit. bigly).’ [ZNB I 38]
- (2) *čiki đeri-xun mud’ uka säsur-ʔ kađa-d-uť*
 this day-LOC.SG 1SG many fox-_[ACC.PL] kill-1SG-PST
 ‘This day I killed many foxes.’ [ANP Fox Hunting]

Conjugation I is also used to form predicates from nouns, adjectives, and interrogatives:

- (3) *uu kursi enči-d*
 2SG what.kind.of person-2SG³¹³
 ‘What kind of man are you?’ [ANP II 36]
- (4) *uu tone ibléigu-d*
 2SG still small-2SG
 ‘You are still young.’ [LDB & NKB I 140]

311. Note, that for verbs belonging to inflectional class II, a connecting element must be inserted (IIa *-ŋa-* IIb *-V-*)

312. This is also the underlying motivation for its traditional labeling.

313. In predicative position, *enčiʔ* seems to behave as a non-glottal stop stem; otherwise morphological assimilation as demonstrated in chapter 3 would be expected.

- (5) *uu še-d*
 2SG who-2SG
 ‘Who are you?’ [ANP II 37]

In this case, the paradigm is defective, as nouns, adjectives and interrogatives are only inflected for present tense (aorist) and general past tense (6). Relative tenses, all moods and aspects are excluded from this usage.

- (6) *mud' ηulu-š onai enči-đ-ud'*
 1SG one-TRSL real person-1SG-PST
 ‘I was the only Enets (in the brigade).’ [LDB Brigade]

A more thorough syntactic analysis will be given in chapter 9.2.

7.1.2 Conjugation II (objective conjugation)

Conjugation II, traditionally labeled objective conjugation, is by all means the most complex conjugation type. As a necessary prerequisite, only transitive verbs can appear in conjugation II. A morphological characteristic of this conjugation is that verbs agree with both subject and the object; with the subject in person and number, but with the object in number only:

- (7) a. *minsi-da mo đđđi mi naurda-đa*
 old.woman-PX.ACC.3SG take.3SG pot_[GEN] in.LAT push-SG.3SG
 ‘He took his wife and pushed her into the pot.’ [ANP Man and Giant]
- b. *ań noo-xuń sama-xuđa tona đđbi-xi?*
 FOC take-DU.1SG beast-PX.DU.3SG still warm-3DU
 ‘So I took them both, his two beasts were still warm.’ [LDB Clairvoyant]
- c. *äki pi ma-ń đđ-kn-iń mod-in-uš*
 this night say-ASS.3SG dream-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.1SG see-PL.1SG-PST
 ‘“This night”, he said, “I saw them in my dream”.’ [LDB Clairvoyant]

Although traditionally labeled as objective conjugation, this label is quite misleading. The assumed ‘agreement with objects’ is not a syntactic feature, as transitive verbs do not fall automatically into conjugation II. Further, ‘agreement with objects’ is not lexically determined either, as one and the same verb, e.g. ‘kill’, can be used in either conjugation I or conjugation II. A corpus search with the same verb in annotated narratives produced the following result:

Σ (INCLUDING NOMINALIZED FORMS)	CONJUGATION I	CONJUGATION II
16	6	7

Table 7-2 Encoding of 'kill' in conjugation I and II in annotated narratives

It appears that the use of conjugation II is sensitive to information structure, but before turning to a preliminary description, inflectional paradigms will first be presented.³¹⁴

7.1.2.1 Indexing of objects

Principally, indexing of both object and subject on verbs follows a similar pattern as that already encountered in possession (see chapter 5.2.1ff).

Further, the sets of markers used for possession and object indexing are almost identical. The major difference lies in the fact that in conjugation II, the historical plural marker *-i* never assimilates with the preceding vowels as regular PXs do (the so-called *i*-deletion rule, see 2.12.2). Both categories seem to share a common history³¹⁵; synchronically, however PX and VX have to be distinguished. Compare:

- | | | | | | |
|--------|---|----|---|----|---|
| (8) a. | <i>odu-i?</i>
boat-PX.1SG
'my one boat' | b. | <i>odu-xuń</i>
boat-DU.1SG
'my two boats' | c. | <i>odu-ń</i> (← <i>iń</i>)
boat-PL.1SG
'my many boats' |
| (9) a. | <i>ko-u</i>
find-SG.1SG
'I found him/her/it.' | b. | <i>ko-xuń</i>
find-DU.1SG
'I found them/those (two).' | c. | <i>ko-iń(?)</i>
find-DU.1SG
'I found them/those.' |

Similar to possessive suffixes, VX in conjugation II are portmanteau morphs in first and second person; historically clearly segmentable morphology is only attested in third person context:

- | | | | | | |
|---------|--|----|---|----|--|
| (10) a. | <i>odu-đa</i>
boat-PX.3SG
'his one boat' | b. | <i>odu-xuđa</i>
boat-PX.3SG
'his two boats' | c. | <i>odu-ida</i>
boat-PL.3SG
'his many boats' |
| (11) a. | <i>ko-đa</i>
find-SG.3SG
'He found him...' | b. | <i>ko-xuđa</i>
find-DU.3SG
'He found them...(two).' | c. | <i>ko-ida</i>
find-PL.3SG
'He found them...' |

314. A more detailed overview concerning function will be given in chapter 10; the following remarks remain therefore preliminary. From a cross-linguistic perspective, the use of conjugation II in Forest Enets shares many similarities with a similar category in Khanty which was addressed in Nikolaeva (2001).

315. For the historical-comparative background see Mikola (2004: 123–124).

With singular reference, the verbal ending encodes both agreement with the subject (number and person) and the number of the object, which can be seen when contrasting conjugations I (12) and II (13):

- (12) *päusumnuju ań säsor bago ko-đ?*
 evening.ADV FOC [fox]_[N/G] hole]_[ACC] find-1SG
 ‘In the evening I found a fox hole.’ [ANP Fox hunting]

- (13) *čiki te mud’ male ko-u*
 this reindeer 1SG already find-SG.1SG
 ‘This reindeer, I already found it.’

As already shown above, for first and second person with non-singular reference, the picture is less transparent as morphology is not synchronically segmentable; SG.1SG is expressed via two allomorphs, *-u* and *-b*; DU.1SG is realized as *-xuń* and PL.1SG as *-iń*:

- (14) a. *ko-u* find-SG.1SG ‘I found him/her/it.’
 b. *ko-xuń* find-DU.1SG ‘I found them/those (two).’
 c. *ko-iń(?)* find-PL.1SG ‘I found them/those.’

7.1.2.2 Reference to a singular object

Following the explanation given above, the suffixes of conjugation II with reference to a singular object show no separate exponents for number agreement with the object and for person and number agreement with the subject. For SG.1SG reference, two allomorphs, *-u* and *-b*, are attested. Occasionally a lengthened vowel is attested, which seems to derive from the assimilation of *-u*.

<i>koš</i> ‘find’ with reference to singular object			
	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>ko-u</i>	<i>ko-b?</i>	<i>ko-ba?</i>
2P	<i>ko-r</i>	<i>ko-ri?</i>	<i>ko-ra?</i>
3P	<i>ko-đa</i>	<i>ko-đi?</i>	<i>ko-đu?</i>

Table 7-3: Conjugation II with singular object reference

7.1.2.3 Reference to dual objects

As noted, the vx for reference to dual objects differ from those used for singular reference. The paradigm contains an element *-xu-*, which is historically connected to the dual marker that can also be found with possessives. Synchronically, the ending should be analyzed as belonging to the vx due to the segmentation problems sketched above.³¹⁶

316. Whether this is an instance of *exponence of two* or a *portmanteau morph* is a question of no importance for the description of this category.

<i>koš</i> 'find' with reference to dual objects			
	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>ko-xuń</i>	<i>ko-xuń?</i>	<i>ko-xuna?</i>
2P	<i>ko-xuđ</i>	<i>ko-xuđi?</i>	<i>ko-xuđa?</i>
3P	<i>ko-xuđa</i>	<i>ko-xuđi?</i>	<i>ko-xuđu?</i>

Table 7-4: Conjugation II with dual object reference

7.1.2.4 Reference to plural objects

Structurally, the realization of the vx for reference to plural objects is similar to dual, as the vxs following the historical plural marker *-i* (also found in the possessive paradigm) are the same. For the same reasons, *-i* is analyzed as part of the vx.

<i>koš</i> 'find' with reference to plural objects			
	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>ko-iń</i>	<i>ko-iń?</i>	<i>ko-ina?</i>
2P	<i>ko-iđ</i>	<i>ko-iđi?</i>	<i>ko-ida?</i>
3P	<i>ko-ida</i>	<i>ko-iđi?</i>	<i>ko-iđu?</i>

Table 7-5: Conjugation II with plural object reference

7.1.2.5 The use of conjugation II (objective conjugation)

As a necessary prerequisite, conjugation II is only used with 3P objects:

- (15) a. *mod' boddu-n šidi te ko-xuń*
 1SG tundra-LOC two reindeer_[ACC] find-DU.1SG
 'I found these two reindeer in the tundra.' [LDB I 125]

- b. *mud' šita soida-n täna-u*
 1SG 3SG.ACC good-PROL know-SG.1SG
 'I know him well.' [NKB I 177]

With objects in non-3P context, conjugation II is ungrammatical and conjugation I must be used:

- (16) a. **mud' šit soida-n täne-u*
 1SG 2SG.ACC good-PROL know-SG.1SG
 'I know you well.' [NKB I 177]

- b. *mud' šit soida-n täni-đ?*
 1SG 2SG.ACC good-PROL know-1SG
 'I know you well.' [NKB I 177]

Further, animacy does not play a role and conjugation II can refer to both animate (see examples in (15)) and inanimate entities:

- (17) *kasa-da* *pagi-ku* *poni-t'* *pä-bi-đa*
 man-PX.GEN.3SG parka-DIM_[ACC] wear-CON begin-PERF-SG.3SG
 ‘And she started to wear her man’s parka.’ [LDB Taboo]

- (18) *famil-da* *ďurta* *ďoxora* *mud'*
 surname-PX.ACC.3SG forget.SG.1SG not.know.SG.1SG 1SG
 ‘I forgot his surname, I don’t know it.’ [LDB Shaman]

Conjugation II, too, can express anaphoric reference. In the following example, the verb *koiđu?* ‘they found them’ which is uttered as an afterthought (including an intonation break) anaphorically refers to *tiđu?* ‘their reindeer’ in the preceding clause:

- (19) *pi* *ďodan //* *toda-unu-đu?* *tiđu? //* *ko-iđu?*
 night_[GEN] along bring-AUD-3PL reindeer.PX.ACC.PL.3PL find-PL.3PL
 ‘During the night // they brought their reindeer // they found them.’ [LDB Shaman]

In the next example, the verb refers anaphorically to an object which is present in the narrative but currently not active:

- (20) *no* *uu* *pe-da-r*
 so 2SG find-FUT-SG.2SG
 ‘So, you will find it.’ (=the village) [NKB Prisoners]

Whereas so far the presentation has dealt with Forest Enets examples which match similar traditional descriptions of conjugation II in other Northern Samoyedic languages, we now turn to several examples which show that the usage of connection II is connected to information structure.³¹⁷

Returning to the starting point of this chapter, conjugation I is the default conjugation type for most intransitive and, apparently, all transitive verbs. In intonation-neutral and information-structure-neutral context, e.g. when introducing a new topic (‘I saw an old man in the tundra’), word order is *sov* and the verb is inflected in conjugation I:

- (21) *mod'* *bodu-n* *busi* *modä-d*
 1SG tundra-LOC old.man_[ACC] see-1SG
 ‘I saw an old man in the tundra.’ [VNB IV 94]

317. Körtvély (2005) has proposed calling conjugation II the ‘determinative conjugation’, which follows Hungarian grammaticography. Hungarian, too, uses different verbal endings expressing the indefiniteness or definiteness of objects, whose usage is not restricted to the sentence level. Körtvély’s description of conjugation II in Tundra Nenets (114–127), tries to leave the sentence level beyond isolated clauses but does not offer a satisfying new solution.

In contrast to (21), when focusing on *busi* ‘old man’, word order switches to s_{TOP} SV and the verb is without exception encoded in conjugation II:

- (22) *busi mod' bodu-n modä-b-uš*
 old.man 1SG tundra-LOC see-SG.1SG-PST
 ‘The old man, I saw him in the tundra.’ [VNB IV 95]

As this word order is reserved for pragmatically marked utterances, the correlation between pragmatic implication and conjugation II is not unexpected. In examples (19) and (20), which show partial and full anaphoric ‘agreement’, reference is made to topics (in (19) to reindeer and in (20) to the village of Potapovo) which have already been established in discourse. Conjugation I and transitive verbs are, as far as I can judge, only possible in information-structure-neutral contexts when introducing new protagonists/entities in object position or referring to introduced and discourse-salient yet non-topic protagonists/entities appearing as syntactic objects. When the syntactic object is omitted, speakers immediately switch to conjugation II. The same phenomenon was encountered frequently during elicitation; when starting to work with transitive verbs in information-neutral SOV context, consultants tended to switch to conjugation II after a while when the discourse entity (the grammatical object, e.g. a sled) became topical after having been talked about for a longer time. Finally, in the following longer example from a personal narrative about a hunting trip, several instances of ‘anaphoric agreement’ can be observed, although I think that an interpretation based on topic continuance (most probably marking of old topics) seems to be most adequate:

- (23) a. *oo ma-nuʷ todi ko-dʔ // sädor ko-dʔ*
 oh say-ASS.3SG fox_[ACC] find-1SG artic.fox_[ACC] find-1SG
 ‘‘Oh’’, he said, ‘‘I found a fox’’ // ‘‘I found an arctic fox.’’
- b. *äk pi ma-n' dü-*kn-iñ* mod-in-uš*
 this night say-ASS.3SG dream-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.1SG see-PL.1SG-PST
 ‘‘This night’’, he said, ‘‘I saw them in my dream’’.’
- c. *dü-*kn-iñ* mod-in-uš äki pi?*
 dream-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.1SG see-PL.1SG-PST this night
 ‘‘In my dream I saw (these two animals)’’.’
- d. *kod keu-d mud' to-iḅ añ*
 sled_[GEN] side-LAT.SG 1SG arrive-R.1SG FOC
 ‘I came to the sled.’
- e. *añ noo-xuñ // sama-xuda tona dübi-xi?*
 FOC take-DU.1SG beast-PX.DU.3SG still warm-3DU
 ‘And I took those two. His two beasts were still warm!’ [LDB Clairvoyant]

The understood kill (fox and wolf) is mentioned in turn (a) but the verb *nooxuń* ‘I took both’ which ‘agrees’ in dual with turn (a) two beasts is uttered in turn (e) which comes ten seconds later in the recording. Further, some references to other animals one can hunt and which were seen in the dream are made (b) but anaphoric ‘agreement’ in number (=dual) with turn (a) in turn (e) is the most decisive point in this fragment.³¹⁸

Summing up the discussion of conjugation II, there are few solid syntactic reasons (if any at all) to speak of ‘agreement with objects’ in the strict sense of this term. As agreement is generally seen as a feature operating within the boundaries of a clause, a definition of agreement which could accommodate examples such as (23) would surely be too holistic, and therefore another solution must be found. Instead of agreement, I favor an interpretation based on information structure, and this topic will be dealt with again in the end of chapter 10.

7.1.3 Conjugation III (reflexive conjugation)

In the relevant literature, conjugation III has been referred to in different ways. Tereščenko (1966) called conjugation III the subjective non-objective conjugation (Ru: *субъектно-безобъектный тип спряжения*). In recent descriptions of Tundra Nenets, Salminen (1997) called this conjugation the reflexive conjugation, and Körtvély (2005) labeled it reflexive-medial. The overall reason the label ‘reflexive conjugation’ seems to have gained ground is, again, a historical consideration: conjugation III uses its own set of vx, which is preceded by an element *-i*. This element *-i* was reconstructed as a reflexive derivational suffix *-j* by Lehtisalo (1936: 78), and thus it seems to be the reason the label ‘reflexive conjugation’ was attached to this category. Although there is no reason to disagree with this reconstruction, *-i* cannot be regarded as an independent derivational suffix in Forest Enets, because it has fused with vx and constitutes a special set of vx. It seems that the historical reflexive element *-i* can never appear without vx of conjugation III, which again demonstrates that they firmly belong together:

(24) *mud'* *kańi-ď?* (conjugation I)
 1SG go-1SG
 ‘I go / am going.’

(25) *mud'* *sumo-ib* (conjugation III)
 1SG fall-R.1SG
 ‘I fell down.’

For this reason, I have decided to analyze the vx including *-i* as a single unit. The following table shows the verbal endings employed in conjugation III:

318. Note that in turn (e), conjugation II cannot encode a cataphoric reference; *nooxuń* ‘I took both’ cannot be analyzed as referring to *samaxuda* ‘his two beasts’. The only instance of cataphoric reference with conjugation II is found in complement clauses, which will be discussed in chapter 13.5.

<i>sumoč</i> 'fall'			
	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>sumo-ib</i>	<i>sumo-ib?</i>	<i>sumo-ina?</i>
2P	<i>sumo-id'</i>	<i>sumo-idi?</i>	<i>sumo-ida?</i>
3P	<i>sumo-id?</i>	<i>sumo-ixi?</i>	<i>sumo-id?</i>

Table 7-6: Sample paradigm of conjugation III

Note that for R.1SG, an allomorph *-i(?)*/*-j(?)* is attested, yet the triggering morphological context is not fully understood.

Turning to a functional characterization of conjugation III, the following remarks remain inevitably superficial as this category requires detailed research in the future. First, only intransitive verbs can be found in conjugation III.³¹⁹ The following table shows all non-derived verbs found in conjugation III in annotated narratives:

<i>äddid?</i>	He drove.	<i>tätij</i>	I entered.
<i>ad'ii</i>	I sat down.	<i>närtij</i>	1) I stopped. 2) I woke up.
<i>kajid?</i>	He remained.	<i>padeed?</i>	It filled up.
<i>koddiđ?</i>	It froze.	<i>koddi?</i>	I fell asleep.
<i>lumid?</i>	They ran away in a frightened manner.	<i>kaaguid?</i>	He descended.
<i>šimid?</i>	He ran.	<i>nätid?</i>	It opened.
<i>sooid?</i>	He jumped.	<i>pätbid?</i>	It burst.
<i>sumoid?</i>	He fell down.	<i>kamađij</i>	I got ready.
<i>toid?</i>	They arrived.	<i>poid?</i>	It ended.

Table 7-7: Verbs encoded in conjugation III in annotated narratives

In ERRE, the following verbs in conjugation III are found:³²⁰

319. Occasionally, transitive verbs can be found in conjugation III, but they must undergo further derivational processes which will be described below.

320. In ERRE, verbs are listed as aspectual pairs following Russian lexicography. Verbs derived with *-gu*, which serve as translation equivalents of Russian imperfective verbs, are excluded if non-derived forms are missing (see also the discussion of aspect later in this chapter).

<i>aduš</i>	to sit down	<i>nitaš</i>	to rest
<i>atračiš</i>	to lay down on one's back	<i>pediš</i>	to burst
<i>baxad'</i>	to appeal, address	<i>polxad'</i>	to stick to a person
<i>d'ebič</i>	to dress oneself	<i>sod'</i>	to return
<i>d'ošeguš</i>	to end	<i>sooš</i>	to jump
<i>kaaš</i>	to come out	<i>sumoš</i>	to fall
<i>kexolaguš</i>	to lie on the side	<i>tačuš</i>	to catch fire
<i>kunuš</i>	to run away	<i>todaš</i>	to ascend, climb
<i>loiluč</i>	to flame up	<i>tooš</i>	to arrive, reach a point
<i>modaxaš</i>	to slip	<i>tosaš</i>	to be worried
<i>mosteš</i>	to lie (for humans) ³²¹	<i>čiš</i>	to start flying
<i>nertaš</i>	to lift, rise		

Table 7-8: Verbs in conjugation III in ERRE

A closer look at the examples shows that only a few examples from this list are indeed reflexive verbs in which the action is targeted at the actor, e.g. to dress, rest. The majority of verbs do express some kind of movement, e.g. to run away, jump, descend or ascend, or denote semelfactives with a further movement component, e.g. to catch fire, open a door, come out or start flying. Prototypical reflexive verbs, such as to cut oneself or to wash oneself, do not belong to this group of verbs and, therefore, I do not consider the proposed label 'reflexive conjugation' to be appropriate. As there are no clear-cut semantic criteria for why verbs are assigned to conjugation III, this conjugation's distinctive characteristic is heterogeneity, as membership seems to be determined lexically.

Several intransitive verbs whose exact number must still be determined can appear in both conjugations I and III, but a semantic difference (semelfactivity or inchoativity) is expressed:³²²

- (26) a. *mud'* *to-dʔ* b. *mud'* *to-ibʔ*
 1SG come-1SG 1SG come-R.1SG
 'I come / I came.' 'I arrive / I arrived.'
- c. *mud'* *adí-dʔ* d. *mud'* *ad'-ijʔ*
 1SG sit-1SG 1SG sit-R.1SG
 'I sit / I am sitting.' 'I sat down.'

321. In my collected data, I have not encountered any examples for this verb in conjugation III. Further, for several consultants, this verb was not restricted to humans.

322. Whether such verbs are zero-derived remains a question for the future. As far as I could collect data for such verbs, these probable zero-derivations do not allow a derivation with inchoative *-ra/-la* because they already express an inchoative meaning.

- e. *bu čiči-š*
3SG fly-3SG.PST
'He flew.'
- f. *bu čiči-id?*
3SG fly-R.3SG
'He started to fly.' [ZNB III 17]
- g. *mud' điri-đ?*
1SG live-1SG
'I am living.'
- h. *mud' đir-ij?*
1SG live-R.1SG
'I start/started living here.' [ZNB III 28]

The following example with the stem *lat-* 'break' belongs to this group, however a derivational suffix is involved too:

- (27) a. *latni-ŋa*
break-FREQ.3SG
'It broke many times.'
- b. *lat-id?*
break-R.3SG
'It broke once.' [ZNB III 28]

Further examples for the usage of conjugation III can be found here:

- (28) *lokri no nāt-id?*
suddenly door open-R.3SG
'Suddenly the door opened.' [NKB Prisoners]
- (29) *odu-ku-da ni-? ad-id? kani tobku-ku*
boat-DIM-PX.GEN.3SG on-LAT sit-R.3SG go.3SG mouse-DIM
đoxo me-on
river_[GEN] in-PROL
'...sat down in its little boat and the little mouse went down the river.'
[NKB Mouse and Fish]
- (30) *näbeä näbeä ŋul' äkađa đä-d sumu-id?*
run.3SG run.3SG very be.tired.3SG ground-LAT.SG fall-R.3SG
'He ran, he ran, became very tired and fell to the ground.' [ANP Wolf and Hare]
- (31) *modiñ ma-ñu^w Noriľskij túrma-xađ šimnič*
1DU say-ASS.3SG Noriľsk_[ADJ.RU] prison-ABL.SG run.away.R.1DU.PST
'"We two", he said, "ran away from the Noriľsk camp".' [NKB Prisoners]
- (32) *đa bara-xun ä-đa salba ni-? soo-id?*
ground_[GEN] shore-LOC.SG be-PTCP.IPF ice_[GEN] on-LAT jump-R.3SG
'He jumped on the ice next to the shore.'
(Lit. 'on the river bank being he jumped on the ice') [ANP Legend]

7.1.4 Verbal derivation and conjugation III

So far we have only described formally non-derived transitive verbs in conjugation III. However, two derivations are closely connected to conjugation III and will therefore already be addressed here. First, the inchoative derivational suffix *-ra/-la* alters the conjugation of verbs, which then fall into conjugation III:³²³

- (33) a. *ńe* *đara* b. *ńe* *đara-r-id?*
 child cry.3SG child cry-INCH-R.3SG
 ‘The child is crying.’ ‘The child starts / started to cry.’
- c. *bu* *kinuo* d. *bu* *kinu-l-id?*
 3SG sing.3SG 3SG sing-INCH-R.3SG
 ‘He is singing.’ ‘He starts singing.’³²⁴

Second, the same re-assignment of verbs in conjugation I or II to conjugation III is triggered by the passive marker *-ra/-la*:

- (34) a. *bunik* *šii* *sakra* b. *bunki-d* *sakra-r-ii?*
 dog 1SG.ACC bite.3SG dog-LAT.SG bite-PASS-R.1SG
 ‘A/ the dog bit me.’ ‘I was bitten by a/the dog.’ [ZNB IV 37]

7.1.5 Intransitivity and transitivity and Forest Enets conjugation types

To sum up, the discussion of conjugation types of Forest Enets shows some peculiarities which make this language interesting from a typological perspective. Intransitive verbs can be encoded in two conjugations, namely, conjugation I and conjugation III. On the other hand, also transitive verbs can be encoded in two different conjugations, namely conjugation I and II. It remains a question for the future whether Forest Enets (and again, Northern Samoyedic in general) could be classified as split transitive. As the choice of split transitivity is not lexically grounded but depends on discourse factors, it requires a profound investigation which this grammatical overview cannot produce. Concerning the interplay of transitivity and conjugation class assignment, the following four class system is visible:

323. Note that the vowel deletion rule before /i/ applies.

324. *kinu-* has an unexpressed glottal stop in its stem, *kinuʔ-*, which still surfaces when the inchoative is added and triggers assimilation. Although the infinitival converb of *kinu-* should be *kinuč* (IIb) with two stems, *kinuʔ* and *kinuʔo-*, it is frequently found in a class I form *kinuš*. However, the aforementioned alternation shows that it is actually still a member of IIb (see 3.8.2.1).

VERB CLASS	CONJUGATION I	CONJUGATION II	CONJUGATION III
1. CLASS (INTRANSITIVE)	+	–	–
2. CLASS (TRANSITIVE)	+	+	–
3. CLASS (INTRANSITIVE)	–	–	+
4. CLASS (INTRANSITIVE)	+	–	+

Table 7-9: Transitivity and conjugation class assignment

7.1.6 Conjugation types and their vx

For convenience, the following overview presents all vx of the three conjugation types in one table.

Conj. type	Conjugation I			Conjugation II reference to singular object			Conjugation II reference to dual object			Conjugation II reference to plural object			Conjugation III		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
1P	-dʔ	-bʔ	-baʔ	-u	-bʔ	-baʔ	-xuń	-xuńʔ	-xunaʔ	-iń	-ińʔ	-inaʔ	-ibʔ	-ibʔ	-inaʔ
2P	-d	-riʔ	-raʔ	-r	-riʔ	-raʔ	-xud	-xudiʔ	-xudaʔ	-id	-idiʔ	-idaʔ	-idʔ	-idiʔ	-idaʔ
3P	∅	-xiʔ	-ʔ	-da	-diʔ	-duʔ	-xuda	-xudiʔ	-xuduʔ	-ida	-idiʔ	-iduʔ	-idʔ	-ixiʔ	-idʔ

Table 7-10: Conjugation types and their vx

7.2 Tense

Forest Enets has a tense system expressing past, present, and future tense reference. Both past and future tense are morphologically marked, and thereby past/future is structurally opposed to the general present tense, which for a variety of reasons will be called aorist.³²⁵ Tense interacts closely with both aspect (both lexical and grammatical) and mood; further, several moods have an inherent temporal meaning and block tense altogether, but this discussion will be presented during the description of individual moods in 7.4.³²⁶

325. The terminus technicus *aorist* is generally used in Samoyedology.

326. The incompatibility of tense, that is to say the inherent tense value of several moods, has been addressed several times in the literature (e.g. Sorokina 1987, Urmančieva 2006, Katzschmann 2008), however no investigation is reasonably comprehensive. Sorokina (1987) seems to rely on a small data set, but consequently discusses only Forest Enets. Urmančieva and Katzschmann mix data from both Tundra and Forest Enets.

7.2.1 Tense inventory

The tense inventory of Forest Enets contains several past tenses, aorist, future and a category labeled anterior in the future.³²⁷ In several descriptions of Northern Samoyedic languages, future tense is excluded from the tense inventory as it is a derivational and not an inflectional category (e.g. Salminen 1997 54–55).³²⁸ As this description does not make a distinction between inflectional and derivational morphology but addresses tense from a mixed semasiological and onomasiological perspective, the future can and must be included here.³²⁹

Concerning past tense reference, a distinction is made between absolute tense and relative tense. In the category of absolute tense, only one tense form is attested, which is labeled as the general past. Typologically speaking, the general past is unusual because the general past tense marker *-š* is found in verb-final position, following person markers. Among relative tenses one can find a category labeled perfect and marked with *-bi*. By adding the general past tense marker *-š* to the perfect, a distant past can be formed. The distant past tense forms show some unusual compositional morphology, which will be discussed in 7.2.3.3.

Finally, a category called anterior in the future is attested. Also this tense is expressed via compositional morphology.

7.2.2 Aorist (general present tense)

The aorist is the morphologically unmarked tense category. The reason for calling it aorist and not present tense is the incompatibility of this category with a present tense interpretation. The Forest Enets aorist does not refer exclusively to a currently ongoing action but refers also to actions which have their implications for the current situation but precede the moment of speech. This largely coincides with the inherent lexical aspect of a verb; this will be illustrated with three examples. In (35), the atelic verb *d̄iriš* ‘live’ has a stable present tense reference:

- (35) *tāda kasa ne-ḏa äku-n d̄iri*
 now [man child]-PX.3SG here-LOC live.3SG
 ‘Now, his son lives here.’ [LDB Yamal]

With action verbs, such as *kadaš* ‘kill’, the aorist forms allow two interpretations; they can either refer to an ongoing action (killing) or the outcome of an action (killed). In contrast, forms marked by the past tense marker *-š* refer to actions further back in the

327. Tense was addressed by Sorokina in connection with her general description of verb morphology. Apart from the category of anterior in the future, which is missing in her description, no differences were observed (Sorokina 1975b, 1984, 1987).

328. Morphological evidence in negation shows that FUT is indeed a derivation but this has no impact on grammaticography.

329. In a similar vein also Sorokina (1984).

past that are no longer directly relevant for the present. Also, telic verbs such as *koš* ‘to find’, which refer to an action just completed, lack formal past tense marking:

- (36) *nu obu dūdigun kasa-i ši? koš*
 so what period.GEN man-PX.1SG 1SG.ACC find.3SG
 ‘So after a while my husband found me.’ [NKB Yenisei]

Consequently, both the Forest Enets aorist tense and the past tense are translated by the English past tense, but the equivalent of the English past tense is not necessarily past tense in Forest Enets. Also, if one were to add the past tense marker *-š* to ‘find’, the action would be shifted back considerably in time and a simple past translation in English would not capture this difference in meaning adequately.

7.2.3 Reference to the past

A distinction between absolute and relative past tense is characteristic of Forest Enets. The general past (absolute past tense) is in opposition to an anterior (relative) tense which allows further fine-graded modification for the relative distant past.

7.2.3.1 General past

The past tense marker *-š*, which shows two-way assimilation to *-dʹ* and *-č* with glottal stops, follows *vx* regardless of conjugation type. As tense is marked word-finally, Forest Enets (and Northern Samoyedic in general) differ from the general principles of morpheme ordering, which has tense closer to the stem than person (e.g. Bybee 1985: 33ff).

The function of the general past is to mark an action that has taken place sometime in the past, regardless of whether it has an implication for the present moment or not:

- (37) *ää-ni kaða tonin čiki pošolka-xan*
 mother-PX.GEN.1SG grandmother there.LOC this village-LOC.SG
dīri-š
 live-3SG.PST
 ‘My mother’s grandmother lived in this village.’ [NKB Childhood]

- (38) *kudaxai muđ ää-kuji-i baða-ða-š*
 long.ago 1SG mother-DIM-PX.1SG tell-SG.3SG-PST
 ‘Long ago my mother told this...’ [LDB Chervo]

- (39) *motu stada-š mä-đu-č*
 six herd-TRSL make-SG.3PL-PST
 ‘[The reindeer] were divided into six herds.’ [LDB Yamal]

- (40) *ko-ina-č* // *lota-xan*
 find-PL.1PL-PST laida-LOC.SG
 ‘We found them, on the laida.’ [LDB Clairvoyant]

A morphological note

As noted, the Forest Enets past tense marker *-š* undergoes assimilation to either *-d'* or *-č* (occasionally also *-t'* instead of *-č*). In Tereščenko's paradigm (1965: 449), assimilation to *-d'* and *-č* can be found in special cells within the paradigm; this paradigm also reflects the historically underlying assimilation processes; *-š* assimilated to *-d'* in 1SG and throughout the dual; *-č* was the outcome of assimilation in the plural paradigm. Whereas relicts of this system can still be encountered, a clear trend to generalize *-č* in 1SG and the dual is observable, regardless of speaker.³³⁰ This diverging realization is presented in the following table for *kañiš* ‘go’:

	Etymologically correct assimilation (Tereščenko 1966)			Present realization		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>kañidud'</i>	<i>kañi(i)d'</i>	<i>kañiač</i>	<i>kañidu-d' / -č</i>	<i>kañi(i)č</i>	<i>kañiač</i>
2P	<i>kañiduš</i>	<i>kañirid'</i>	<i>kañirač</i>	<i>kañiduš</i>	<i>kañirič</i>	<i>kañirač</i>
3P	<i>kañiš</i>	<i>kañixid'</i>	<i>Kañič</i>	<i>kañiš</i>	<i>kañixič</i>	<i>kañič</i>

Table 7-11: General past tense and glottal stop assimilation

7.2.3.2 Perfect *-bi/-pi*

In contrast to the general past in *-š*, there is an anteriority marker in *-bi* which undergoes assimilation to *-pi* with glottal stop stems. Its function is to indicate anteriority with respect to some point of reference. The contrast between the general past and the perfect is readily seen in the following opener of a story:

- (41) *kudaxai mud' ää-kuji-i badä-đa-š*
 long.ago 1SG mother-DIM-PX.1SG tell-SG.3SG-PST
bagla busi ma-ń tonä-bi
 Selkup old.man say-ASS.3SG exist-PERF.3SG
 ‘Long ago my mother told this. There once was a Selkup...’ [LDB Chervo]

330. This is less clear for the idiolect of ANP, whose speech shows *-t'* and *-č* as allophonic variation.

Besides its perfect interpretation, a secondary evidential and mirative interpretation is attested which can be seen as an extension of the perfect function.³³¹

The mirative interpretation in (42) derives from an elicitation session. As Zoja and I prepared to drink tea, Zoja went to wash the cups. During her absence, I put a new box of tea on the table because we had used up the last teabags the day before. Zoja returned, put the cups on the table, and after a moment said to herself:

- (42) *Florian čai tođa-bi*
 PN tea_[ACC] bring-PERF.3SG
 ‘Florian brought tea (to my surprise).’ [ZNB I 48]

The next example shows the inferential function, which is another extension of the perfect:

- (43) *mud’ ko-i sumoi-b-id’*
 1SG pus-PX.1SG fall-PERF-R.3SG
 ‘My pus has dripped [on the floor, and I was not aware of this until now that I see it]’
 [LDB I 192]

The interchangeability of mirative and inferential, which are encoded by the same means, can produce ambiguity in discourse, but the perfect interpretation underlies both of them.

A person came into the kitchen and sees that somebody had cooked soup and as its result there is a pot of soup:

- (44) *še-xo bui piri-bi*
 who-INDEF soup_[ACC] cook-PERF.3SG
 ‘Somebody has cooked soup.’ [ZNB I 29]

The primary function of the perfect is to indicate that a past event is relevant for the present, whereas the evidential shading is clearly a secondary evidential strategy.³³² Concerning frequency, the usage of the perfect in spontaneous speech is low. Speakers who had intimate contact with Tundra Nenets tend to use the perfect more often in narratives.

331. Such an opposition between a general past and a perfect with a further evidential extension is well attested in numerous languages of Eurasia. In this concern, Forest Enets is interesting because it is located outside the Turkic belt which has influenced many of its neighboring languages.

332. Sorokina’s description of the perfect favored a similar interpretation (Sorokina 1980).

7.2.3.3 Distant past *-bi/-pi* + PST

The perfect marker *-bi/-pi* can be combined with the general tense marker *-š* in word-final position to refer to the distant past. The VX occupies a position between both markers, which results in the order ROOT-PERF-VX-PST.

- (45) *Baka-xan mud' poga-bi-đ-ud'*
 Baka-LOC.SG 1SG fish-PERF-1SG-PST
 'I had been fishing on Baka.' [ANP Baka]

In addition to its temporal meaning, the distant past can also receive a secondary evidential interpretation encoding events that have not been witnessed by the interlocutor:

- (46) *äba-đa boa-š ań Krasnojarska nä-n*
 head-PX.3SG bad-3SG.PST FOC Krasnojarsk_[GEN.RU] side-LOC
đagu-bi-š
 die-PERF-3SG-PST
 'She was insane (Lit 'her head was bad'), she was said to have died close to Krasnojarsk.' [LDB Taboo]

- (47) *äku-đ Salexard-xuđ te-? tidi-bi-č*
 here-ABL Salexard-ABL.SG reindeer-_[ACC.PL] buy-PERF-3PL.PST
 '[They], from here, had bought reindeer from Salexard.' [LDB Yamal]

7.2.3.4 Anteriority in the future

A category labeled anterior in the future is attested, however these forms appear rarely and no textual examples were found. As the forms obtained in elicitation were hard to translate into Russian, translations inevitably contained a modal-like component. Currently, I assume that this category should be regarded as tense, but this issue has not been settled. All examples come from work on paradigms and no example phrases can be given:

- (48) a. *kańi-da-š* b. *sanuko-đa-š*
 go-FUT-3SG.PST play-FUT-3SG.PST
 'He will have gone.' 'He will have played.' [ZNB IV 18.12.07]

7.2.4 Future tense

The function of the future tense is to refer to an event which at the moment of speech has not yet taken place. The future tense marker in *-ḏa/-da/-ta* is morphologically problematic as it could also allow a different analysis as *-da/-ta*.³³³ Further, future tense is derivational as negation demonstrates (see 7.6.3). The Forest Enets future is a temporal category which cannot express modal connotations of obligation or necessity, as a special mood labeled *necessitive* must be used for this instead (see 7.4.2).

- (49) *ma-ńu* *nod* *to-ḏa-ḏʔ*
 say-ASS.3SG 2SG.LAT come-FUT-1SG
 ‘She said, “I will come to you”.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]
- (50) *lokri* *torsi* *mädi* *to-ḏa* *ma-ńu*
 suddenly such wind come-FUT.3SG say-ASS.3SG
 ‘“Suddenly, such a wind will come”, she said.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]
- (51) *oo* *kudaxa* *ḏa-xaḏ* *mudʔ* *to-ḏʔ* *mäḏḏi-š*
 oh distant land-ABL.SG 1SG come-1SG argish-CON
to-ḏʔ *nonida* *äku-n* *ḏiri-da-ḏʔ*
 come-1SG 2PL.LOC here-LOC live-FUT-1SG
 ‘Oh I come from a distant land, I come argishing. I will live with you here.’
 [LDB Shaman]

7.3 Aspect

The aspectual system as described in Tereščenko’s sketch (1966) was re-examined by Sorokina (1975a, b), whose conclusions showed that the aspectual system was much more elaborate.³³⁴ During my fieldwork, no new categories could be identified. As most of Sorokina’s aspect labels were given in Russian, I have chosen different labels; a comparative table can be found below:

333. Alternatively, the future tense marker could be postulated as *-da* with assimilation to *-ta* with glottal stop stems. For this solution, *-ḏa* should be classified as an irregular allomorph of *-da*. The merit of this alternative solution is that it would explain cases where non-glottal stop stems show *-da* as their future tense marker instead of *-ḏa*. However, non-glottal stem verbs do also show *-ḏa* as future tense markers, which leaves this rule with too many exceptions. As the history of this category was not discussed in Mikola (2004), a solution is not possible at present.

334. In this respect, the overview of aspect in Künnap (1999) was actually already outdated because it relied on Tereščenko (1966) and failed to incorporate later corrections proposed by Sorokina.

SUFFIX	SOROKINA (1975a, b, ET)	SUFFIX	SIEGL	SECTION
<i>-gu/-ku</i>	длительность действия (durative)	<i>-gu/-ku</i>	durative	7.3.1
<i>-ra/-la</i>	начинательность действия (inchoative)	<i>-ra/-la</i>	inchoative	7.3.7
<i>-ʔ, -ra</i>	многократность действия (plurality, frequentative)	<i>-ʔ/-r -ʔa; -rV/-IV</i>	frequentative	7.3.2
<i>-da</i> ³³⁵	постепенность действия (graduality)	<i>-do</i>	cumulative	7.3.6
<i>-jta</i>	немногократность действия / неполнота (iterativity, incompleteness)	<i>-ita</i>	delimitative	7.3.5
<i>-ubi</i>	постоянность действия (continuative)	<i>-ubi/-mubi/ -umbi/-mbi</i>	habitual	7.3.3
<i>-m</i>	становление действия (formative, resultative)	<i>-ma</i>	resultative	7.3.8
<i>-ga, -gi</i>	дисконтинуатив (discontinuative)	<i>-ga/-ka</i>	discontinuative	7.3.4

Table 7-12: Comparative chart of aspectual categories and their labeling

In ERRE, Forest Enets verbs are represented in a way that resembles aspectual pairs in Russian.³³⁶ Verbs marked with *-gu/-ku* appear as Forest Enets equivalents of Russian imperfective verbs. The following example of *totaš* ‘to read’ serves as a starting example (ERRE 143):

- (52) *totaš* /totaš/ прочитать ‘read_{PF}’
Бу пазур тома.
bu paður tota
 3SG letter_[ACC] read.3SG
 ‘He read a/the letter.’ (Ru: ‘Он прочитал письмо.’)

- (53) *totaгуць* /totaguš/ читать ‘read_{IPF}’
Бу книга томагуо.
bu kñiga tota-go
 3SG book_[ACC] read-DUR.3SG
 ‘He is reading a/the book.’ (Ru: ‘Он читает книгу.’)

335. Although this was mentioned by Sorokina (1975a, b), no further examples were given. The label *постепенность действия* (‘graduality’) comes from Tereščenko, though slightly different suffixes *-do/-to* were given (1966: 453). The label *cumulative* was introduced by Künnap (1999b: 28)

336. The same principle is followed in ES.

Initially, such a presentation seems to suggest that aspect in Forest Enets operates on a imperfective/perfective basis, which is similar to Russian. However, Sorokina (1975b) stated that although Forest Enets verbs in *-gu/-ku* are, indeed, close to Russian imperfective verbs, this parallel is superficial.³³⁷ The analysis chosen here excludes the existence of aspectual pairs and analyzes aspect as an optional derivational category (see also Siegl 2011b for a more detailed discussion).

7.3.1 Durative *-gu/-ku*

Verbs marked by the durative suffix *-gu/-ku*³³⁸, which in ERRE and ES have a similar function as Russian imperfective verbs, express an atelic action. The suffix is also the most productive derivational suffix among the aspectual suffixes.

- (54) *torsi vot noda-go-đ?*
 such so hear-DUR-1SG
 ‘Such, so I heard.’ [LDB Taboo]

Occasionally, *-gu/-ku* can be used to mark statements as general, but this blocks a habitual interpretation. These instances are however not very frequent:

- (55) *tu ni-n enči puga či-go*
 lake_[GEN] on-LOC person net_[ACC] put.up-DUR.3SG
 ‘On this lake, a man is fishing.’ [ANP Lakes around Potapovo]

In contrast to Russian imperfective verbs, Forest Enets durative verbs do not express any habitual action as this is expressed by verbs carrying the habitual suffix *-ubi*.

- (56) *Утром обычно читаю немного.*
 morning.INST.MASC.SG usually read.1SG little.ADV
 ‘In the morning I usually read a little bit.’
- (57) *kiudnuju mod’ peri kniga tota-ubi-đ?*
 morning.ADV 1SG always book_[ACC] read-HAB-1SG
 ‘In the morning I usually read a little bit.’

337. “При помощи суффикса *-gu* образуются глагольные основы, близкие по значению глаголам русского несовершенного вида.” (With the help of the suffix *-gu* verbal bases are derived whose meaning is very near to the Russian imperfective aspect.) (Sorokina 1975b: 132, 134). Still, for the compilation of the school dictionary, Sorokina and Bolina (2001) were apparently guided by Russian lexicographic principles, and verbs were presented in a way that would allow an interpretation of aspectual pairs. During a short meeting with Irina Sorokina in St. Petersburg in December 2009, she informed me that she had abandoned her 1975 position and now believes that Forest Enets indeed has aspectual pairs.

338. The usual *u/o* variation applies.

With verbs with an inherent lexical perfective meaning, *-gu/-ku* derives an atelic version focusing on an ongoing process which resembles the Russian imperfective aspect very closely.

- (58) a. *bu knīga tota-go*
 3SG book_[ACC] read-DUR.3SG
 ‘He is reading a/the book.’ [IIS IV 148]
- b. *mod’ knīga tota-u*
 1SG book_[ACC] read-SG.1SG
 ‘I read a/the book.’ [IIS IV 148]

Some verbs denoting states/processes cannot be marked with the durative. These verbs include, e.g. *täñiš* ‘know’, *komitaš* ‘love’, and *mosraš* ‘work’. Interestingly, *d’iriš* ‘live’ has a durative *d’irigoš*, which means ‘living at a location for a longer period’. Also verbs of movement can be derived with the durative aspect:

- (59) *tošnuju kaa-gu-iđ soši ni-đ*
 down.ADV descend-DUR-R.3SG hill_[GEN] on-ABL
 ‘Down he came, from the hill.’ [LDB Supernatural]
- (60) *añ kiu-da ni-? sumo-g-iđ?*
 FOC side-PX.GEN.3SG on-LAT fall-DUR-R.3SG
añ nääk kiu-da ni-? sumo-g-iđ?
 FOC other side-PX.GEN.3SG on-LAT fall-DUR-R.3SG
 ‘So [the mouse] fell on the one side, then it fell on the other side.’ [NKB Mouse]

The durative can be combined with the past tense marker *-š*:

- (61) *bočka mi-? to d’ogun sirta-go-č*
 barrel_[GEN] in-LAT that period.LOC.SG salt-DUR-3PL.PST
 ‘Into a barrel, they salted them [the fish] in those days.’ [LDB Transportnik]

Further, the durative can also co-occur with the converb marker *-š/-d’/-č*, which serves as the citation form of verbs in both dictionaries. According to both Tereščenko (1966) and Sorokina (1975b), this is possible with all aspectual suffixes. In my data it is attested predominantly with the durative suffix; other instances are attested too, but are infrequent.³³⁹

339. This may, however, be an accidental gap in my collected data.

- (62) *no* *šeru-gu-š* *pä-baʔ*
 so bury-DUR-CON begin-1PL
 ‘So [we] began to bury [her].’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

Verbs belonging to inflectional class IIa block durative derivation. This constraint is semantically motivated and will be analyzed in more detail in the next section.

7.3.2 Frequentatives

From a historical perspective, one could speak of the existence of two frequentative markers sharing the initial consonant *-r*. As the picture concerning frequentatives and their appearance is complicated, one has to reserve some more space for its discussion. The proposed solution below is preliminary and awaits a more thorough investigation in the future.

7.3.2.1 Lexicalized (historical) frequentative

Verbs belonging to class IIa show a stem extension in *-ŋa* in the aorist.³⁴⁰ In the case of negation, this stem extension cannot be found, and, instead, the negated main verb ends in *-r*. One example of such a verb is *d’orid’* ‘speak’:

- (63) a. *bu* *d’ori-ŋa*
 3SG speak-LINK.3SG
 ‘(S)he is speaking.’
- b. *bu* *ni* *d’ori-r*
 3SG NEG.AUX.3SG speak-CN
 ‘(S)he is not speaking.’

In fact, all verbs belonging to class IIa are historical frequentatives. From a historicizing perspective, the stem-final element *-r* in (63b) is a frequentative-augmentative marker (Lehtisalo 1936: 190). However, in the affirmative conjugation and in the infinitival converb *d’orid’*, no traces of *-r* can be found. Instead, in finite and several less-finite forms (e.g. imperative 3SG, but also in the plural), a stem extension in *-ŋa* is found (see also 3.8.2.2). As an intermediate solution, I have chosen to analyze *-ŋa* as an allomorph of frequentative *-r* as their realization is mutually incompatible.³⁴¹ The overall question of whether it is justifiable to attribute a frequentative meaning to *-r* and *-ŋa* cannot be

340. In Salminen’s description of Tundra Nenets morphology, *-ŋa* is discussed in his account on “general finite stems” (1997: 99–101). The same morpheme behaves superficially similarly, as it can be found in finite verbs only. However, a clear semantic meaning is connected to *-ŋa* which suggests that it is not only a linking morpheme.

341. Concerning language history, this classification is unorthodox as *-ŋa* is the fossilized historical aorist marker (e.g. Mikola 2004: 115). As such it does not longer function in Forest Enets.

settled finally, but I will present data which makes such an interpretation likely. Turning to the meaning of these possible frequentative suffixes, they express an ongoing or sometimes also a repeated action at a certain point in time in both aorist and past tenses. Further, the frequentative can also be used to express verbal plurality. The potential frequentative meaning cannot be combined with future tense reference. The following examples show several verbs in spontaneous speech and elicitation:

- (64) *šidi dēri pe-ŋ-ina? māle*
 two day look-FREQ-PL.1PL already
 ‘We have been looking for two days already (and still are).’ [LDB Shaman]
- (65) *ŋolu dā-xan ŋi-? ŋa-? peri nābi-ŋa-?*
 one place-LOC.SG NEG.AUX-3PL be_{LOC}-CN always run-FREQ-3PL
 ‘They [reindeer] don’t stay in one place, they always run.’ [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]
- (66) *čai-ŋa-ba-č dōri-ŋa-ba?*
 drink.tea-FREQ-1PL-PST speak-FREQ-1PL
 ‘We drank tea, we chatted...’ [LDB Weekend]
- (67) *dūrak bađa-ru-n dūri-ŋa-đ?*
 Nenets word-LIM-PROL speak-FREQ-1SG
 ‘I’m only speaking Nenets.’ [NKB Childhood]
- (68) *bu aga-an puđitu-ŋa*
 3SG big-PROL breath-FREQ.3SG
 ‘He breathes/is breathing hard.’ [ZNB III 21]

As noted, class IIa verbs block aspectual derivation with the durative *-gu* → **dōri-ku* ‘speaking for a while’. Further, as the following examples show, both the durative *-gu* and frequentative form minimal pairs and should not be considered allomorphs:

- (69) a. *tāda poga šiti-ŋa-đ?*
 now net_[ACC] repair-FREQ-1SG
 ‘I am repairing a net.’ (or: ‘I frequently repair a net.’)³⁴² [LDB II 79]
- b. *mud’ poga šiti-go-đ?*
 1SG net_[ACC] repair-DUR-1SG
 ‘I am currently repairing a net.’ (atelic) [LDB II 79]

342. The frequentative has a further interpretation of verbal plurality. In contrast, the durative cannot express this notion.

Finally, two verbs borrowed from Russian behave as IIa verbs:

- (70) *ňobkutun päušumnuju noň Oksana zvoni-ŋa*
 once evening.ADV 1SG.LAT Oksana call-FREQ.3SG
ma-ňu noň noň Florian zvoni-ŋa-š
 say-3SG.ASS 1SG.LAT 1SG.LAT Florian call-FREQ-3SG.PST
 ‘Once in the evening, Oksana called me. She told me that Florian had called...’
 [ZNB Trip to Tartu]

In another narrative, the Russian verb *учиться* ‘study’ appears twice with the durative marker as *učiduguđud’* <study.DUR.1SG.PST> ‘I was studying’ and once as *učiduŋaa* <study.FREQ.1PL> ‘We were studying’. Although these instances are problematic, both verbs *звонить* and *учиться* could have fallen into the IIa class not on semantic grounds, but via analogy. The Russian infinitive marker *-t’* could have been interpreted as equivalent to the Forest Enets infinitival converb marker *-d’*, which is the marker for IIa verbs. If this interpretation turns out to be correct, verbs borrowed from Russian (at least recent borrowings) are assigned to this class by morphological analogy and not by their semantics. Although such a solution derives from my limited data, a much more comprehensive study is needed.

7.3.2.2 Productive frequentative in *-rV/-IV-*

There is a second, reasonably productive frequentative in *-rV/-IV-*. Historically, it must be related to the frequentative in *-r* from above although it contains a further vowel. The productive frequentative is seen in the following example:

- (71) *mod’ kirba koru-xun motu-ra-a*
 1SG bread_[ACC] knife-LOC.SG cut-FREQ-SG.1SG
 ‘I have cut up one loaf of bread with a knife.’ [ZNB IV 12]

In contrast to class IIa verbs, the productive frequentative marker *-rV* seems to be combinable with the durative marker *-gu*:

- (72) *modña? sänuku dör detši nooru*
 1PL several time Yensei_[GEN] across
bei-ru-gu-ina-č
 CROSS-FREQ-DUR-R.1PL-PST
 ‘We crossed the Yenisei several times (with a boat).’ [ZNB I 67]

As this initial categorization is still preliminary, this unusually complicated aspectual category calls for more detailed research in the future.

7.3.3 Habitual *-ubi/-mubi/-umbi/-mbi*

The habitual³⁴³ marks verbs for actions that occur either on a regular basis or frequently enough to be considered a habit. The suffix *-ubi* is attached to non-glottal-stop stems; all the other versions were encountered with glottal-stop stems:³⁴⁴

- (73) *mədna?* *čas-xun* *oo-mubi-ä* *täda* *añ?* *orču-đ*
 1PL hour-LOC.SG eat-HAB-1PL now FOC before-ABL
oo-ŋa-ač
 eat-FREQ-1PL
 ‘We usually eat at 1 o’clock, but today we ate earlier.’ [NKB II 20]

- (74) *torsi* *enču* *bađi-ubi-?* *ma-mbi-?* *đudigađa enči*
 such person_[NOM.PL] tell-HAB-3PL say-HAB-3PL clairvoyant
 ‘So the people tell, they usually say, a clairvoyant...’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

The habitual can be combined with the general past tense marker *-š*, which results in the reported action being shifted considerably into the past:

- (75) *đurak* *enči* *bu* *kerta* *đurak* *bađa-an*
 Nenets person 3SG own.PX.GEN.3SG Nenets word-PROL
peri *đuri-mubi-š //* *mensi-đa* *añ* *đurak*
 always speak-HAB-3SG.PST old.woman-PX.3SG FOC Nenets
bađa-an *đuri-ŋa-š*
 word-PROL speak-FREQ-3SG.PST
 ‘The Nenets, he usually spoke in Nenets, but his wife spoke (only) Nenets.’
 [LDB Shaman]

Further, the habitual can be combined with the perfect tense *-bi* and the general past tense marker *-š*, which indicates that an action occurred regularly in the distant past:

- (76) *kudaxai* *äku-xun* *šiđi* *po* *điri-ubi-ubi-đ-ud’*
 long.ago here-LOC.SG two year live-HAB-PERF-1SG-PST³⁴⁵
 ‘A long time ago I had been living here for two years.’ [ZNB IV 70]

Sorokina (1984: 117–118) also has an example for habitual with the future where HAB precedes FUT *kolta-ubi-da-đ?* <clean-HAB-FUT-1SG> ‘I will be constantly cleaning’, however no such forms are attested in my materials. Further, Sorokina (1975b: 136) shows

343. In ET (336), this category was re-labeled *узнатив* ‘usinate’, which in contrast to its initial classification as continuative fits its semantics better. I prefer to call this category habitual.

344. Currently, no fully productive morphonological rule can be presented.

345. /u/ is apparently added for phonotactic reasons.

several examples where HAB is found on verbs preceding the infinitive converb marker *-š* e.g. *kolbi-ubi-š* <lie-HAB-CON> ‘lie constantly’ or *mosra-ubi-š* <work-HAB-CON> ‘work constantly’. Such forms are not attested in my materials.

Excursus: habitual in the future *-uta*?

Forest Enets may have a second habitual expressing a repeated event occurring in the future. During an elicitation session with both ZNB and LDB, the following example was produced. However, this is the only example that is currently attested:

- (78) *uu segmit d'eri magazin-ud kan-uta-d*
 2SG every day store-LAT.SG go-HAB.FUT-2SG
 ‘Every day, you will go the shop.’ [ZNB II 92]

The first part of *-uta* is similar to the initial component of *-ubi*, and the second part, *-ta*, could be related to the future tense marker. Although such an interpretation seems possible, it must be said that both ERRE and ES have a lexical entry for a verb of movement with the forms *kanuš* and *kanuč*, and example (78) could equally be analyzed as a future tense form of *kanuč*. As I could document neither *kanuš* nor *kanuč*, this question must remain unanswered for the time being.

7.3.4 Discontinuative *-ga/-ka*

The discontinuative aspectual marker *-ga/-ka* is not productive, and only a few examples are currently attested. The discontinuative expresses an action that takes place irregularly:

- (79) *televizor kutuixin mosra-ga*
 TV sometimes work-DISC.3SG
 ‘Once in a while, the TV works (but usually it does not).’ [ZNB I 66]

- (80) *biđ tođa-ga*
 water_[ACC] bring-DISC.3SG
 ‘Once in a while, he brings some water.’ [NKB II 88]

- (81) *ńe leu-ka*
 child cry-DISC.3SG
 ‘The child cries once in a while.’ [ZNB III 16]

Example (82) is one of the very few instances where the discontinuative was found in a recorded narrative:

- (82) *mud' ma-ńeđu^w d'oki-ga-ď?*
 1SG say-ASS.1SG wonder-DISC-1SG
 'I have to say, I wonder once in a while.' [EIB Clairvoyant]

7.3.5 Delimitative *-ita*

The delimitative *-ita* is another infrequent aspectual derivational suffix without any textual examples. It characterizes an event that takes place for a short period of time, including a repetition if possible:

- (83) *bu ibl'ėigu-n adi-ita*
 3SG little-PROL sit-DEL.3SG
 'He sits for a little while.' [ZNB I 67]

- (84) *mud' ibl'ėigu-n koď-ita-ď*
 1SG little-PROL scratch-DEL-1SG
 'I scratched myself for a little while.' [VNB II 78]

As an interesting case of lexicalization, the verb *komitaš* 'love' seems to be a delimitative derivative of the verb *komaš* 'want'.

7.3.6 Cumulative

The cumulative *-do* marks a continuing event. At present, no examples have been found in spontaneous speech. The examples in (85) are taken from Tereščenko (1966: 453)

- (85) *souxud'* 'improve' → *souxudoš* 'keep on improving'
sobut' 'take' → *sobutoš* 'keep on taking'

Since I was unable to elicit any similar forms, I showed the original examples to several consultants. Only LDB recognized this form, and offered the following example:

- (86) *điričima souxu-do-š tara-ńu*
 life improve-CUM-CON must-ASS.3SG
 'Life must improve.' [LDB II 33]

7.3.7 Inchoative *-ra/-la*

The inchoative *-ra/-la* focuses on the beginning of an action. Concerning its morphological behavior, the inchoative changes the assignment of verbs and transfers them to conjugation III.³⁴⁶ This rule seems to apply without exception:

- (87) a. *ne dára* b. *ne dá-r-idʔ*
 child cry.3SG child cry-INCH-R.3SG
 ‘The child is crying.’ ‘The child starts/started to cry.’

- (88) *dúrak bađa-an soida-an duri-l-iʔ*
 Nenets word-PROL good-PROL speak-INCH-R.1SG
 ‘I started to speak Nenets well.’ [NKB Childhood]

The inchoative blocks all other aspectual derivations.³⁴⁷ However, it can be combined freely with the perfect tense *-bi/-pi*:

- (89) *kasa äči kodu-da ni ad-idʔ šemnida*
 [man_[N/G] youngster] sled-PX.GEN.3SG on.LAT sit-R.3SG some.time
kuda-ra-bi-đ
 sleep-INCH-PERF-R.3SG
 ‘The young man sat down on his sled and fell asleep for some time.’
 [ANP Old Woman and Son]

7.3.8 Translative-resultative *-ma*

The translative-resultative *-ma* focuses on the changing state of an action and its result. In this respect, the translative-resultative is the functional opposite of the inchoative, which stresses the beginning of an action.

- (90) a. *kasa enči aru-ma*
 [man_[N/G] person] grow-RES.3SG
 ‘The boy grew tall.’ [ZNB III 18]
- b. *biʔ laxu-ma*
 water cook-RES.3SG
 ‘The water boiled.’ [ZNB III 18]

346. If not followed by, e.g. the PERF as in the example below, the suffix final /a/ undergoes the *a*-deletion rule.

347. Sorokina (1975b: 136) stated that it would never combine with the durative.

From a morphological perspective, the translative-resultative aspectual marker also shows some derivational properties, as it can derive translative-resultative verbs from nouns:

- (91) a. *d̄eri d̄uba* → b. *ŋa-ḏa d̄eri-ma*
 day warm.3SG sky-PX.3SG day-RES.3SG
 ‘The day is warm.’ ‘It’s getting day.’ [ZNB III 18]
- c. *bu busi-ma*
 3SG old.man-RES.3SG
 ‘He became old.’ [ZNB III 18]
- d. *bu mensi-ma*
 3SG old.woman-RES.3SG
 ‘She became old.’ [ZNB III 18]

An unusual member of this group is the verb *ood’* ‘to eat’. Its imperfective counterpart *oo-ŋa* <eat-FREQ.3SGG> is a frequentative, but the perfective version shows a form similar to the resultative derivation.

- (92) a. *točgoḏ kiudä čai-b̄ o-ma-ḏ?*
 then morning tea-PX.ACC.1SG eat-RES-SG.1SG
 ‘Then I drank my morning tea.’ (Lit. ‘I ate morning tea’) [ZNB Hat]

Whereas it is quite possible that this verb is perceived as belonging to the same aspectual derivation via analogy, the verb stem historically ends in *-m* (Janhunen 1977: 15). The next example, too, shows a verb in which the *-ma* marker belonged historically to the stem as it is preserved in Tundra Nenets.³⁴⁸

- (92) b. *kaja oḏi-ma*
 sun appear-RES.3SG
 ‘The sun comes out.’ [ZNB III 18]

As there are several instances of future forms *oḏida* ‘will become visible, will appear’ which follow the assumed glottal stop assimilation, it is very likely that *-ma* has been reinterpreted as an aspect marker already.

348. *надимдәсь* and related, see [T65:373].

7.4 Mood

Whereas both tense and aspect were studied in more detail in individual studies by Sorokina (1975b, 1987), the mood system has never been the subject of an independent study. Also the overview in Sorokina (2010b) is incomplete. The only overview is therefore still Tereščenko's sketch grammar (1966), which was reduplicated later in Künnap (1999) and Labauskas (2002). Some new moods are mentioned *en passant* in ET (335–336), but they lack descriptions. The collected data suggests that Forest Enets has more than the five moods originally recognized by Tereščenko (1966), but the overall number is hard to determine, and the exact number will have to remain open for the time being.³⁴⁹ A variety of factors make the study of mood complicated. First, the number of moods is still not fixed and even after primary fieldwork ended, new forms appeared in re-transcribed speech once in a while. Second, for several moods, no full paradigm could be collected, and 'minimal pairs' that would show the difference between semantically close moods were hard to obtain. Third, as Russian knows only imperative and conditional mood, many Forest Enets moods were simply translated by the same Russian modal adverbs, which introduced further vagueness. And finally, several moods which were produced in spontaneous speech could not be retrieved via elicitation. The following table summarizes the attested mood forms excluding the unmarked indicative mood; the table remains preliminary for the reasons mentioned above.

NAME	FORM	SECTION
Imperative (2p, 3p)	distinctive set of vx	7.4.1–7.4.3
Hortative (1p)	-xu/-gu/-ku + vx	7.4.1.4
Necessative	-ču + vx	7.4.2
Interrogative	-sa/-d'á/-ča + vx	7.4.3
Conditional	-ńi + vx + PST	7.4.4
Speculative	verb + PTCP + SIM + further morphology	7.4.5
Past probabilative	-sa + vx _{EXP}	7.4.6.1
Potential	-te + vx _{EXP}	7.4.6.2
Compound past potential	verb + PTCP.IPF + PX copula + POT	7.4.6.3
Assertative	verb + CN + NEG.AUX + vx _{EXP}	7.4.6.4
Assumptive	verb + CN + NEG.AUX + <i>isi</i> + vx _{EXP}	7.4.6.5
Counterfactive	NEG.AUX + <i>ńi</i> + vx + CN	7.4.6.6

Table 7-13: Comparative chart of moods and their labeling

This overview begins with the imperative, as this category has some morphosyntactic peculiarities, including a particular set of vx. Further, derivational moods will be presented, which are then followed by moods that diachronically seem to come from former

349. Salminen (1997: 98) provides 16 possible moods for Tundra Nenets, but a detailed morphosyntactic study is still lacking. First steps were undertaken by Jalava (2012).

nominalizations or are based on negative auxiliaries. Finally, a list of possible other moods for which no safe description can be offered will be given.

7.4.1 Imperative mood and hortative mood

The imperative mood is the prototypical mood used for giving commands. Imperatives can be formed for 2P and 3P in singular, dual and plural, although their illocutionary force varies. In this respect, one might wish to speak of the category imperative for 2P only (direct commands), whereas commands for 3P are weaker and could be called optative. In principal, the three basic conjugation classes have their own distinct verbal endings for the imperative. Still, these endings overlap to a large degree with those which are used in the indicative.³⁵⁰ By contrast, commands in the 1P context have a special mood marker *-xu-/-gu/-ku*, but no special *vX*, and the hortative is therefore presented independently.

7.4.1.1 Imperative conjugation I

The following verbal endings are used for imperatives in conjugation I:

Imperatives in 2nd person

- (93) a. *to-ʔ*
come-IMP.2SG
'Come!'
[ZNB I 30]
- b. *to-riʔ*
come-IMP.2DU
'You two come!'
- c. *to-raʔ*
come-IMP.2PL
'Y'all come'

Imperatives in 3rd person

- (94) a. *bu* *äu-ʔ* *to-b'*
3SG here-LAT come-IMP.3SG
'He should come here!' [ZNB I 30]
- b. *budíʔ* *äu-ʔ* *to-xiʔ*
3DU here-LAT come-IMP.3DU
'They (two) should come here!' [ZNB I 30]
- c. *buduʔ* *äu-ʔ* *to-b'*
3PL here-LAT come-IMP.3PL
'They should come here!' [ZNB I 30]

350. Class IIa verbs use different stems for the imperative, but this has no morphosyntactic implication (3.9.2.1).

In Sorokina (2010b), the markers for commands in 3rd person show different verbal endings, which are shown in the following table:

	Imperative conjugation I			Sorokina (2010b: 322)		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
2P	-ʔ ³⁵¹	-riʔ	-raʔ	-ʔ	-riʔ	-raʔ
3P	-b́	-xiʔ	-b́	-j	-xiʔ ³⁵²	-jʔ

Table 7-14: Imperative and conjugation I

As can be seen, verbal endings show a certain kind of overlapping. Whereas the imperative has an independent set of vx in the singular, the non-plural series for 2nd person is formally homonymous with general vx. In 3rd person context, only the non-dual form is independent.

	Imperative conjugation I			vx conjugation I		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
2P	-ʔ	-riʔ	-raʔ	-d	-riʔ	-raʔ
3P	-b́	-xiʔ	-b́	∅	-xiʔ	-ʔ

Table 7-15: vx imperative conjugation I and affirmative conjugation I

7.4.1.2 Imperative conjugation II

Imperatives in conjugation II are inevitably more complex due to the required object reference. Whereas imperatives in conjugation I and III have only 6 possibilities (three forms for commands in second person and three for third person), imperatives in conjugation II have nine forms for second person and nine for third person, resulting in 18 forms. As my own data still lacks some forms, the following overview discusses my own data as well as data from Sorokina (2010b) side by side:

Imperative 2sg

- (95) a. *mu-ḏ* b. *mu-xuń* c. *mu-ń*
 take-IMP.SG.2SG take-IMP.DU.2SG take-IMP.PL.2SG
 ‘Take it.’ ‘Take both!’ ‘Take many!’
 [all ZNB I 31]

351. Some morphological alternations apply; verbs belonging to class IIa show *-r*, while those in class IIb show *-s*. This, however, has no relevance for the overall discussion.

352. Tereščenko (1966: 451) has *-giʔ* for 3DU.

Imperative 2_{DU}

- (96) a. *udí?* *äki* *mariä* *kada-ri?*
 2_{DU} this bag carry-IMP.SG.2_{DU}
 ‘You two carry this one bag!’
- b. *udí?* *kada-xudí?* c. *udí?* *kad-idi?*
 2_{DU} carry-IMP.DU.2_{DU} 2_{DU} carry-IMP.PL.2_{DU}
 ‘You two carry two bags!’ ‘You two carry the bags!’
 [all ZNB V 5]

Imperative 2_{PL}

- (97) a. *uda?* *äki* *mariä* *kada-ra?*
 2_{PL} this bag carry-IMP.SG.2_{PL}
 ‘Y’all carry this one bag.’
- b. *uda?* *kada-xuda?* c. *uda?* *kad-ida?*
 2_{PL} carry-IMP.DU.2_{PL} 2_{PL} carry-IMP.PL.2_{PL}
 ‘Y’all carry these two bags.’ ‘Y’all carry these bags!’
 [all ZNB V 6]

3P with reference to singular object

- (98) a. *bu* *moo-da*
 3_{SG} take-IMP.SG.3_{SG}
 ‘He should take it!’
- b. *budí?* *moo-di?* c. *budu?* *moo-du?*
 3_{DU} take-IMP.SG.3_{DU} 3_{PL} take-IMP.SG.3_{PL}
 ‘They (two) should take it!’ ‘They should take it!’
 [all ZNB I 31]

3P with reference to dual object

- (99) a. *dotu-xuda?*
 hit-IMP.DU.3_{SG}
 ‘He should beat these two!’
- b. *dotu-xudí?* c. *dotu-xudu?*
 hit-IMP.DU.3_{DU} hit-IMP.DU.3_{PL}
 ‘They two should beat these two!’ ‘They should beat these two.’
 [all Sorokina 2010b: 324]

3P with reference to plural object

- (100)a. *đot-ida*
hit-IMP.PL.3SG
‘He should beat them all!’
- b. *đoti-di?*
hit-IMP.PL.3DU
‘They two should beat them all!’
[all Sorokina 2010b: 324]
- c. *đot-idu?*
hit-IMP.PL.3PL
‘They should beat them all!’

The following chart lists the verbal endings for imperatives in conjugation II with number reference:

	Imperative with reference to singular object			Imperative with reference to dual object			Imperative with reference to plural object		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
2P	<i>-đ/-d</i>	<i>-ri?</i>	<i>-ra?</i>	<i>-xuñ</i>	<i>-xudi?</i>	<i>-xuda?</i>	<i>-iñ</i>	<i>-idi?</i>	<i>-ida?</i>
3P	<i>-da?</i>	<i>-di?</i>	<i>-du?</i>	<i>-xuda?</i>	<i>-xudi?</i>	<i>-xudu?</i>	<i>-ida?</i>	<i>-idi?</i>	<i>-idu?</i>

Table 7-16: Imperative and conjugation II

Again, the paradigm overlaps to a large degree with the regular paradigm of conjugation II:

	Regular vx with reference to singular object			Regular vx with reference to dual object			Regular vx with reference to plural object		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
2P	<i>-r</i>	<i>-ri?</i>	<i>-ra?</i>	<i>-xud</i>	<i>-xudi?</i>	<i>-xuda?</i>	<i>-id</i>	<i>-idi?</i>	<i>-ida?</i>
3P	<i>-da</i>	<i>-di?</i>	<i>-du?</i>	<i>-xuda</i>	<i>-xudi?</i>	<i>-xudu?</i>	<i>-ida</i>	<i>-idi?</i>	<i>-idu?</i>

Table 7-17: Imperative vx conjugation II and affirmative conjugation II

The independent vx for imperative in conjugation II are restricted to the 2nd person singular; all non-singular forms in 2nd person are homonymous with the forms in the affirmative. The forms for constellations in third person seem to differ too, but are not fully representative for the language of the current generation due to the lack of such forms in my gathered data.

7.1.4.3 Imperative conjugation III

For imperatives belonging to conjugation III, all vx encountered in the present generation match the vx as presented in Sorokina (2010b: 325–326).

Imperatives in 2nd person

- (101) a. *adi-dʔ*
sit-IMP.R.2SG
‘Sit down!’
[all ZNB I 32]
- b. *adi-d̄iʔ*
sit-IMP.R.2DU
‘You two sit down!’
- c. *adi-d̄aʔ*
sit-IMP.R.2PL
‘Y’all sit down!’

Imperatives in 3rd person

- (102) a. *adi-dʔ*
sit-IMP.R.3SG
‘He should sit down!’
- b. *adi-giʔ*
sit-IMP.R.3DU
‘They (two) should sit down!’
- c. *adi-dʔ*
sit-IMP.R.3PL
‘They should sit down!’ [all ZNB I 32]

The most unusual characteristic of the imperative forms for conjugation III is the fact that in contrast to conjugations I and II, this conjugation has an independent set of vx for the imperative for all persons.

	Imperative conjugation III			Conjugation III regular vx		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
2P	<i>-dʔ</i>	<i>-d̄iʔ</i>	<i>-d̄aʔ</i>	<i>-idʔ</i>	<i>-id̄iʔ</i>	<i>-idaʔ</i>
3P	<i>-dʔ</i>	<i>-giʔ</i>	<i>-dʔ</i>	<i>-idʔ</i>	<i>-ixiʔ</i>	<i>-idʔ</i>

Table 7-18: Imperative vx conjugation III and affirmative vx conjugation III

7.4.1.4 Hortative *-xu/-gu/-ku*

The hortative in *-xu*, or *-gu* and *-ku* after glottal stop stems, expresses that the speaker thinks that he himself or he and the addressee should do what is expressed by the verb. Currently, only examples for conjugation I are at my disposal:

- (103) *kañi-xu-i* *ŋul' detši* *bar-ud*
 go-HORT-1DU so Yenisei_[GEN] shore-LAT.SG
 ‘Let us two go to the bank of the Yenisei.’ [ZNB III 15]

- (104) *kañi-xu-gu-đ?* *ŋul' toni?*
 go-HORT-DUR-1SG so there.LAT
 ‘I should go there.’ [ZNB III 15]

In 1PL context, the *vx* fuses with the durative marker which results in the lengthening of the vowel in the hortative suffix:

- (105) *kañ-xu-goo?* *ŋul' toni?*
 go-HORT-DUR.1PL so there.LAT
 ‘Let us go there.’ [ZNB III 15]

This assimilation process is regular, as the following example shows:

- (106) *đori-goo* <speak-HORT.1PL> ‘Let us speak!’ [ZNB I 32]

7.4.1.5 Aspect and imperatives

Whereas tense cannot be added to imperatives, the durative aspectual marker *-gu* is compatible with imperatives in elicited examples:

- (107) *uu padu-đ*
 2SG write-IMP.SG.2SG
 ‘Write it up!’ (perfective reading) [ZNB IV 29]

- (108) *uu padu-gu-đ*
 2SG write-DUR.IMP.SG.2SG
 ‘Write now!’ [ZNB IV 29]

7.4.2 Necessative *-ču*

The necessative *-ču* expresses an action that is supposed to occur after the moment of speech.³⁵³ It can express obligation and necessity, though it is hard to draw a line between these two usages if there really should be some.

353. In the manuscripts of Castrén, the necessative forms are labeled future, but I do not suspect that it was used as such earlier. Besides, the usual future is frequently found next to *NESS* forms in his manuscripts.

- (109) *vezdexod äki đeri to-ču boddo-on to-đa*
 all.terrain.vehicle this day come-NESS.3SG tundra-PROL come-FUT.3SG
 ‘A *vezdexod* is supposed to come today; it will come through the tundra.’
 [LDB & NKB I 170]
- (110) *tiđa mud’ mud’ ku-ču-ń ma-ńu*
 reindeer.PX.PL.3SG 1SG 1SG find-NESS-PL.1SG say-ASS.3SG
 ‘‘His reindeer, I, I am supposed to find them’’, he said.’ [LDB Shaman]
- (111) *kiuđnuju mār kobru-ču-na?*
 morning.ADV quick skin-NESS-PL.1PL
 ‘In the morning we are supposed to skin them quickly.’ [LDB Plundered sled]

The necessative does not imply whether the completion of an action is indeed intended. The following minimal pairs should be helpful for locating the necessative in a wider modal landscape:

- (112) *kirba tidi-ču-đ?*
 bread_[ACC] buy-NESS-1SG
 ‘I am supposed to buy bread.’ [EIB II 179]
- (113) *kirba tidi-ta-đ?*
 bread_[ACC] buy-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will buy bread.’ [EIB II 179]
- (114) *mud’ labka-d kańi-ču-đ?*
 1SG shop-LAT.SG go-NESS-1SG
 ‘I am supposed to go to the store (but I’m not sure if I will go).’ [EIB II 179]
- (115) *mud’ labka-d kańi-š tara*
 1SG shop-LAT.SG go-CON must.3SG
 ‘I must go to the store.’ [EIB II 179]

7.4.3 Interrogative *-sa/-đa/-ča*

The interrogative marker *-sa/-đa/-ča* is used in questions with past-time reference. It cannot be used in questions about the present, such as ‘how old are you’ or ‘where do you live’, which rely on intonation alone.³⁵⁴ The interrogative cannot be combined with tense markers nor other moods:

354. Although *IRG* is a specialized interrogative suffix, intonation follows the same contour as in *yes-no* questions, which have a rising LH(L) intonation. See also Siegl (2012a) for more synchronic and diachronic background.

- (116) *obu-š Potabu-xuđ to-sa-d*
 what-TRSL Potapovo-ABL.SG come-IRG-2SG
 ‘Why did you come from Potapovo?’ [ZNB I 69]

- (117) *bu mosra-sa*
 3SG work-IRG.3SG
 ‘Did he work?’ [ZNB 18.12.2007]

- (118) *bu täni-sa*
 3SG know-IRG.3SG
 ‘Did he know it?’ [ZNB 18.12.2007]

7.4.4 Conditional *-ñi*

The marker *-ñi* can be analyzed as a conditional marker. When used as such it must be obligatorily followed by the past tense marker *-š*. The use of *-ñi* without the past tense suffix will be discussed separately below.

7.4.4.1 Conditional *-ñi* + PST

In simple clauses, *-ñi* + general past tense expresses a counterfactual condition which did not come into being:

- (119) *äki đa soiđa mud' äku-n điri-ñi-đ-uč*
 this earth good.3SG 1SG here-LOC live-COND-1SG-PST
 ‘This is a good place. I’d like to live here.’ [EIB II 179]

- (120) *tu ni-ñ piri-ñi-n-uš o-ñi-n-uš*
 fire_[GEN] on-LOC cook-COND-PL.1SG-PST eat-COND-PL.1SG-PST
 ‘I would have cooked them (his pieces of meat) on the fire, I would have eaten them.’ [NKB Prisoners]

- (121) *bu šit toxola-ñi-š*
 3SG 2SG.ACC teach-COND-3SG.PST
 ‘He would have taught you.’ [ZNB III 45]

- (122) *bu soiđa-an đudi-ñi-š*
 3SG good-PROL dream-COND-3SG.PST
 ‘He would have dreamed well.’ [ZNB III 45]

The situation is more complicated when a protasis is involved. In constructions expressing *if X then Y*, the protasis must be encoded by the *-bu* converb and the conditional appears on the finite verb:³⁵⁵

- (123) *bu mosa-đa tone-i e-bu-đa bu mosra-ňi-š*
 3SG work-PX.3SG exist-PTCP.PFT be-CON-PX.3SG 3SG work-COND-3SG.PST
 ‘If he had had work, he would have worked.’ [ZNB III 44]

Occasionally, also the *-bu* converb can be followed by *-ňi*, which means that one is speaking about a hypothetical action in the future:

- (124) *četa soida đeri e-bu-ňi-da mod'*
 tomorrow good day be-CON-COND-PX.GEN.3SG 1SG
morgađa-š kaňi-ňi-đ-ud'
 pick.cloudberries-CON go-COND-1SG-PST
 ‘If the weather is good tomorrow, I would go pick cloudberries.’ [ZNB III 45]

Several instances are attested in which the *-bu* converb is marked with *-ňi* but the main verb is tense-marked (e.g. future) or mood-marked (e.g. necessative). This seems to suggest that the expressed action is hypothetical but possible:

- (125) *četa soida đeri e-bu-ňi-da mod'*
 tomorrow good day be-CON-COND-PX.GEN.3SG 1SG
morgađa-š kaňi-ta-đ?
 pick.cloudberries-CON go-FUT-1SG
 ‘If the weather is good tomorrow I will go pick cloudberries.’ [ZNB III 45]

- (126) *četa soida đeri e-bu-ňi-da mod'*
 tomorrow good day be-CON-COND-PX.GEN.3SG 1SG
morgađa-š kaňi-ču-đ?
 pick.cloudberries-CON go-NESS.1SG
 ‘If the weather is good tomorrow I should go pick cloudberries.’ [ZNB III 45]

7.4.4.2 Conditional *-ňi* without further past tense marking

Without the past tenses marker, the conditional marker *-ňi* is used in polite requests which allow them to be interpreted as wishes. In contrast to the previously discussed counterfactual meaning, such examples are much more numerous in transcribed speech.

355. A more detailed description can be found in 12.3.

- (127) *ši?* *šer-ńi-d*
 1SG.ACC bury-COND-2SG
 ‘Please, bury me!’ [EIB Clairvoyant]
- (128) *četa* *tu-bu-ńi-d* *šordŭ-đu-i?* *todo-ńi-d*
 tomorrow come-CON-COND-GEN.2SG papiros-BEN-PX.1SG bring-COND-2SG
 ‘If you come (for more work) tomorrow, please bring me cigarettes.’ [ANP II 65]

7.4.5 Speculative moods with *-raxa*

The speculative mood³⁵⁶ belongs to the morphologically more complex moods as it is based on a conglomerate of several morphemes. The underlying construction derives from a nominalization, but synchronically, the speculative mood is a regular verbal mood. The first component is a participle marker and the second component the simulative element *-raxa*, which can also be found on nominals (see 5.6.1).³⁵⁷ The basic tense value of the speculative mood depends on the participle,³⁵⁸ which serves at the historical basis of this mood. Nevertheless, the speculative behaves verbally and is a verb form; it licenses the appearance of both subjects and objects. Although the underlying participle assigns a basic temporal point of reference to the predicate, it can further combine with both general past *-š* and perfect *-bi*, but not with the future tense.³⁵⁹ Apparently, aspectual and other mood elements are blocked; currently no data for such combinations exists in the gathered data. The basic morphology of the speculative mood series is exemplified by the following forms:

- (129) *dóđu-da-raxa* from *dóđuđ ~ dáđuđ* ‘go’
 go-PTCP.IPF-SIM.3SG
 ‘He seems to go.’ [=SPEC_{NON-FUT}]
- (130) *pon-da-raxa-b-uš* from *ponid* ‘hold’
 hold-PTCP.IPF-SIM-SG.1SG-PST
 ‘I seemed to have held it.’ [=SPEC_{NON-FUT}]
- (131) *to-đa-raxa-bi-?* from *toš* ‘come’
 come-PTCP.IPF-SIM-PERF-3PL
 ‘They seemed to have come.’

356. In descriptions of Tundra Nenets, this mood has been called superprobabilitative (Hajdú 1988, Salminen 1997), which is equally questionable.

357. When found on verbs, the suffix *-raxa* cannot be added to glottal-stop stems (glottal stops merge with the initial component of the preceding participle markers where possible), and morphological assimilation is not triggered.

358. Participles and converbs will be described in the next chapter.

359. The related form in Forest Nenets does not allow any temporal modification and preserves its nominal nature (Kaur Mägi p.c.).

- (132) *kađu-uš* *kañi-uda-raxa* from *kañiš* ‘go’
 snowstorm-TRSL go-PTCP.FUT-SIM.3SG
 ‘A snowstorm will come.’ (Lit. ‘it seems to be going to’) [=SPEC_{FUT}]

The function of the speculative is to encode a situation as probable in the past, present and future. As the speculative mood is morphologically expressed discontinuously, the following table shows how this mood expresses time reference:

TENSE REFERENCE	MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE
Present tense reference	verb + PTCP.IPF + <i>raxa</i> + VX
General past tense reference	verb + PTCP.IPF + <i>raxa</i> + VX + general past tense
Perfect tense reference	verb + PTCP.IPF + <i>raxa</i> + PERF + VX
Distant past tense reference	verb + PTCP.IPF + <i>raxa</i> + PERF + VX + general past tense
Future tense reference	verb + PTCP.FUT + <i>raxa</i> + VX

Table 7-19: Speculative mood and time reference

The following collection of examples shows various temporal forms of this mood:

- (133) *to* *bar-xun* *enči* *dođu-da-raxa*
 lake_[GEN] shore-LOC.SG person go-PTCP.IPF-SIM.3SG
 ‘A man seems to walk on the shore of the lake.’ [ANP Man and Bear] [=SPEC_{NON-FUT}]
- (134) *šidi* *čas* *bu* *mä-kun-ida* *mud’* *adi-đa-raxa-đu-č*
 two hour 3SG house-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.3SG 1SG sit-PTCP.IPF-SIM-1SG-PST
 ‘I seemed to have visited her for two hours.’ (Lit. ‘I seemed to have sat in her home for two hours.’) [ZNB Weekend] [=SPEC_{NON-FUT}]
- (135) *tasovski* *nä-đ* *to-đa-raxa-bi-?*
 Tas_[ADJ.RU] side-ABL come-PTCP.IPF-SIM-PERF-3PL
 ‘They seemed to have come from the Taz area.’ [LDB Shaman] [=SPEC_{NON-FUT}]
- (136) *äku-n* *bu* *điri-đa-raxa-bi-š*
 here-LOC 3SG live-PTCP.IPF-SIM-PERF-3SG.PST
 ‘He seemed to have lived here.’ [=SPEC_{NON-FUT}]
- (137) *äki* *päušumnuju* *kaba ter* *loiđi-ŋa*
 this evening.ADV [aurora borealis] burn-FREQ.3SG
naldī-da *tu-raxa* *kađu-uš* *kañi-uda-raxa*
 be.red-PTCP.IPF fire-SIM snow.storm-TRSL go-PTCP.FUT-SIM.3SG
 ‘This evening the northern lights burn like reddish fire. Apparently a snow storm will come.’ [LDB I 173] [=SPEC_{FUT}]

An anterior in the past was also possible in elicitation, however this form was judged to be odd; the closest possible English translation does not sound good either:

- (138) *mod' ań äki ðeri tonin nä-uda-raxa-ð-ud'*
 1SG FOC this day there.LOC stand-PTCP.FUT-SIM-1SG-PST
 'It seems that I will have had to stand there too today.' [ZNB IV 77] [=SPEC_{FUT}]

7.4.6 Other moods

A variety of possible moods in Forest Enets show some unusual morphology. Further, as their semantic potential is not yet fully understood, these moods are presented in a separate section and await a more thorough analysis.

7.4.6.1 Past probabilative mood

The first among these moods is the past probabilative mood. The label derives from its preliminary classification as expressing a possible action or event in the past:

- (149) *mud' äsi-j? bodu-? kańi-sau*
 1SG father-PX.1SG tundra-LAT go-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 'Apparently my father went into the tundra (but I did not see him leaving).'
 [ZNB III 8]

Morphologically, the past probabilative mood is slightly irregular as it has a different set of verbal endings. Although one is tempted to analyze the *-sa* element as the interrogative mood marker, this is better analyzed as the old past tense marker underlying the interrogative mood marker³⁶⁰ due to the inherent past tense meaning of this mood and the absence of an interrogative function. Still, the distinctive *vx* are equally important and the whole construction *-sa + vx* forms the mood marker.

	<i>kańiš</i> 'go' in past probabilative			<i>kańiš</i> 'go' in conjugation I		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>kańisaðu?</i>	<i>kańisabi?</i>	<i>kańisabam?</i>	<i>kańið?</i>	<i>kańij?</i>	<i>kańiba?</i>
2P	<i>kańisadu</i>	<i>kańisarim?</i>	<i>kańisaram?</i>	<i>kańid</i>	<i>kańiri?</i>	<i>kańira?</i>
3P	<i>kańisau</i>	<i>kańisaxim?</i>	<i>kańisam?</i>	<i>kańi</i>	<i>kańixi?</i>	<i>kańi?</i>

Table 7-20: Past probabilative and *vx*

The first component of the probabilative mood undergoes regular assimilation with glottal stop stems:

360. See Mikola (2004: 115)

- (150) *soiḁa meju paḡi-da poḡi-ḁau*
 good new parka-PX.ACC.3SG wear-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘He apparently wore his good new parka.’ [ZNB III 42]

When comparing examples from the current generation of speakers with those of the parental generation, several diverging features can be noticed. First, in ET, the past probabilative marker is preceded by other morphemes, including also other mood markers:

- (151) *Dḁa, toxoḁ, pare-da ḡoḡu ḡo-xoḁ ṡeda-ni-ḁau*
 PN then³⁶¹ rack-PX.ACC.3SG one foot-ABL.SG make-COND-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘Now D’oa made his rack on one foot.’ (Lit. ‘out of one foot’) [8/46]³⁶²

- (152) *Onḁi nḁda od-saḁau, kuḡri muḁ-sa-ḁau*
 real woman-PX.ACC.3SG eat-PTCP-IRG-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 kuḡri muḁ-sa-ḁau
 how make-PTCP.IPF-IRG-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘Might she eat that Enets woman or how might she act?’ [12/91]³⁶³

- (153) *Mana: «Ḃki enḁil ḁbḁ nezau kaḁad, kaḁadaḁa, oḁḁ pureaḁa».*
mana ḁki enḁi-l ḁ-b’ ḡe-ḁau
 say.3SG this person-PX.2SG mother-PX.ACC.1DU NEG.AUX-PROB_{PST}.3SG
kaḁa-d kaḁa-da-da o-d’ pireḁ-da
 take.away-PTCP.IPF kill-FUT-SG.3SG eat-CON can-FUT.3SG
 ‘She said “this person might take our mother away, she will kill her, perhaps she will eat her”.’ [12/40]³⁶⁴

In the language of the current generation, there are instances in which the marker is added directly to the verb:

- (154) *ḁenuju mariḁ mi-ḡ kaḡi-sau*
 yesterday.ADV bag_[GEN] in-LAT remain-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘It must have remained in my bag yesterday.’ [ZNB Hat]

- (155) *Vitalik kaḡi-sau tonin*
 PN go-PROB_{PST}.3SG there.LOC
 ‘Vitalij might go over there.’ [LDB Supernatural]

361. Unknown form, perhaps it is a misprint and *toḁḡoḁ* ‘then’ was intended

362. Дḁа теперь, каркас свой на одной ноге сделал.

363. Энецкую женщину то ли съест она, или как еще с ней поступит.

364. Говорит: «Этот человек ведьма мать нашу уведет ведь, убьет ее, съест может.»

The probabilative may still co-appear with other mood markers:

- (156) *bu kodu-i kada-sa-sau*
 3SG sled-PX.ACC.1SG take-IRG- PROB_{PST}.3SG
dóxora koda-sa-sau
 not.know.SG.1SG take-IRG-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘Did he take my *narta*? I don’t know; he might have taken it.’ [ZNB III 36]
- (157) *malča iro-n poñi-sa-sau*³⁶⁵
 malitsa_[GEN] under-LOC wear-IRG-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘He must have worn it under his *malitsa*.’ [ZNB III 42]
- (158) *obu-š bu baru-ma koxođ*
 what-TRSL 3SG be.angry-RES.3SG where.from.INDEF
ma-đ-i-sa-du noda
 say-PTCP.IPF-X-IRG-PROB_{PST}.2SG 3SG.LAT
 ‘Why did he become angry? You must have said something to him.’ [ZNB III 9]

Finally, a note on the copula is necessary. In ET, the copula is regularly expressed as *äsadau*, but nowadays it occurs exclusively in a shortened form as *äsau*:

- (159) *đudigađa enči ä-sau*
 clairvoyant be-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘She was apparently a clairvoyant.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

7.4.6.2 Potential

Another epistemic modal with diverging morphology is preliminarily labeled potential mood. The modal suffix in *-ta/-te-* looks like an etymological cognate of what Labanauskas (1987) called potential mood (*-tta/-tte-*) in Tundra Enets. Morphologically, this mood is quite problematic, because of the attested variation. In the following two examples, one form shows a regular vx (160), while the other shows a verbal ending belonging to the same paradigm of endings as attested with the past probabilative (161):

- (160) *budu tiđu soida äu đodigun*
 3PL reindeer.PX.PL.3PL good.3PL here.LAT during.LOC.SG
mä-k-tu to-te-đu
 chum-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3PL come-POT-R.3SG
 ‘Their reindeer are good, by now they have potentially arrived at their chum.’
 [LDB I 173]

365. I have heard *poñisadau* several times, but as I infrequently heard [d] instead of /s/ due to the spirantization trend in Enets, I have corrected this and other example to *-sau*.

- (161) *mäke* *mä-kun* *đuriđu* *ni*
 neighbor chum-LOC.SG talk.PX.ACC.PL.3PL NEG.AUX.3SG
so *täda* *kota-ra-te-đum*
 be.audible.CN now sleep-INCH-POT-R.3PL
 ‘Nothing can be heard in the neighboring chum. Now, they might have fallen asleep.’ [LDB I 174]

In general, forms with the set of endings as found within the past probabilative paradigm, preceded by a specialized marker in *-ta/-te*, are most prominent. This conglomerate should therefore also be analyzed as the mood marker:

- (162) *täda* *obu-xo* *musei-xun* *ä-tau* *koxon*
 now what-INDEF museum-LOC.SG be-POT.3SG where.INDEF
ä-tau=jet [...] *mošči-tau* *tonin*
 be-POT.3SG=EMPH lie-POT.3SG there.LOC
 ‘Now, [this artifact] seems to be in some museum, somewhere it must be [...] there it must lie.’ [NKB Bear Paw]
- (163) *sira-xan* *keđar* *toni-tau* *obu-xuru* *ne-i* *ko-?*
 snow-LOC.SG wild.reindeer exist-POT.3SG what-NEG_[ACC] NEG.AUX-1DU find-CN
 ‘There might be a wild reindeer in the snow, but we two did not find any.’
 [LDB Bear]
- (164) *bu* *täda* *pä-?* *pättru-tau*
 3SG now wood-_[ACC.PL] cut-POT.3SG
 ‘He is probably cutting wood now.’ [ZNB III 43]
- (165) *bu* *täda* *moga-xun* *sanku-tau*
 3SG now forest-LOC.SG play-POT.3SG
 ‘She seems to be playing in the forest now.’ [ZNB III 43]
- (166) *bu* *täda* *morgađa-š* *đađu-tau*
 3SG now pick.cloudberries-CON go_{MUDI}-POT.3SG
 ‘She seems to be out picking cloudberries now.’ [ZNB III 43]

In contrast to the past probabilative, for the potential several restrictions were noticed. First, the existence of non-3P forms is unclear. In spontaneous speech, no such forms could be found, nor could non-3P forms be obtained via elicitation. As all the examples above are in singular; the following examples show dual and plural forms:

(167) *budi äkun d̄iri-taxim*
 3DU here.LOC live-POT.3DU
 ‘They probably live here.’ [DSB V 47]

(168) *budu äkun d̄iri-tam*
 3PL here.LOC live-POT.3PL
 ‘They probably live here.’ [DSB V 47]

Second, in a spontaneous example offered during elicitation, a surprising ordering of mood and aspect appeared; here, aspect precedes mood:

(169) *bu täda kirba-đu-da tidi-gu-tau*
 3SG now bread-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG buy-DUR-POT.3SG
 ‘She seems to be buying bread for herself now.’ [ZNB III 43]

Finally, forms for the potential mood can also be found in ET. In contrast to the probabilative with the attested variation, the potential mood attaches directly to the verb and no diverging behavior can be found in ET.

7.4.6.3 The compound past potential mood

A compound mood is formed with the copula *eš/äš* ‘be’ marked for potential mood in 3SG. The auxiliary *ätau* is the second component; the lexical verb is realized as a perfective participle; and furthermore a morpheme which frequently appeared in work on detransitivization strategies precedes the participle ending before the addition of a PX belonging to the nominative series. This compound mood has a clear past tense connotation due to the perfective participle. It is preliminarily labeled as potential past mood:

(170) *äki d̄eri kiudnuju mud pu-du-i-b̄ ä-tau*
 this day morning.ADV 1SG put-DETR-PTCP.PFT-PX.1SG be-POT.3SG
 ‘This morning I seemed to have put it down (but in the evening I had forgotten).’
 [LDB II 2]

Concerning Samoyedic, the existence of such a compound modal predicate is indeed unusual but has been documented earlier for Tundra Enets.³⁶⁶ In contrast to Tundra Enets, only one compound mood has been attested in Forest Enets thus far. Its semantic potential remains unclear as such forms are infrequent and are produced only with reservations. In general, consultants tried to rely on other strategies (e.g. other moods paired

366. Castrén’s unpublished manuscript on Tundra Enets contains several such forms which were partly published by Künnap (Kjunnap 1976). Such forms have been reported for Nganasan. Labanauskas (1987) has re-investigated such forms in Tundra Enets based on his own fieldwork data collected in the late 1970s. Still, already Labanauskas’ description shows that the semantic potential of such compound moods could no longer be determined.

with modal adverbs) and avoided such forms. Until now, no examples in transcribed speech have been found.

The following elicited paradigm of ‘put’ is apparently not entirely correct: the 3SG form does not follow the principles of this paradigm as this contracted form looks like deriving from something like **pudui äsau* and not an expected *puduiða ätau*.

compound potential mood with <i>pud’</i> ‘put’			
	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>puduiḃ ätau</i>	<i>puduiḃ ätau</i>	<i>puduiḃa ätau</i>
2P	<i>puduir ätau</i>	<i>puduiri ätau</i>	<i>puduirä ätau</i>
3P	<i>pudisau</i>	<i>puduiḃi ätau</i>	<i>puduiḃu ätau</i>

Table 7-21: Compound mood with *pud’* ‘put’

7.4.6.4 Assertative mood

The assertative mood is most frequently attested when reported speech is introduced in a narrative to back up an information source. As Forest Enets has no possibility to render indirect speech, direct speech in narratives is always followed by the verb *ma-nu* <say-ASS.3SG> ‘(s)he said so’.³⁶⁷ Examples of the assertative mood and the verb *mad’* ‘say’ are very frequent in spontaneous discourse:

- (171) *mod’iñ ma-nu^w Noriġskij řurma-xaḃ řimnič*
 1DU say-ASS.3SG Noriġsk_[ADJ.RU] prison-ABL.SG run.away-R.1DU.PST
 “‘We two,’ he said so, ‘ran away from the Noriġsk camp’.” [NKB Prisoners]

As already encountered earlier, also this mood uses a different set of vx similar to the one found in the past probabilative mood.

	<i>mad’</i> ‘say’ in assertative mood			<i>mad’</i> ‘say’ in conjugation I		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>mañiḃu^w</i>	<i>mañiḃim</i>	<i>mañebam</i>	<i>manad?</i>	<i>manab?</i>	<i>manaba?</i>
2P	<i>mañidu</i>	<i>mañirim</i>	<i>mañeram</i>	<i>manad</i>	<i>manari?</i>	<i>manara?</i>
3P	<i>mañu, mañ’u</i>	<i>mañixim</i>	<i>mañim</i>	<i>mana</i>	<i>manaxi?</i>	<i>mana?</i>

Table 7-22: Assertative mood with *mad’* ‘say’

In spontaneous speech, *mañu* occurs most frequently, and it is hard to find examples with other verbs. In elicitation, such forms can be found without problems:

367. The same usage can be found when quoting, for example in conversations in fairytales which have not taken place in the real world.

- (172) *kuń* *ńe-ď?* *ďori-t* *taruř* *äku-xun* *adĩ-ńu*
 how NEG.AUX-1SG say-FUT.CN MOD.ADV here-LOC.SG sit-ASS.3SG
 ‘How will I not say this, he **is** sitting here.’ [ZNB III 68]

- (173) *äki* *ďeri* *paďur* *no-ńi-ď-ud'* *čita* *bäsi*
 this day letter_[ACC] receive-COND-1SG-PST fly.PTCP.IPF iron
sama *ďaga-ńu*
 bird not.exist-ASS.3SG
 ‘I would have received a letter today, but there **was** no helicopter.’³⁶⁸ [LDB II 3]

Concerning its morphological structure, this mood differs from all other moods presented above in that it is apparently based on an inverse negative construction. For this, an excursion into Forest Enets verb negation is necessary to create the required background. The following excursion into standard negation is necessary for this and several other upcoming moods.

In general, standard negation relies on a negative auxiliary which receives vx, mood and tense marking whereas the negated main verb remains in the so-called connegative form, which is formally identical to IMP.2SG in conjugation I:

- (174)a. *mud'* *boddu-?* *kańi-ď-ud'*
 1SG tundra-LAT go-1SG-PST
 ‘I went into the tundra.’
- b. *mud'* *boddu-?* *ńi-ď-ud'* *kańi-?*
 1SG tundra-LAT [NEG.AUX-1SG-PST go-CN]
 ‘I did not go into the tundra.’

What makes all the following moods similar is the fact that they are based on negation. In contrast to prototypical negation (NEG.AUX + NEGATED VERB), the order of elements is frequently reversed (NEGATED VERB + NEG.AUX). First, the lexical verb appears, however the glottal stop of the connegative form is not always pronounced, and instead a short pause is equally likely. Then one of the negative auxiliaries *ńi-* or *i-* follows before vx are added.

Returning to the assumptative mood, its affiliation with a negative construction is quite safe as in one elicited paradigm for the verb ‘come’, the glottal stop belonging to the lexical verb’s connegative form sporadically appeared, e.g. *to?ńibim* <come-ASS.1DU> and *to?ńirim* <come-ASS.2DU>. The second component is the negative auxiliary in *ńi-* to which the extended vx are added. Consequently, the whole suffix, *ńi*+extended vx, should also here be analyzed as the mood marker.

368. This version of helicopter (= ‘flying iron bird’) was a spontaneous creation of LDB on that day, otherwise he used Russian *вертолѐм*.

7.4.6.5 Assumptive -isi

The assumptive in *-isi* is apparently another form historically deriving from a reversed negation construction to which the extended vx are added. Its exact function remains unclear; the assumptive seems to express statements based on inference:

- (175) *mud'-xo* *mana-d̄* *uu* *kañi-isi-d*
 1SG-INDEF say-1SG 2SG go-ASU-2SG
 'And I thought (Lit. 'said') you already left!' [ZNB III 6]

Again, the reversed negative auxiliary together with the extended vx should be analyzed as the mood marker.

The following two examples are morphologically and semantically interesting. In (176), a clear intonation break between the negated main verb and the negative auxiliary appeared:

- (176) [*kadi-r* *isiu*] *peñsia-t* *mokta-r-iđ*
 [be.ill-CN NEG.AUX.ASU.3SG] pension-LAT.SG put.up-PASS-R.3SG
 'Presumably he was ill and so he was sent to retire.' [EIB Autobiographic]

In (177), the expected order of negative auxiliary and negated main verb is attested; further, the default vx appeared;

- (177) *mod'* *tona* *isi-d̄?* *kañi*
 1SG still NEG.AUX.ASU-1SG go.CN
 'I have not yet left.' [ZNB III 55]

Similar forms, but with additional extended vx, were also produced by other consultants. Although no detailed study concerning either ordering has been made, the data available suggests that the order NEG.AUX.ASU VERB is more frequent when used in questions.

- (178) *čenuju* *isi* *to-?*
 yesterday.ADV NEG.AUX.ASU.3SG come-CN
 'Did he really not come yesterday?' [ZNB V 3]

The reversed order seems to imply a modal judgment, but no question:

- (179) *bu* *čenuju* *to-?* *isi*
 3SG yesterday.ADV come-CN NEG.AUX.ASU.3SG
 'He probably came yesterday.' [ZNB V 4]³⁶⁹

369. Translated as "Он наверное приехал."

7.4.6.6 Counterfactive mood

The counterfactive mood is a construction based on the negative auxiliary *i-*, the mood marker *-ŋi* (occasionally also *-ŋa*) followed by regular *vx* and the connegative form of the negated verb. So far, no other order has been documented. The counterfactive mood expresses an action or a state which has come into being despite the speaker's doubts. It is comparatively rare in the speech of the last speakers, but abundant in the speech of the parental generation as the following example shows:

- (180) *rođa-ji-l* *mana* *toŕ* *i-ŋi* *ŋa-ŕ*
 russian-PEJ-PX.2SG say.3SG such NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG be_{LOC}-CN
 ‘That unpleasant Russian said: “so it will be (Lit. yes, of course that’s how it is).”’
 [NSP Russian and Enets]³⁷⁰

Although the current generation recognizes this form and may produce examples once in a while, such forms are absent in recorded narratives:

- (181) *bu* *äki* *dëri* *i-ŋi* *to*
 3SG this day NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG come.CN
mosa-ďa *šita=ňiu* *ote*
 work-PX.3SG 3SG.ACC=EMPH wait.3SG
 ‘Of course he will come today; his work is waiting for him.’ [ZNB IV 69]

- (182) *uuda* *äki* *dëri* *i-ŋi-ra?* *to*
 2PL this day NEG.AUX-CTF-2PL come.CN
mosa-ba *šidna?=ňiu* *ote*
 work-PX.1PL 1PL.ACC=EMPH wait.3SG
 ‘Of course you will come today; our work is waiting for us.’ [ZNB IV 69]

7.4.6 Desiderative *-ra/-la*

In Tereščenko’s sketch (1966: 452), a desiderative mood in *-ra/-la* (Ru: *желательная форма*) was mentioned, but the English translation (Künnap 1999b) excluded this category. Matching forms have not been encountered and this category may well be extinct.

7.4.7 Inherent temporal reference of moods

In establishing a preliminary classification of attested moods, the following picture evolves:

370. My consultant assisting in translation provided “*Этот-тот сказал, так конечно будет.*”

NAME	FORM	TENSE VALUE
imperative (2P, 3P)	distinctive set of vx	non-present
hortative (1P)	-xu/-gu/-ku + vx	non-present
necessative	-ču + vx	future
interrogative	-sa/-d'a/-ča + vx	past (absolute)
conditional	-ni + vx + PST	past
speculative	verb + PTCP + SIM + further morphology	past, aorist, future
past probabilitative	-sa + vx _{EXP}	past
potential	-te + vx _{EXP}	past
compound past potential	verb + PTCP.IPF + PX copula + POT	past
assertative	verb + CN + NEG.AUX + vx _{EXP}	past
assumptative	verb + CN + NEG.AUX + isi + vx _{EXP}	past
counterfactive	NEG.AUX + ni + vx + CN	past, aorist

Table 7-23: Inherent temporal reference of Forest Enets moods

7.4.8 Moods and verbal endings – concluding remarks

Although the general literature on Northern Samoyedic languages, especially Tundra Nenets, mentions a larger number of moods, both the overall number of moods and a sound description of their functions still await thorough re-examination. The morphological description of mood formation in Tundra Nenets (Salminen 1997: 97–99) operates with ‘16 moods and submoods’ but has little to say about their function. Some preliminary steps have been undertaken by Jalava (2012).

After having gone through Castrén’s unpublished Tundra Enets grammar as well as Labanauskas’ work on Tundra Enets, it appears that Tundra Enets, too, has more than a dozen possible moods and submoods to offer. Whereas it remains unsettled how many moods should be posited for Forest Enets, this preliminary inventory should make clear that the Forest Enets mood inventory contains more forms than initially reported by Tereščenko (1966). This is of course also an outcome of a rather unorthodox classification of several moods based on extended vx and where necessary also on a further inverse negative constructions. Such extended vx are also assumed by Shluinsky (2010), though the analysis proposed is not identical to the one here. In contrast, most of the moods in 7.4.6 are subsumed in Sorokina (2010b: 392–394) under the category *модальные слова*, modal words, but not as moods. In Hajdú (1970), similar forms in Tundra Nenets are presented as modal clitics, which is diachronically speaking of course correct but still not satisfying from the perspective of grammaticography. Although I admit that the present overview concerning moods is not satisfactory, I have not yet found any tool which could help to clarify subtle differences in meaning between different hard-to-classify moods. The overall reason why relatively raw data has been discussed is based on the fundamental preliminaries of language documentation. Whereas a category might not be fully understood at the present moment, data should not be excluded as it may be useful for subsequent research (e.g. Mosel 2006: 53).

7.5 Grammatical and lexical means of evidentiality

Although a variety of the previously discussed moods can be used to express evidentiality, they are nevertheless considered to be moods as they show some epistemic judgments of truth and/or possibility. This contrasts with evidentials, the primary function of which is to mark a predicate for the source of evidence an utterance relies on. For Forest Enets, only one clear evidential category is attested, which will be labeled auditive.³⁷¹

7.5.1 Auditive *-nu/-mnu/-munu*

The evidential suffix *-nu/-mnu/-munu* encodes that evidence is based on either second-hand knowledge (hearsay) or audible evidence. The *vx* added to the auditive are formally identical to the *vx* of conjugation II with singular reference. Historically, there is sufficient evidence that the evidential was once a nominal category to which *px* were added. Etymologically, the evidential suffix seems to go back to the freestanding noun *mun(u)* ‘sound, noise’. As the *vx* of conjugation II with singular reference are identical to the *px* of the nominative series with one possessee, this adds further proof of this.³⁷²

- (183) *alki-je* *čiki* *rođa-je* *ma-mnu-đa* *mod'in*
 enormous-PEJ this Russian-PEJ say-AUD-3SG 1DU
ma-ńu^w *Noriłskij* *ťurma-xađ* *šimnič*
 say-ASS.3SG Noriłsk_[ADK.RU] prison-ABL.SG run.1DU.PST
 ‘The large one, the Russian said: “we two”, he said “fled from the camp in Noriłsk”.’
 [NKB Prisoners]

The existence of a 1SG form is currently not attested and needs further investigation, but forms for other 1P appear in texts.³⁷³ Further, the evidential can be modified for general past tense:

- (184) *pinuju* *bunik* *mođu-munu-b-uč*
 night.ADV dog_[ACC] bark-AUD-1PL-PST
 ‘During the night we heard the dog barking.’ [LDB Plundered Sled]

The following example shows that also second-hand information, if perceived auditive, can be expressed by the auditive:

371. Künnap (2001) provides an alternative approach to evidentiality, though mixing evidence from secondary sources on both Enets varieties. His survey includes the perfect as well as several moods as evidentials, for which I find little evidence. At best, such forms could be called secondary strategies.

372. Mikola’s account (2004: 114) on the history of this category is unfortunately not informative.

373. As no negated forms are currently available, it is not settled whether the auditive is morphosyntactically fully verbal, despite its nominal history. Tentatively, I assume this to be the case; whereas in Forest Nenets the moods of the *-raxa* series are negated as nominal categories, they are clearly verbal in Enets.

- (185) *pi* *đodan* *tođa-unu-đu?* // *tiđu?*
 night_[GEN] during bring-AUD-PL.3PL reindeer.PX.ACC.PL.3PL
 ‘During the night, they brought their reindeer.’ [LDB Shaman]

So far, the evidential was only found in declarative contexts in main clauses.

7.5.2 A note on quotatives

As already mentioned in the description of the perfect (7.2.3.2), a certain evidential shading including inferential, mirative and to a certain degree, also hearsay is attested. Still, they are secondary extensions of the prototypical use of perfects.³⁷⁴

On the other hand, in narratives, the verb *mańu* <say.ASS.3SG> can serve as a kind of evidential quotative marker:

- (183) *alki-je* *čiki* *rođa-je* *ma-mnu-đa*
 enormous-PEJ this Russian-PEJ say-AUD-3SG
mođ'in *ma-ńu^w* *Noriłskij* *úrma-xađ* *šimnič*
 IDU say-ASS.3SG Noriłsk_[ADK.RU] prison-ABL.SG run.R.IDU.PST
 ‘The large one, the Russian said: “we two”, he said “fled from the camp in Noriłsk”.’
 [NKB Prisoners]

Frequently, the assertative 3SG *mańu* is reduced to *mań*, and in such instances, the verb stands on the borderline of being a quotative particle. In a narrative where LDB tried to remember taboos concerning the sphere of the dead,³⁷⁵ a much higher frequency of *mań* is attested. Consequently, *mań* begins to resemble a quotative particle, as there is no concrete person to whom reference is made, and reference is generic:

- (186) *bađi-xo* *ni* *kebi* *mań* *bađi* *bađi*
 iron-INDEF NEG.AUX.3SG be.sin.CN QUOT iron iron
onai *bađi-ru-đa* // *pä-da* *onai* *pä-da*
 real iron-LIM-PX.3SG wood-PX.ACC.3SG real wood-PX.ACC.3SG
ńi-da *ooda-š* *tara-ńu^w* // *torši* *vot* *noda-go-đ?*
 shaft-PX.ACC.3SG change-CON must-ASS.3SG such PART hear-DUR-1SG
 ‘(Keeping) something made of iron was not a sin (one says), but only iron. A wooden shaft had to be changed. That’s what I was hearing.’ [LDB Taboo]

374. Considerable efforts have been made (e.g. Sorokina 1980; Künnap 2001, 2002) to show that the perfect is a primary evidential category, but all formal and semantic criteria come short of this classification as the temporal component is most central. In this respect, the Forest Enets perfect is functionally akin to the perfect in Turkic.

375. Such practices seem to have fallen out of cultural practice but are still remembered.

7.5.3 Frequency and distribution of evidentiality

Of all the means of expressing evidentiality, only the assertative mood, as found in *mañu*, and the emerging quotative particle *mañ* are attested frequently. The proper auditive evidential is attested only sporadically in texts. Narratives are not told in auditives and the indicative is preferred. If context requires the use of auditives, they are nevertheless used. Although evidentials show a low text-frequency, it does not mean that this category is unproductive. During elicitation, if proper context is provided, auditives appear frequently.

Concerning the perfect with its evidential shading, some idiosyncratic variation is observable. In narratives by NKB, the perfect is much more frequent and its use resembles that of the related Tundra Nenets narrative, but as NKB has had much more exposure to Tundra Nenets than other central consultants, this might well be a sign of interference.

7.6 Negation of verbal predicates by negative auxiliaries

This chapter describes standard verbal negation. Negation of nominal categories relies on different means and will be presented in chapter 9.4.

The basic means for the negation of verbs have been shown earlier in this chapter and for convenience the same example is re-used. For the negation of a verbal predicate, a special negative auxiliary is used attracting finite morphology; consequently, the negated main verb loses its finite morphology:

- (174) a. *mud'* *boddu-ʔ* *kañi-ǰ-ud'*
 1SG tundra-LAT go-1SG-PST
 'I went into the tundra.'
- b. *mud'* *boddu-ʔ* *ñi-ǰ-ud'* *kañi-ʔ*
 1SG tundra-LAT [NEG.AUX-1SG-PST] go-CN
 'I did not go into the tundra.'

The negated verbal predicate differs from an affirmative in that:

- The negative auxiliary is the finite verb form carrying the inflectional morphology for person and tense.
- The main verb is realized as a non-finite form, called the connegative. This form is homonymous with the stem used for 2SG imperatives in conjugation I. Occasionally, some derivational morphological material (e.g. aspect) remains on the negated main verb preceding the connegative form, but this will be addressed in more detail later.

- c) As negation in Forest Enets requires both the negative auxiliary and the negated main verb in connegative form, negation can be characterized as a construction.
- d) Although negative auxiliaries are finite verb forms, they are morphologically defective as they have no infinitival converbs, imperative or connegative forms.

7.6.1 Negative auxiliaries – general remarks

Forest Enets operates with several negative auxiliaries *ni-*, *i-*, *buñi-* and *kiči-*. The negative auxiliaries *ni-* and *i-* may be called canonic negative auxiliaries and are discussed here; *buñi-* and *kiči-*, which have a modal component, will be discussed at the end of this section.

The negative auxiliary *ni-*, sometimes also realized as *ne-*, is used for the negation of verbal predicates which are not mood-marked or are marked for general past reference:

- (187) *déxa kari-? mud' ni-d? o-mubi-? [...]*
 perch fish-_[ACC.PL] 1SG NEG.AUX-1SG eat-HAB-CN
 ‘I usually do not each perch...’ [NKB Mouse and Fishermen]

- (188) *kudaxad' torsi te ne-ba-t' mudi-s*
 long.ABL.SG such reindeer_[ACC] NEG.AUX-SG.1PL-PST see-CN
 ‘For a long time, we have not seen such a reindeer.’ [ANP Stupid people]

The negative auxiliary *i-* is used to negate verbs inflected for mood (189) and relative past tenses such as perfect and distant past (190):

- (189) *mod' čiki koru i-ni-b-uš mu-?*
 1SG this knife_[ACC] NEG.AUX-COND-SG.1SG-PST take-CN
 ‘I would not have taken this knife.’ [ZNB I 70]

- (190) *budu? i-bi-? dođu-r kuxuru*
 3PL NEG.AUX-PERF-3PL go-CN where.INDEF.LAT
mä-kun-ida adí-bi-?
 house-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.3SG sit-PERF-3PL
 ‘They did not go anywhere, they were sitting at home.’ [ZNB Weekend]

Further, the auxiliary in *i-* is used with non-finite categories such as participles and converbs:

- (191) *i-bu-d* *to-ʔ* *šiʔ* *šer-gu-š* *mana*
 NEG.AUX-CON-PX.GEN.2SG come-CN 1SG.ACC bury-DUR-CON say.3SG
čik-ru *pi-xun* *mana*
 this-LIM night-LOC.SG say.3SG
 ‘‘If you do not come to bury me’’, she said, ‘‘on the very same night’’, she said...’
 [EIB Clairvoyant]

7.6.2 Negation and conjugation types

Negation does not interfere with conjugation types. The negative auxiliary takes the same verbal endings of all three conjugations which would be appropriate for the main verb in the affirmative conjugation. Therefore, the following paradigms show only the inflected auxiliary, and the lexical verb in the connegative form is omitted.

7.6.2.1 Negation and conjugation I

The following paradigm shows the inflection of the canonical negative auxiliary *ni-* in conjugation I. The phonetic realization of the negative auxiliary *ni-* varies freely in both elicitation and spontaneous speech, and the forms *ni-* and *ne-* can both be found:

	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>ne-dʔ</i>	<i>ne-iʔ</i>	<i>ne-baʔ</i> ³⁷⁶
2P	<i>ne-d</i>	<i>ne-riʔ</i>	<i>ne-raʔ</i>
3P	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni-xiʔ</i>	<i>ne-ʔ</i>

Table 7-24: Negative auxiliary with vx of conjugation I

Examples:

- (192) *obu-xuru* *ne-iʔ* *ko-ʔ*
 what-NEG_[ACC] NEG.AUX-1DU find-CN
 ‘We two found nothing.’ [LDB Bear]
- (193) *udaʔ* *ne-raʔ* *pida-ʔ* *toʔ* *paraxod* *ni-d*
 2PL NEG.AUX-2PL fear-CN so ferry_[GEN] on-ABL
kaara-gu-š
 descend-DUR-CON
 ‘Are you not afraid to descend from the ferry in such a manner?’
 [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]

376. The vx for 1PL varies in affirmative conjugation, but apparently only *-baʔ* is used with the negative auxiliary.

- (194) *đá* *ńe-d* *ńe-d* *morsur-ʔ*
 land_[ACC] NEG.AUX-2SG NEG.AUX-2SG take.away-CN
 ‘You do not take away the land.’ [LDB Shaman]

7.6.2.2 Negation and conjugation II

The following paradigm shows the inflection of the canonical negative auxiliary *ńi-* in conjugation II. Its phonetic shape is fairly clear-cut. With o_{SG} and o_{DU} markers, *ńe-* tends to be preferred. For plural reference only *ńi-* is attested:

	REFERENCE TO O_{SG}			REFERENCE TO O_{DU}			REFERENCE TO O_{PL}		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>ńe-b</i> ³⁷⁷	<i>ńe-biʔ</i>	<i>ńe-baʔ</i>	<i>ńe-xuń</i>	<i>ńe-xuńʔ</i>	<i>ńe-xunaʔ</i>	<i>ńin</i>	<i>ńinʔ</i>	<i>ńinaʔ</i>
2P	<i>ńe-r</i>	<i>ńe-riʔ</i>	<i>ńe-raʔ</i>	<i>ńe-xuđ</i>	<i>ńe-xuđiʔ</i>	<i>ńe-xuđaʔ</i>	<i>ńiđ</i>	<i>ńiđiʔ</i>	<i>ńiđaʔ</i>
3P	<i>ńe-đa</i>	<i>ńe-điʔ</i>	<i>ńe-đuʔ</i>	<i>ńe-xuđa</i>	<i>ńe-xuđiʔ</i>	<i>ńe-xuđuʔ</i>	<i>ńiđa</i>	<i>ńiđiʔ</i>	<i>ńiđuʔ</i>

Table 7-25: Negative auxiliary with vx of conjugation II

Examples:

- (195) *mod'* *čiki* *te* *ńe-b-uš* *ko-ʔ*
 1SG this reindeer_[ACC] NEG.AUX-SG.1SG-PST find-CN
 ‘I did not find this reindeer.’ [ZNB 07.02.2006]
- (196) *mod'* *čiki* *enču-ʔ* *ń-in-uš* *ko-ʔ*
 1SG this person_[ACC,PL] NEG.AUX-PL.1SG-PST find-CN
 ‘I did not find these people.’ [ZNB 15.02.2006]
- (197) *bogła* *bin* *ńi-đa* *sābet-ʔ*
 bear rope_[ACC] NEG.AUX-SG.3SG tear-CN
 ‘The bear did not tear the rope apart.’ [LDB Plundered Sled]
- (198) *no-d* *ńe-r* *nāti-t-ʔ* *noń* *no-ń* *mana*
 door-PX.ACC.2SG NEG.AUX-SG.2SG open-FUT-CN 1SG.LAT 1SG.LAT say.3SG
 ‘‘‘You won’t open the door for me,’’ she said to me.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

7.6.2.3 Negation and conjugation III

With vx of conjugation III, the shape of the canonical negative auxiliary *ńi-* remains unaltered as *ńi-*:

377. *ńe-u* is also attested.

	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>ni-b'</i> ³⁷⁸	<i>ni-bʔ</i>	<i>ni-naʔ</i>
2P	<i>ni-d'</i>	<i>ni-diʔ</i>	<i>ni-daʔ</i>
3P	<i>ni-dʔ</i>	<i>ni-xiʔ</i>	<i>ni-dʔ</i>

Table 7-26: Negative auxiliary with vx of conjugation III

Examples:

- (199) *doxora* *äki* *po-xon* *ni-d-uč* *tota-gu-ʔ*
 not.know.SG.1SG this year-LOC.SG NEG.AUX-R.3PL count-DUR-CN
 ‘I don’t know, this year they were not counted.’ [LDB Yamal]
- (200) *kodu-i* *ni-dʔ* *närta-ʔ*
 sled-PX.1SG NEG.AUX-R.3SG stop-CN
 ‘Isn’t my sled stopping?’ [NKB Yenisei]
- (201) *täda* *paraxod* *biđ* *bar-ut* *ni-d* *närta-go-ʔ*
 now ferry water_[GEN] shore-LAT.SG NEG.AUX-R.3SG stop-DUR-CN
 ‘Nowadays the ferry is not stopping at the shore.’ [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]

7.6.3 The negated main verb

The negated main verb usually appears in a special non-finite form called connegative. Morphologically, this form is homonymous with the stem used for imperative 2SG in conjugation I. As the negative auxiliary hosts only inflectional morphology, derivational morphology (aspect, future tense³⁷⁹) is not transferred and remains on the negated main verb. This behavior could be seen in several of the examples given above:

- (187) *déxa* *kari-ʔ* *mud'* *ni-dʔ* *o-mubi-ʔ* [...]
 perch fish_[ACC.PL] 1SG NEG.AUX-1SG eat-HAB-CN
 ‘I usually do not each perch...’ [NKB Mouse and Fishermen]
- (198) *no-d* *ne-r* *näti-t-ʔ* *noń* *no-ń* *mana*
 door-PX.ACC.2SG NEG.AUX-SG.2SG open-FUT-CN 1SG.LAT 1SG.LAT say.3SG
 ‘“You won’t open the door for me”, she said to me.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

378. In contrast to the affirmative conjugation, which has a second allomorph vx.R.1SG *-iʔ*, it is not attested in negation.

379. The passive also falls into this category. It will be addressed in chapter 11.

- (199) *dóxora* *äki* *po-xon* *ñi-đ-uč* *tota-gu-ʔ*
 not.know.SG.1SG this year-LOC.SG NEG.AUX-R,3PL count-DUR-CN
 ‘I don’t know, this year they were not counted.’ [LDB Yamal]

This behavior has been known for a long time and serves as the major argument for distinguishing inflection from derivation (e.g. Salminen 1997: 51–56 for Tundra Nenets). Especially the discussion of whether Tundra Nenets and Forest Enets have an inflectional category of future tense is symptomatic of this debate:

“It can therefore be concluded that the future is best regarded as a derivative, and that Tundra Nenets exploits different morphological means, inflection and derivation, for the expression of past and future tenses” (Salminen 1997: 54).

For Forest Enets, Sorokina (1984) arrived at a slightly different interpretation and stated that although the Forest Enets future tense marker is structurally restricted to the same position as other derivational suffixes, such as aspect, it clearly behaves functionally as a tense marker. In this respect, Northern Samoyedic imposes a very interesting structural mismatch between derivation and inflection within its tense system. However, this mismatch has no immediate impact on a functional description as offered here.

7.6.4 The negative auxiliary *i-*

The majority of examples above show the negative auxiliary *ñi-* that is used for negating verbal predicates, which are not further specified for mood or relative past-tenses. Below, moods negated with the negative auxiliary *i-* are presented; the imperative complex is postponed. Full paradigms will not be given as with the help of every representative example, the full paradigm can be derived without problems:³⁸⁰

Negation of relative past tense *-bi*

- (202) *kuru-xun* *te-da* *i-bi-đa* *kađa-ʔ*
 knife-LOC.SG reindeer-PX.ACC.3SG NEG.AUX-PERF-SG.3SG kill-CN
 ‘He has not killed the reindeer with the knife.’ [ANP Stupid people]

Negation of neccessitive *-ču*

- (203) *mud* *ma-ñeđu* *i-ču-đ* *kani* *enču-ʔ* *oka-ʔ*
 1SG say-ASS.1SG NEG.AUX-NESS-1SG go.CN person-_[NOM.PL] many-3PL
 ‘I said “I probably will not go, there are many people”.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

380. For several moods, no negated forms are registered in my current materials. Whether moods, such as AUC can be negated and if yes how, needs to be clarified in future fieldwork.

Negation of conditional *-ñi*

The conditional mood *-ñi* has two negation strategies, thereby preserving symmetry with its usage in the affirmative as the tensedness parameter is preserved.

- (204) *nääčik-ur* *ñami-da* *o-ma-đa*
 girl.youngster-PX.2SG tongue-PX.ACC.3SG eat-RES-SG.3SG
i-ñi-đa *oo-ʔ*
 NEG.AUX-COND-SG.3SG eat-CN
 ‘The girl ate the reindeer tongue. How would she not eat it?’ [NKB Auka]

- (205) *mud’* *čiki* *koru* *i-ñi-b-uš* *mu-ʔ*
 1SG this knife_[ACC] NEG.AUX-COND-SG.1SG take-CN
 ‘I would not have bought this knife.’ (...and in fact, I did not) [ZNB I 70]

Negation of speculative *-raxa* complex

a) non-future reference

- (206) *mod’* *to dōban* *kolu-t* *i-đa-raxa-đ-ud’* *pađu-r*
 1SG that time.PROL school-LAT.SG NEG.AUX-PTCP.IPF-SIM-1SG-PST write-CN
 ‘I apparently did not yet go to school.’ (Lit. ‘I did not write to school’)
 [NKB Bear Trap]

b) future reference

- (207) *uu* *nää-d* *i-uda-raxa-r* *mi-s*
 2SG needle-PX.ACC.2SG NEG.AUX-PTCP.FUT-SIM-SG.2SG give-CN
 ‘You should probably not give your needle away.’ [NKB I 167]

Negation of the interrogative *-sa*

Shluinsky claims that the interrogative mood in *-sa* uses a “non-standard allomorph” (2010: 283) in negation which is expressed as *-si* and to which regular *vx* are added. In the materials I gathered, no such forms are attested and negation is symmetrical:

- (208) *noñ* *mana* *bemo-u* *nod* *i-sa-u^w* *mañ* *kañ*
 1SG.LAT say.3SG master-PX.1SG 2SG.LAT NEG.AUX-IRG-SG.1SG say.CN go.IMP.2SG
 ‘She said to me, “Oh my god, did I not say go!”’ [EIB Clairvoyant]³⁸¹

381. Interestingly, ‘say’ is used as a transitive verb here. Such instances are very rare in my materials.

- (209) *uu i-sa-d to-ʔ*
 2SG NEG.AUX-IRG-2SG come-CN
 ‘Did you not come?’ [DSB V 47]

The same claim is also valid for Tundra Nenets.

- (210) *няр нянанд ну-ся ту-’’*
 man.PX.2SG 2SG.LOC NEG.AUX-IRG.3SG come-CN
 ‘Did your man not come with you?’ [T65:335]

What Shluinsky assumes as the “non-standard allomorph” is actually derived from the assumptative mood, which is often found in modal questions without negative inversion (see example 178, 179 in this chapter). Interrogative and assumptative are frequently mixed by speakers on such occasions.

Negation of past probabilative

In the negation of the past probabilative mood, two constellations, NEG.AUX+VERB and VERB + NEG.AUX, are attested. Due to its limited productivity, a preferred order cannot be postulated:

- (211) *lokri kasa-i ńe-sau modi-s*
 suddenly friend-PX.1SG NEG.AUX-PROB_{PST}.3SG see-CN
 ‘Suddenly, my companion probably did not look...’ (LDB Dead boy)

- (212) *kuna-xo bu ʏobčik täni-t ńe-sau*
 when-INDEF 3SG once know-FUT.CN NEG.AUX-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘Sometimes he gets to know it.’ [ZNB III 36]

7.6.5 Negation and the imperative complex

The negation of imperatives is not straightforward and several instances of overlapping can be identified. As the elicitation of negative imperative forms has been problematic, additional data from ET is used.

7.6.5.1 Negation of imperatives in conjugation I and II

Although the affirmative has specialized verbal endings for both conjugations, the negated imperative uses the same verbal endings which in non-singular overlap with standard negation:

CONJ. TYPE	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE CONJUGATION I+II BASED ON TEXTUAL DATA		
NUM/PERSON	SG	DU	PL
2P	<i>iđ</i>	<i>ńe-ri?</i> (=CONJ I)	<i>ńe-ra?</i> (=CONJ I)
3P	<i>ńe-b</i>	not attested	not attested

Table 7-27: Negated imperatives conjugation I and II

For 2SG, *iđ* is attested with intransitive and transitive verbs; whereas in elicitation reference to number was possible, similar examples do not appear in textual data and this possible artifact of elicitation is therefore excluded:

- (213) *kadađa-bu-d* *iđ* *dóri-r?*
 hunt-CON-PX.GEN.2SG NEG.AUX.IMP.2SG speak-FREQ.CN
 ‘When you are hunting, do not speak!’ [ZNB I 78]

- (214) *busi* *mana* *polúdi-d* [...] *kasa-xu-d*
 old.man say.3SG awl-PX.ACC.2SG companion-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.2SG
iđ *mi-s*
 NEG.AUX.IMP.2SG give-CN
 ‘The old man says: “don’t give your awl to your friend”.’ [ET 62:223]

In the plural, no distinction appeared (not even in elicitation) and the negative imperative paradigm was homonymous with standard negation:

- (215) *obuxuru* *ńe-ri?* *noit* *obuxuru* *ńe-ri?*
 what-NEG_[ACC] NEG.AUX-2DU touch.CN what-NEG_[ACC] NEG.AUX-2SG
mu-? *čikod*
 take-CN from.here
 ‘Don’t touch anything, don’t take anything along!’ [ET 79:79]

- (216) *sei-da* *deđ* *đa* *tuka-xan* *ńe-ra?* *soptu-?*
 reason-PX.GEN.3SG toward earth_[ACC] axe-LOC.SG NEG.AUX-2PL hack-CN
 ‘For no reason, do not hack the earth with an axe!’ [LDB Taboos]

Currently, only a form for a negated 3SG imperative in conjugation I is attested. Other forms have yet to be encountered:

- (217) *še* *to-sa* *noń* *čuo-b* *ńe-b* *pida-?*
 who come-IRG.3SG 1SG.LAT enter-IMP.3SG NEG.AUX-IMP.3SG be.afraid-CN
 ‘Who has come to me? He should enter, he should not be afraid.’ [ET 215:21]

7.6.5.2 Negation of imperatives in conjugation III

Evidence from own data and published texts do not offer sufficient examples and data from elicitation is questionable. It appears that in 2SG context, imperatives in conjugation III were negated as any other imperative in 2SG, with *iđ* and the connegative:

- (218) *uu čiki baʔa ni-ʔ iđ ad*
 2SG this bed_[GEN] on-LAT NEG.AUX.IMP.R.2SG sit.CN
 ‘Don’t sit down on the bed!’ [ZNB I 30]

For all other forms, the negative auxiliary in *ni-* was used. For 2PL, the 2PL from conjugation I was given; the other forms except 3PL match the regular conjugation III endings:

CONJ. TYPE	NEGATED IMPERATIVE IN CONJUGATION III		
	SG	DU	PL
2P	<i>iđʔ</i>	<i>ni-diʔ</i>	<i>ne-raʔ</i>
3P	<i>ne-dʔ</i>	<i>ni-xiʔ</i>	<i>ne-bʔ</i>

Table 7-28: Negated imperatives conjugation III

7.6.5.3 Negation of hortative

The negation of hortative is straightforward and uses the negative auxiliary in *i-*, to which the hortative marker *-xu* and *vx* are attached:

- (219) *mud ma-neđu i-xu-i kudei-ʔ*
 1SG say-ASS.1SG NEG.AUX-HORT-1DU sleep-CN
 ‘I said: “Let us not sleep!”.’ [NKB Yenisei]

7.6.6 The negative auxiliaries *buńi-* and *kiči-*

Apart from *ni-* and *i-*, two further negative auxiliaries, *buńi-* and *kiči-*, are attested. Whereas *buńi-* is attested in several narratives³⁸², *kiči-* emerged only once during elicitation. Both negative auxiliaries clearly encode modality, but it proved impossible to characterize both any further. Therefore, nothing substantial can be added to Tereščenko’s original description (1966: 452), which also merely stated the existence of such auxiliaries. It is perhaps worthwhile to mention, that neither *buńi-* nor *kiči-* were attested with any further modal morphology. First, examples for *buńi-* are given:

382. However, only in the speech of fully fluent consultants.

- (220) *mod' čiki đeri-xun buñi-đ? to-?*
 1SG this day-LOC.SG NEG.AUX-1SG come-CN
 'I somehow did not come (although I was supposed to).' [ZNB III 67]

The following two examples for *buñi-* come from spontaneous speech:

- (221) *čiki enči-je ań buñi koma ñi*
 this person-PEJ FOC NEG.AUX.3SG want.CN NEG.AUX.3SG
koma piri takar-id?
 want.CN always hide-R.3SG
 'So this person, he seemed not to want, he did not want (to come out), he always tried to hide.' [NKB Prisoners]

- (222) *Potab đodid modna? sobrig đeri dađa-a*
 Potapovo_[GEN] until 1PL five day go_{UDI}-1PL
oi sobrig đeri buñi ŋa ań
 EXCL five day NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC}.CN FOC
 'Until Potapovo we went (on the ferry) five days, oh that was not five days (but five hours)...' [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]

For the other negative auxiliary, *kiči-*, only a small number of elicited examples are attested. Further, it diverges from *buñi-* in that respect that it is semantically not fully negative as its Russian translation equivalent *чуть не* 'almost' proposes. Although *kiči-* behaves formally as a negative auxiliary because the following negated lexical verb appears in the connegative form, it is semantically not negative but still affirmative. Its classification as a negative auxiliary is therefore based on formal characteristics not on both formal and semantic considerations.³⁸³

- (223) *puđu-i kiči-đ? beira-?*
 body-PX.ACC.1SG NEG.AUX-1SG hurt-CN
 'I almost hurt myself (but nevertheless did not).' [ZNB III 67]

- (224) *kiči-j sumoi-?*
 NEG.AUX-R.1SG fall-CN
 'I almost fell down.' [ZNB III 67]

Further, *kiči-* is attested with the general past tense:

383. Juha Janhunen (p.c.) mentioned that such forms would allow a negative interpretation if they were rendered as 'fortunately not...' in English. Although this idea sounds promising, this is incompartmentable with the translation offered by ZNB.

- (225) *bu kiči-š mosra-ka-ʔ*
 3SG NEG.AUX-3SG.PST work-DISC-CN
 ‘He did almost start working (but he did not in the end).’ [ZNB III 67]

7.6.7 The syntax of negation – signs of language change?

The constructional negation strategy of Forest Enets, which relies on both a negative auxiliary and the negated main verb, makes it impossible to answer a simple question with ‘no’. Any negation must result in a simple clause:

- (226)A: *bu čiki busi modä*
 3SG this old.man_[ACC] see.3SG
 ‘Did he see the old man?’

- B: *(bu) ni modi-s*
 3SG NEG.AUX.3SG see-CN
 ‘He did not see (him).’

However, a shorter strategy with *däk*, a reduced form of the negative existential *dägu* <not.exist.3SG>, is also possible. Similar strategies have been reported for other Northern Samoyedic languages (T73: 83–84). While Tereščenko’s Forest Enets examples revealed only the full form *dägu*, nowadays only a reduced *däk* is attested. Therefore, it is likely that the reduction of a former verb resulting in a particle similar to Russian *нет* could be explained by extensive bilingualism with Russian.³⁸⁴

- (227) *täxä täxä dāda ne-r modä*
 there there go_{UDI}.3SG NEG.AUX-2SG see.CN
 ‘‘There, there he is walking. Don’t you see him?’’
- mud’ ma-niđu^w däk ni-u^w modä-ʔ*
 1SG say-ASS.1SG PART NEG.AUX-SG.1SG see-CN
 ‘I said: ‘‘No I don’t see him.’’ [LDB Supernatural]

384. In contrast, Tereščenko’s examples of Russian influence on negation, the borrowing of the Russian negative particle *ни*, so far occurred only once in the summer 2011.

- (228) *mud' ma-heđu" obu ań enči ä-đa še-xuru*
 1SG say-ASS.1SG what FOC person be-FUT.3SG who-NEG
dagu-š // Vitalik kańi-sau tonin
 not.exist-3SG.PST PN go-PROB_{PST}.3SG there.LOC
đak mańu" Vitalik ań toni kańe-d
 PART say-ASS.3SG PN FOC there.LAT go_{NLZ}-LAT.SG
ńi-š koma-?
 NEG.AUX-3SG.PST want-CN

'I said: "What person will it be, there is nobody!" "Vitalij might walk over there".
 "No," I said, "Vitalij does not like to walk there".' [LDB Supernatural]

7.7 Negative verbs in Forest Enets

A small group of verbs behaves irregular with regard to negation. Such verbs are labelled negative verbs as they express a negative concept, 'to not X', such as *đoxoraš* 'to not know' which is the negated counterpart of *tāniš* 'to know' or *piri(ä)š* 'to be able, can' and its negative counterpart *lođäš* 'to not be able'.

AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
<i>tonäš</i> 'to exist'	<i>dāguš</i> 'to not exist'
<i>tāniš</i> 'to know'	<i>đoxoraš</i> 'to not know'
<i>tāniš</i> 'to be able, can'	<i>lođäč</i> 'to not be able; cannot'
<i>piri(ä)č</i> 'to be able, can'	<i>đomgaš</i> 'to not be aware'

Table 7-29: Negative verbs

The uniting feature of the negative verbs in the right column lies in their inherent negative meaning and the fact that they cannot be negated with any of the negative auxiliaries. In contrast, the affirmative counterpart permits negation, albeit not prototypically. Otherwise, such verbs are morphologically regular and can be nominalized:³⁸⁵

- (229) *famil-da đurta đoxora mud'*
 last.name-PX.ACC.3SG forget.SG.1SG not.know.SG.1SG 1SG
 'I have forgotten his last name, I do not know it.' [LDB Shaman]
- (230) *čiki-r đoxora-da obu-xu enči to*
 this-PX.2SG not.know-PTCP.IPF what-INDEF person come.3SG
 'And this one, some unknown some person came.' [NKB Childhood]
- (231) *тотазуць бу нуріэ*
tota-gu-š bu piriä
 read-DUR-CON 3SG can.3SG
 'He can read.' (Ru: 'Считать он умеет.') [ES 342]

385. The uniting missing morphosyntactic feature in their individual paradigms is the absence of negation.

- (232) *äki bađa mud' piri ma-t' loďä-u*
 this word 1SG always say-CON not.being.able-SG.1SG
 'This word I never can say it (~ I have forgotten how to say it).' [LDB II 80]

In addition to *d'oxoraš*, 'to not know', another verb translated as 'to not know', *d'omgaš* ~ *d'omgäš*, is attested. I was not able to clarify the semantic difference between both verbs, but in contrast to *d'oxoraš*, whose affirmative counterpart is *täniš*, an affirmative counterpart of *d'omgaš* ~ *d'omgäš* is currently missing in my data. In one respect, the structure of the following two examples differs in that the verb *d'oxoraš* is transitive and governs a complement clause while the example with *d'omgaš* cannot be considered a complement clause similarly to its English translation equivalent.³⁸⁶

- (233) *mud' d'oxora <čenuju uda to-bi-ra>*
 1SG not.know.SG.1SG yesterday 2PL come-PERF-2PL
 'I did not know that you came yesterday.' [LDB II 80]

- (234) *mud' d'omgä-ď? čenuju uda to-bi-ra*
 1SG not.aware-1SG yesterday.ADV 2PL come-PERF-2PL
 'I was not aware that you came yesterday.' [LDB II 80]

Although a detailed semantic study has not yet been undertaken, the overall function of negative verb pairs, apart from the existential *tonäš* and its negative pendant *d'aguš*, is connected to epistemic modality.

Finally, a short note on the affirmative counterparts of negative verbs is in order. First, at least in elicitation, *täniš* 'to know' could occur with standard negation, but no such instances in transcribed spontaneous speech could be found. Second, in ET, a unique constellation with the modal auxiliary *buñi-* and the affirmative *pirič* can be found. As much as this constellation is clearly unusual, it fits the semantics of the unusual occasion reported extraordinarily well:

- (235) *täđa seji-r rosa-xuru-? mod'na?*
 now look-IMP.2SG Russian-NEG-[ACC.PL] 1PL
te-šuduna? buñi-? piru-s
 reindeer-CAR.PX.PL.1PL NEG.AUX-3PL can-CN
 'Now look, not even the Russian can live without our reindeer.' [ET 52:51]³⁸⁷

386. The translation 'to not be aware' is preliminary. The overall difference in meaning between *domgäš* and *d'oxoraš* needs to be worked out in detail during future fieldwork. Occasionally a verb whose stem is *d'ekar-*, meaning 'not knowing', was also uttered but is not reproduced here.

387. The negated predicate is unusual as one would expect the negative counterpart of *pirič*, namely *loďäš*, to occur here. The predicate is negated with the modal negative auxiliary *buñi* which seems to offer an explanation here. With the regular negative auxiliaries, this appears to be impossible.

7.8 Transitivity and valency-changing morphology

The role of transitivity and valency-changing morphology in Forest Enets is restricted to two operations, causativization with *-ḍa/-(l)da/-lta* and passivization with *-ra/-la*. The field of detransitivization was not studied in detail during fieldwork, but preliminary notes can be found at the end of this section.

7.8.1 Causatives

Forest Enets has a causative derivation which is, however, not fully productive. In general, the causative in *-ḍa* derives causatives from non-causative verbs. In contrast to other suffixes, the causative marker *-ḍa* shows some unique assimilation features with glottal stop stems; when added to non-glottal stop stems, the causative marker remains unaltered and is expressed as *-ḍa*. Occasionally, stem-final vowels are deleted:

- (236)a. *pora* <burn.3SG> ‘it burns’
 b. *por-ḍa* <burn-CAUS.3SG> ‘he makes it burn, he burns it’
 c. *ka(a)* <die.3SG> ‘he died’
 d. *ka-ḍa* <die-CAUS.3SG> ‘he killed’

For a variety of non-glottal-stop stems the causative marker may also be realized as *-ta*; the variation encountered matches that of the future tense marker *-ḍa*.

With verbs belonging to inflectional class IIa, the expected assimilated shape *-da* is not found, and instead *-ta* was registered:

- (237)a. *oo-ŋa* <eat-FREQ.3SG> ‘she is eating’
 b. *oo-ta* <eat-CAUS.3SG> ‘she is feeding’

Other verbs belonging to class II do not show the expected assimilation in *-ta*, but instead the marker is realized as *-lta*.³⁸⁸

388. Infrequently, also *-rta* is attested.

- (238) a. *čai-ŋa* <drink.tea-FREQ.3SG> ‘she is drinking tea’
 b. *čai-lta* <drink.tea-CAUS.3SG> ‘she is giving tea’ (Lit. ‘make drink tea’)
 c. *modi?ä* <see.3SG> ‘he sees it’
 d. *modi-lta* <see-CAUS.3SG> ‘he is showing it’

It appears that the causative is not a productive category and a fair number of transitive verbs with a causative meaning are historical causative derivations; such verbs should best be analyzed as lexicalized.

The overall function of the causative in Forest Enets is to add an agent to a situation. After having undergone causativization, the S argument appears as o and the causer is expressed as A. The increase in transitivity also enables the use of conjugation II with causativized verbs:

- (239) a. *kud̥i* *sumo-id?*
 spoon fall-R.3SG
 ‘The spoon fell down.’ [EIB I 98]
 b. *uu* *kud̥i* *sumoi-ta-r*
 2SG spoon_[ACC] fall-CAUS-SG.2SG
 ‘You let/made the spoon fall down.’ [EIB I 98]

Still, the increase in transitivity does not trigger conjugation II; with non-3P objects, conjugation II is blocked as expected:

- (240) *nä* *kasa-i* *ši* *čai-lta*
 [girl person]-PX.1SG 1SG.ACC drink.tea-CAUS.3SG
 ‘My sister gave me tea.’ [ZNB Weekend]
 (241) *no* *nä* *äči-xin* *dād-ta-da-đ?*
 so [girl]_[N/G] youngster]-LOC.PL go-CAUS-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will make you meet with the girls.’³⁸⁹ [NKB Childhood]

As noted, several verbs which are formally causative derived are most probably lexicalized such as *kaš* ‘die’ and *kađaš* ‘kill’

389. Translated as ‘meet’ during transliteration. This sentence does not mean ‘I will make you go with the girls’.

- (242) a. *bunk-i* *aga* *bunki-iš* *kañi* *točgođ* *ka-ñu*
 dog-PX.1SG big dog-TRSL go.3SG then die-ASS.3SG
 ‘My dog got old and died.’ [LDB I 109]
- b. *mud’* *täxä* *te* *ka-đ-da-a*
 1SG that reindeer_[ACC] kill-CAUS-FUT-SG.1SG
 ‘I will kill that reindeer.’ [LDB I 109]

The form ‘sit’ (both intransitive and causative transitive) is also probably lexicalized:

- (243) a. *mod’* *stol* *keuxo-d* *ad-ij* *täđa* *oo-da-u*
 1SG table_[GEN] side-LAT.SG sit-R.1SG now eat-FUT-SG.1SG
 ‘I sat down at the table. Now I will eat.’ [LDB I 109]
- b. *nä* *ñe-da* *kod* *ñi* *ad-ta-đa*
 woman child-PX.ACC.3SG sled_[GEN] on.LAT sit-CAUS-SG.3SG
 ‘The woman seated her child on the *narta*.’ [LDB I 109]

Also in the following verbs, the causative seems to be lexicalized:

- (244) a. *kasa* *äči* *äsi-da* *tuka* *modä*
 [man youngster] father-PX.GEN.3SG axe_[ACC] see.3SG
 ‘The youngster saw his father’s axe.’ [VNB IV 112]
- b. *äsi-b’* *ñe-xu-da* *tuka-da* *modi-lta*
 father-PX.1SG child-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX-GEN.3SG axe-PX.ACC.3SG see-CAUS.3SG
 ‘My father showed his axe to his child.’ [VNB IV 112]
- (245) a. *mud’* *ñe-i* *kirba* *oo-ŋa*
 1SG child-PX.1SG bread_[ACC] eat-FREQ.3SG
 ‘My child is eating bread.’ [LDB I 110]
- b. *ää-b’* *ñe-da* *oo-ta-go*
 mother-PX.1SG child-PX.ACC.3SG eat-CAUS-DUR.3SG
 ‘My mother is feeding her child.’ [LDB I 110]

More causative pairs (all intransitive → transitive):

- (246) a. *mä-m* *pora*
 chum-PX.1SG burn.3SG
 ‘My chum burned.’ [VNB IV 113]

- b. *bolku-i* *še-xo* *por-đa-bi-đa*
balok-PX.1SG who-INDEF burn-CAUS-PERF-SG.3SG
'My balok, somebody burned it down.' [VNB III 113]
- (247) a. *kiđiđa* *kasa-?*
tableware.PX.PL.3SG be.dry-3PL
'The tableware is drying.' [LDB I 112]
- b. *ää-b* *kiđiđa* *kas-ta-go*
mother-PX.1SG tableware.PX.ACC.PL.3SG dry-CAUS-DUR.3SG
'My mother is drying her tableware.' [LDB I 112]
- (248) a. *ää-b* *boru-ma*
mother-PX.1SG be.angry-RES.3SG
'My mother got angry.' [VNB IV 112]
- b. *kasa* *äči* *äsi-da* *boru-lta*
[man youngster] father-PX.ACC.3SG be.angry-CAUS.3SG
'The youngster made his father angry.' [VNB IV 112]
- (249) a. *bu* *äđđa*
3SG drive.3SG
'He is [sled] driving.'
- b. *bu* *nod* *pađur* *äđ-ta-đa*
3SG 3SG.LAT letter_[ACC] drive-CAUS-SG.3SG
'He has sent you a letter.' [IIS IV 155]

For some other verbs, different kinds of valency alternations are found. None of these are, however, productive, nor are they segmentable. Most of them fall into the sphere of anticausatives, or in other words, inchoative/causative alternations:³⁹⁰

- (250) a. *korio-b* *morji*
xorej-PX.1SG break.3SG
'My *xorej* broke.' [LDB I 111]
- b. *še-xo* *korio-da* *moriä-bi*
who-INDEF xorej-PX.ACC.3SG break-PERF.3SG
'Somebody broke my *xorej*.' [LDB I 111]

390. E.g. Haspelmath (1993).

(251)a. *täb* *ni-n* *tuhi* *iđi-š*
 nail_[GEN] on-LOC gun hang-3SG.PST
 ‘On the nail, a gun was hanging.’ [LDB I 112]

b. *täb* *ni* *tuhi* *iđiä-r*
 nail_[GEN] on.LAT gun hang-SG.2SG
 ‘On the nail you hang up the gun.’ [LDB I 112]

(252)a. *akoška* *nä-id?*
 window open-R.3SG
 ‘The window opened on its own.’ [LDB I 111]

b. *ää-b* *akoška-da* *näbti*
 mother-PX.1SG window-PX.ACC.3SG open.3SG
 ‘My mother opened the window.’ [LDB I 111]

(253)a. *bui* *pi*
 soup cook.3SG
 ‘The soup is cooking.’

b. *nä* *osa* *piri-go*
 woman meat_[ACC] cook-DUR.3SG
 ‘The woman is cooking meat.’ [IIS IV 111]

As already mentioned, there seems to be a high degree of lexicalization for causative-derived verbs in Forest Enets. It proved problematic to elicit instances, such as ‘to make X work’, ‘to make X sleep’, ‘to make X kill Y’ or ‘to make X buy Y’, which produced no results. The closest rendering of such possible causative situation relied on an imperative-marked verb following a verb belonging to a commanding speech act e.g. ‘I told X do_{IMP} Y.’³⁹¹

7.8.2 Passive *-ra/-la*

The most productive transitivity-decreasing derivation is the passive in *-ra/-la*. As the passive will be addressed in more detail in chapter 11, the following description concentrates on the minimum morphosyntactic prerequisites. Passivization in Forest Enets is apparently only possible with transitive (non-stative) verbs. Verbs that have undergone passivization fall unanimously into conjugation III and are, as expected, morphosyn-

391. Sorokina (1976) argued that Forest Enets has double causatives resembling similar double causatives known in Turkic (e.g. die → kill → make kill). I have spent considerable time investigating this question, but I do not have a single example following this pattern in current Forest Enets. See also Siegl (2008).

tactically intransitive. Further, the former patient, the syntactic object, surfaces as the subject. The former agent can be expressed and if so, it is encoded by the lative case. This means that the expression of the semantic roles of the agent can be preserved.

(254) a. *mädi pä sumuitabi* ‘The wind felled the tree.’ [ZNB IV 36]

<i>mädi</i>	<i>pä</i>	<i>sumui-ta-bi</i>
wind	tree _[ACC]	fall-CAUS-PERF.3SG
SUB	OBJ	V
ACTOR	UNDERGOER	PRED

Table 7-30: Active diathesis

b. *pä? mädid sumuitarabi?* ‘The trees were felled by the wind.’ [ZNB IV 36]

<i>pä-?</i>	<i>mädi-d</i>	<i>sumui-ta-ra-bi-?</i>
tree _[NOM.PL]	wind-LAT.SG	fall-CAUS-PASS-PERF-R.3PL
SUB	OBL	V
UNDERGOER	ACTOR	PRED

Table 7-31: Passive diathesis

Also personal pronouns behave in the same way:

(255) a. *bunik šij sakra*
 dog 1SG.ACC bite.3SG
 ‘The dog bit me.’ [ZNB IV 37]

b. *mod' bunki-d sakra-ri?*
 1SG dog-LAT.SG bite-PASS.R.1SG
 ‘I was bitten by a/the dog.’ [ZNB IV 37]

7.8.3 Transitivity-decreasing strategies

Künnap’s Enets sketch grammar described an intransitivizing aspectual marker (sic!) in *-ta*. As I have not yet found this example in Tereščenko’s writings from which it must ultimately derive, it is presented as discussed by Künnap (1999: 28):

- (256) a. *mod' ää-b' perđi-go-đ?*
 1SG mother-PX.ACC.1SG help-DUR-1SG
 ‘I help my mother.’
- b. *mod' ä-xa-ń perđi-ta-gua-đ?*
 1SG mother-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG help-DETR-DUR-1SG
 ‘I am being helpful to my mother.’

Although the existence of a ‘transitivity-decreasing aspect’ which in Künnap’s example behaves like an antipassive, is highly questionable, I did register a suffix in *-du/-tu* which behaves as a detransitivizer in the following examples. The data I collected show a number of transitive verbs that are derived from nouns³⁹² and which can be detransitivized by the suffix *-du/-tu*, to which the frequentative aspect is added:

NOUN	TRANSITIVE VERB IN 3SG	DETRANSITIVIZED VERB IN 3SG
<i>soči</i> ‘spit’	<i>sočiä</i> ‘spits at s.o.’	<i>sočituŋa</i> ‘always spits’
<i>kođa</i> ‘finger nail’	<i>kođiä</i> ‘scratches s.o.’	<i>kođituŋa</i> ‘always scratches’
<i>sojama</i> ‘birth’	<i>soja</i> ‘gives birth’	<i>sojatunja</i> ‘is birth-giving’

Table 7-32: Verbs detransitivized with *-du/-tu*

Examples:

- (257) a. *kasa äči ši sočiä*
 [man youngster] 1SG.ACC spit.3SG
 ‘The young boy spit on me.’ [ZNB III 22]
- b. *čiki busi peri soči-tu-ŋa*
 this old.man always spit-DETR-FREQ.3SG
 ‘This old man is always spitting.’ [ZNB III 22]
- (258) a. *kasa äči ši kođiä*
 [man youngster] 1SG.ACC scratch.3SG
 ‘This young boy scratches me.’ [ZNB III 23]
- b. *nä äči peri kođi-tu-ŋa*
 [girl youngster] always scratch-DETR-FREQ.3SG
 ‘The young girl is always scratching.’ [ZNB III 23]

392. Transitive verbs seem to be derived via zero-conversion from nouns. The third example *sojama* ‘birth’ is actually a fossilized action noun, and a plain lexeme *soja* is currently not attested in my data.

- (262) a. *bunik vedro-je-ḃ bata-rta*
 dog bucket-PEJ-PX.ACC.1SG turn.over-CAUS.3SG
 ‘The dog made my bucket turn over.’ [VNB IV 113]
- b. *vedro-je-ḃ bata-rt-id*
 bucket-PEJ-PX.1SG turn.over-CAUS-R.3SG
 ‘My bucket turned over.’ [VNB IV 113]
- (263) a. *ää-ḃ ne-da poxuru-bi-ḃa*
 mother-PX.1SG child-PX.ACC.3SG cover-PERF-SG.3SG
 ‘My mother covered her child (so that it wouldn’t freeze).’ [NKB IV 152]
- b. *enči? poxuru-b-id? pagi-da mi-?*
 person cover-PERF-R.3SG parka-PX.GEN.3SG in-LAT
 ‘The man covered in his parka (so that he wouldn’t freeze).’ [NKB IV 152]

Finally, another lexical detransitivization strategy must be mentioned, although this strategy is again lexically restricted. Occasionally, denominally derived verbs resemble incorporation, as the free-standing object can be verbalized:

- (264) a. *äčui čukči bui oo-ḡa-č*
 youngster_[NOM.PL] all soup_[ACC] eat-FREQ-3PL
 ‘All the kids ate soup.’ [LDB & NKB II 24]
- b. *äčui čukči bui-ḡa-č*
 youngster_[NOM.PL] all soup-FREQ-3PL
 ‘All the kids were soup-eating.’ [LDB & NKB II 24]

Other incorporated verbs are e.g. *bu čaiḡa* ‘he is drinking tea’ (from *čai* ‘tea’) or *käḃaruḡa* ‘he is hunting wild reindeer’ (from *käḃar* ‘wild reindeer’), *bu poguḡa* ‘he is fishing with a net’ (from *poga* ‘net’). As the last verb shows, some further morphology may be necessary to derive such verbs, but a detailed description is outside the scope of this description.

8. Non-finite verb forms – participles, converbs, and nominalizations

This chapter describes the morphology and to a lesser degree the syntax of non-finite verb forms such as participles, nominalizations and converbs. As these categories play an important role in subordination, a more detailed syntactic description will be postponed until chapter 13.

8.1 Infinitival converb -š/-d’/-č

The infinitival converb in -š is used as the citation form of verbs in ERRE and ES. In principle, it is a diagnostic form for assigning verbs to a particular conjugational class, e.g. *toš* ‘come’ (I), *d’orid* ‘speak’ (IIa) and *mič* ‘give’ (IIb), but for unknown reasons, both dictionaries show a larger number of misclassifications.³⁹⁴

The function of the infinitival converb is syntactically straightforward. If a clause already contains a finite verb, other verbs that depend on the finite verb must be realized as -š converbs. The infinitival converb cannot be followed by a VX or PX:

- (1) *dá* *bārto-š* *pā* *ań*
 earth_[ACC] throw-CON begin.3PL FOC
 ‘...and they started to throw earth (on her grave).’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

- (2) *Kasali* *kudi* *bauda* *neri-č* *tara*
 PN sleep.3SG soon rise-CON must.3SG
 ‘Kasali is sleeping, soon he has to get up.’ [ESG Two Brothers]

Second, the infinitival converb can be used to express manner adverbial clauses. Here, the converb appears in the adjacent clause, clearly separated from the finite main verb:

- (3) *nā* *kod* *soču* *ńi-n* *adi-š* *ńe-da*
 woman sled_[N/G] nose_[GEN] on-LOC sit-CON child-PX.ACC.3SG
mosta-go
 lull.to.sleep-DUR.3SG
 ‘Sitting on the front part of the sled, the woman lulled her child to sleep.’
 [LDB & NKB & VNB II 55]

- (4) *onai* *bađa-an* *ma-d’* *mud’* *nod* *äjeiču-đ*
 real language-PROL say-CON 1SG 2SG.LAT older.relative-1SG
 ‘Saying it in Enets, I am an elder relative to you.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

394. Such variation is usually found with verbs belonging to class II. Especially verbs belonging to class IIa ending in -d’ are often presented as -č.

Some of the attested examples allow a further temporal-consecutive interpretation, though I currently prefer to regard such instances as extensions of the original manner function:

- (5) *stol ke-xun adi-š minxuda karida*
 table_[GEN] side-LOC.SG sit-CON at.once fish.PX.ACC.PL.3SG
sei-gu-š pä
 clean-DUR-CON begin.3SG
 ‘Sitting at the table, he started to clean the fish at once.’ [LDB II 44]
- (6) *busi čiki torsi đori noda-š aň koxo*
 old.man this such talk_[ACC] hear-CON FOC where.INDEF.LAT
mäđđi-š kaňi-š
 argish-CON go-3SG.PST
 ‘The old man, hearing such rumors, again somewhere else went argishing.’
 [LDB Shaman]

8.2 Temporal-conditional converb *-bu/-pu*

The temporal-conditional converb *-bu/-pu* is used in a non-finite protasis of complex clauses. In earlier accounts (e.g. Tereščenko 1966: 453), the marker contained a suffix-final glottal stop and was realized as *-buʔ*, which once in a while can still be tracked via PX assimilation, though this glottal stop has never been attested “on the surface” in my collected data.

Reference to actor/undergoer is maintained and separately marked on this converb. As the converb is a nominal category, reference is maintained via PX:

- (7) *kadađa-bu-d iđ đori-r?*
 hunt-CON-PX.GEN.2SG NEG.AUX.IMP.2SG speak-CN
 ‘When you are hunting, do not speak!’ [ZNB I 78]
- (8) *ňolu-uš kajj-bu-ň đetsu mi-n pida-đ?*
 one-TRSL remain-CON-PX.GEN.1SG Yenisei_[GEN] in-LOC be.afraid-1SG
 ‘While I remained alone on the Yenisei, I was afraid.’ [NKB Yenisei]
- (9) *kuna Potab keu-d to-bu-na? Potab*
 when Potapovo_[GEN] side-LAT.SG come-CON-PX.GEN.1PL Potapovo_[GEN]
nä-đ biđ bar-xuđ enču-? oka-an
 side-ABL water_[GEN] shore-ABL.SG person_[NOM.PL] many-PROL
odu ni-ň poroxod đeđ äđđ-id?
 boat_[GEN] on-LOC ferry_[GEN] toward drive-R.3PL
 ‘When arriving at Potapovo, from the shore many people came
 (Lit. people came ‘manily’) on their boats toward the ferry.’ [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]

The *-bu/-pu* converb will be discussed in detail in chapter 13.3.

8.3 Participles

Four participles are attested: perfective, imperfective, futuritive and negative futuritive. Whereas the perfective and the imperfective participles are well attested in transcribed speech and elicitation, the remaining two are found only in a few examples deriving from elicitation.

8.3.1 Perfective participle *-iʔ/-miʔ*

The perfective participle has two allomorphs, *-iʔ* and *-miʔ*. The latter is currently found regularly on class IIa verbs only and it appears that the system is decaying and *-iʔ* has started to become generalized.³⁹⁵ The perfective participle indicates that an action modifying a noun has already taken place:

- (10) a. *Igarka* *nä-d̄* *tō-i* *ošā-š*
 Igarka_[GEN] side-ABL come-PTCP.PFT Evenki-3SG.PST
 ‘He was an Evenki who came from Igarka.’ [LDB Taboo]
- b. *nä* *tonä-š //* *mugadi-xiđ* *ođi-mi* *ŋob toʔ*
 woman exist-3SG.PST clan-ABL.PL appear-PTCP.PFT one such
 ‘There was a woman. She was from the mugadi clan.’
 (Lit. ‘from the mugadis having come one such’) [EIB Clairvoyant]

Perfective participles can be further modified by *PX* to maintain reference with actor or undergoer. Possessed participles serve as equivalents of relative clauses:

- (11) *đuo-iʔ* *koru* <loose-PTCP.PFT knife> ‘a lost knife’
- (12) *đuo-i-b* *koru-i* *ko-b̄*
 loose-PTCP.PFT-PX.ACC.1SG knife-PX.ACC.1SG find-SG.1SG
 ‘I found my lost knife.’ (Lit. ‘I found my knife which I have lost’) [LDB I 182]

The participle of the verb *kaš* ‘die’ differs from all other attested as it based on a suffix in *-bi*:

- (13) *đođu-ŋa* *đođu-ŋa* *ka-bi* *te* *koš*
 go_{MUDI}-FREQ.3SG go_{MUDI}-FREQ.3SG die-PTCP.PFT reindeer_[ACC] find.3SG
 ‘He walked, walked and found a dead reindeer.’ [ANP Stupid People]

395. Tereščenko (1966: 452) did not show a glottal stop for this participle, however many consultants do pronounce a glottal stop.

8.3.2 Imperfective participle *-ḏa/-da/-ta*³⁹⁶

Regardless of the inherent lexical aspect of a given verb, the imperfective participle marks an action, event or state modifying a noun as ongoing:

- (14) *ńaba pugi-n kasaḏu-da ńaba tonä-bi*
 hare_[GEN.PL] among-LOC boast-PTCP.IPF hare exist-PERF.3SG
 ‘Among the hares was a boasting hare.’ [LDB Wolf and Hare]

The imperfective participle serves further as the basis for finite and non-finite constructions. The speculative mood with non-future tense reference (see also 7.4.5) is a historical nominalization based on the imperfective participle:

- (15) *to bar-xun enči ḏoḏu-da-raxa*
 lake_[GEN] shore-LOC.SG person go-PTCP.IPF-SIM.3SG
 ‘A man seems to be walking on the shore.’ [ANP Man and Bear]

Adverbial clauses expressing simultaneity of an action are based on the imperfective participle and are further inflected for lative case and PX_{GEN} . The latter establish reference to the actor/undergoer:

- (16) *ḏiri-da-xa-da toń mana*
 live-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG such say.3SG
 ‘While being alive she said so...’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

- (17) *ḏaḏ-ta-xa-ń koti-da-xa-ń*
 go-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1DU swim-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1DU
kasa-i mań obu täxä soši ne-on mań
 companion-1SG say.ASS.3SG what that hill_[GEN] on-PROL say.ASS.3SG
enči ḏaḏa
 man go_{UDI}.3SG
 ‘While floating on the lake (Lit. while going, while swimming), my companion said: “there along the hill a man is walking”.’ [LDB Supernatural]

Finally, some professions are lexicalized or partly lexicalized participle constructions, e.g. *te pońida* <reindeer keep-PTCP.IPF> ‘reindeer keeping = reindeer herder’, *poguda enči?* <fish.with.net-PTCP.IPF person> ‘a fishing man = fisherman’.

396. Concerning its morphological realization, the interpretation of the underlying imperfective participle suffix shares the same problems as those attested with the future tense and the causative suffix (7.2.4, 7.9.1).

8.3.3 Futuritive *-uda*

The futuritive participle in *-uda* is currently not attested in transcribed spontaneous speech but only in data from elicitation. Its function is to express an action, event, state which will affect an noun in the future:

- (18) *täxä te-kuča ka-uda te*
 that reindeer-DIM die-PTCP.FUT reindeer
 ‘That reindeer which will be killed.’ (Lit. ‘that reindeer a will-die reindeer’) [LDB II 62]

The futuritive participle underlies the speculative mood with future-tense reference (see 7.4.5):

- (19) *äki päušumnuju kaba ter loidi-ŋa naldi-da*
 this evening.ADV aurora borealis burn-FREQ.3SG be.red-PTCP.IPF
tu-raxa kađu-uš kaŋi-uda-raxa
 fire-SIM blizzard-TRSL go-PTCP.FUT-SIM.3SG
 ‘This evening the northern lights burn like reddish fire. Apparently a blizzard will come.’ [LDB I 173]

Whether the suffix *-uda* has a second form resulting from glottal stop assimilation is currently not known.

8.3.4 Negative futuritive participle *-uđai*

The existence of a negative futuritive participle was mentioned by Tereščenko (1966: 452). This category is attested in contemporary Forest Enets too, though no examples are found in transcribed spontaneous speech. Whether this morpheme undergoes any morphonological processes is not known either. As the only reliable example is a class IIb verb ‘give’ and the suffix looks similar to one attested by Tereščenko, it speaks against possible morphonological alternations for the time being. The negative futuritive participle states that a future action will not modify a noun:

- (20) *äki bäsi mi-uđai bäsi*
 this money give-PTCP.FUT.NEG money
 ‘This money is money which will not be returned.’
 (Lit. ‘this money will-not-give money’) [LDB I 183]

8.3.5 Excursus – unoriented and passivized participles

All previously mentioned, participles can be classified as unoriented. In this respect, Forest Enets differs from such languages as e.g. Finnish (21b) (22b):

- (21) a. *to-i?* *enči?* <come-PTCP.PFT person> ‘a person who has arrived’
 b. *saapu-nut* *vieras* <arrive-PTCP.PFT guest> ‘a guest who has arrived’
- (22) a. *pađu-mi?* *paður* <write-PTCP.PFT letter> ‘a written letter’
 b. *kirjoite-ttu* *kirje* <write-PTCP.PST.IPERS letter> ‘a written letter’

Nevertheless, unoriented perfective participles can undergo passive derivation. This derivation based on the regular passive marker *-ra/-la* is by no means frequent, but it is at least attested in several examples with the perfective participle:

- (23) *kasa* *enči-gun* *komita-ra-i* *kati*
 [man person]-LOC.SG love-PASS-PTCP.PFT girl
 ‘A girl loved by the boy’ (Lit. ‘a by-the-boy-loved girl’) [ZNB IV 7]

Other participles have not been encountered with the passive marker in the gathered materials.

8.4 Nominalization

8.4.1 *zero/-ma* action nominalization

Of all the non-finite verb forms, action nominalizations are clearly the most complicated forms. First, in contemporary Forest Enets, nominalizations are in general very unproductive. A number of abstract nouns ending in *-ma* point to a former nominalization strategy, but synchronically they are entirely lexicalized. They include *d’orima* ‘talk, talking’ from *d’orid’* ‘speak’, *saiduma* ‘war’ from *saidud’* ‘make war’ and *d’irima* ‘life’ from *d’iriš* ‘live’, although *d’iriču* ‘life’ seems to be preferred. However, traces of the same *-ma* nominalization are attested in several adverbial clauses, and we will start the discussions with several examples. In the first example, we see how the ABL.SG marker *-xVđ* is attached without any stem modification to the bare verb stem *šero-* ‘bury’:

- (24) *äjeiču-d* *šero-xuđ-ud* *kań* *täxä*
 older.relative-PX.GEN.2SG bury-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.2SG go.IMP.2SG those
kašixid
 friend.LAT.PL
 ‘After your older relative’s burial, go to those friends.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

In contrast, in the following example, the stem final vowel of *kańiš* ‘go’ changes and the form *kańe-* serves as a stem before ABL.SG is attached. In this case, nominal morphology cannot be attached directly to the verbal stem:

- (25) *kiuđä-š* *kańe-xađ-da* *neri-xi?*
 morning-TRSL go-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG wake.up-R.3SG
 ‘After it began to dawn, they woke up.’ [LDB Fishermen]

What makes (25) interesting is the appearance of a stem that is not attested elsewhere. I therefore assume that in (25) we are dealing with reflexes of a nominalization strategy as case markers cannot be added directly to verbal nouns. On the other hand, one cannot see any reflexes in (24) and one could assume here a kind of zero conversion. Example (25) suggests that a different glossing convention might be necessary; even if verbs followed by nominal morphology are added to verbal stems without direct traces of nominalization, there is still some evidence for stem modification, which will become evident soon. Therefore, both examples are re-glossed as follows and this convention will be used further:

- (24) *äjeiču-d* *šero-xuđ-ud* *kań* *täxä*
 elder.elative-PX.GEN.2SG bury_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.2SG go.IMP.2SG those
kašixid
 friend.LAT.PL
 ‘After your older relative’s burial, go to those friends.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]
- (25) *kiuđä-š* *kańe-xađ-da* *neri-xi?*
 morning-TRSL go_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG wake.up-R.3SG
 ‘After it began to dawn, they woke up.’ [LDB Fishermen]

In contrast to the interpretation chosen here, Sorokina (1981a: 140–142; 1990) analyzed similar examples as deverbal zero-derivations. Although Sorokina mentioned that in the case of several verbs a further vowel is inserted before case markers can be attached, she did not pay further attention to this phenomenon. In the following description I will show why I perceive this interpretation to be incorrect, as there exists only one nominalization type, which I will call *zero/vowel alternation/-ma* action nominalization and which relies on three different morphological realizations. First, in a small number of

examples case morphology is not attached to the verbal stem or to a modified verbal stem, but a nominalizer in *-ma* is found. Such forms can be found easily with *komaš* ‘want’, which governs lative case, and verbs must undergo nominalization before case morphology can be added. Alternatively, the postposition *šer* requires the same nominalization on verbs. The following two examples demonstrate the action nominalization and its glossing conventions:

- (26) *bu* *dii-da* *sosu-ma-t* *koma-š*
 3SG *njuk-PX.GEN.3SG* *sew-NLZ-LAT.SG* *want-3SG.PST*
 ‘She wanted to sew a *njuk*.’ [NKB IV 159]

- (27) *čiki enču* *kouđu-t* *taru-ma-ru-t* *koma-bi-?*
 this person_[NOM.PL] *swear_{NLZ}-LAT.SG* *quarrel-NLZ-LIM-LAT.SG* *want-PERF-3PL*
 ‘These people wanted to swear, only wanted to quarrel.’ [ANP Hoax]

All three verbs, *sosud* ‘sew’ (IIa), *kouđud* ‘swear’ (IIa), and *taruč* ‘quarrel, fight’ (IIb), belong to class II.

In the case of verbs belonging to class I, no overt nominalization morphology is attested. Apart from example (24), the following two examples also demonstrate it:

- (28) *torsi mud’* *tāda* *torsi* *bađiä-t* *koma-đ*
 such 1SG now such *tell_{NLZ}-LAT.SG* *want-1SG*
 ‘Such (a story), now, such I want to tell.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

- (29) *busi* *ań* *nadui-ŋa* *obu-š* *ši* *kađa-t* *koma-t*
 old.man FOC ask-FREQ.3SG what-TRSL 1SG.ACC *kill_{NLZ}-LAT.SG* *want-2SG*
 ‘The old man asked: “why do you want to kill me?”’ [ANP Man and Bear]

The overall evolving question is whether there are any predictable instances for the appearance of zero, vowel change, or *-ma*, and the preliminary answer is no. Even among the nominalizations from the introduction to this chapter it is clear that *-ma* can be attached to any verb, regardless of inflection class: *d’orima* ‘talk, talking’ from *d’orid* ‘speak’ (IIa), *saiduma* ‘war’ from *saidud* ‘make war’ (IIa), or *d’erima* ‘life’ from *d’iriš* ‘live’ (I). In a later paper by Sorokina, the question of *-ma* was brought up again, though only *en passant* (Sorokina 1990: 208). Concerning the suffix *-ma*, Sorokina states that it is attested in at least two different functions, namely as ‘*nomen actionis*’ e.g. *d’orima* ‘talk, talking’ and as the marker of the resultative aspect, e.g. *ođima* ‘(s)he appeared, came out’ or *tečuma* ‘it became cold’. As far as I understand Sorokina’s interpretation, she assumes that *-ma* as *nomen actionis* or resultative aspect represents one and the same category and opts against the interpretation of two homonymic suffixes. On what can be found in my data I opt against this interpretation for two reasons. First,

action nouns such as *d'orima* cannot be combined with verbal endings. As a verb, only *d'oriŋadʔ* 'I speak, I am speaking' is possible. A resultative *d'orima* 'he has spoken' is not attested. Further, neither resultative 3sg, such *odima* or *tečuma* can be interpreted as *nomen actionis*, because they are negated as regular verbs. Even if there were a historical connection between both forms, synchronically they are clearly distinct.

To sum up, Forest Enets seems to have an action noun nominalization that is realized by one of the following three strategies: a) zero conversion, b) vowel change, and c) *-ma*. This allomorphy does not seem to be triggered by the glottal stop, and, apparently, this represents a system in decay. As language-internal argumentation does not offer a satisfying explanation, a short excursion to Forest Nenets is necessary. The situation in Forest Nenets confirms that the Forest Enets *zero conversion/vowel change/-ma nominalization* strategy is a reflex of the same nominalization pattern, which for unknown reasons shows signs of decay. In Forest Nenets (Sammallahti 1974: 89, Kaur Mägi, p.c.), *-ma* nominalizations are used to express posteriority (*-ma*+ABL) and with the verb 'want' (*-ma*+LAT). No exceptional morphology was reported by Sammallahti (confirmed by Kaur Mägi, p.c.), and all the verbs take *-ma*. As these nominalizations are used in the same context as in Forest Enets, we seem to be dealing with the same etymological category. This means that one should not postulate two different types of nominalization in Forest Enets (*zero* vs. *-ma*), but rather subsume them as one. Concerning such nominalizations in *-ma*, a final important observation is in order. As Sorokina's data is similar to mine, it is unlikely that we are dealing either with a recent innovation or language decay. The underlying change and its triggering conditions must therefore be sought elsewhere.

8.4.2 *-ba* nominalization

Both ET and Sorokina (1990) reported another nominalization in *-ba*. This nominalization was not found in my data, nor could Sorokina's forms be verified with the help of my consultants.

9. Clause types and interrogation

The following chapter offers a basic overview of simple clauses. These are classified according to the form of their predicate and are further divided into declarative and interrogative clauses. The following clause types are discussed:

1. Nominal clauses
2. Clauses with conjugated nominal predicates
3. Affirmative copula clauses
4. Negative copula clauses
5. Existential clauses
6. Intransitive clauses
7. Transitive clauses
8. Ditransitive clauses
9. Notes on interrogation

9.1 Nominal clauses

In nominal clauses, the predicate is formed by an NP, though only equative and equative-possessive clauses can be classified as nominal. This clause type shows some unique syntactic features which are not attested elsewhere. It is the only clause type that does not show any copula support or conjugated nominal predicates in the aorist. The semantic function of nominal clauses is identification (1), (2) or classification (3):

- (1) *čiki nā mud' ää-b'*
 this woman 1SG mother-PX.1SG
 'This woman is my mother.' [DSB V 46]

- (2) *čiki-r uu äsi-r*
 this-PX.2SG 2SG father-PX.2SG
 'This is your father.' [NKB Childhood]

- (3) *čiki-r meju mā?*
 this-PX.2SG new house
 'This is a new house.' [ZNB 08.02.06]

9.2 Clauses with conjugated nominal predicates

In this clause type, the predicate is formed by a verb form of conjugation type I that is derived from a noun, an adjective or an interrogative pronoun by attaching the suffixes of conjugation I to it. In earlier descriptions of Northern Samoyedic languages, the label ‘predicative conjugation’ was used. Although this predicate can be tensed with the general past tense in *-š*, several restrictions apply to this clause type. First, AME categories cannot be attached to nouns, and, second, the future tense cannot be added. This predicative construction is only capable of expressing states, meaning that concepts of doubt, dynamicity, possibility and other related concepts must be encoded by a prototypical verb, which then results in a different construction. Strictly speaking, these predicative clauses are a subtype of intransitive clauses, but they are presented as a separate category due to the restrictions mentioned above.³⁹⁷ The following examples show this clause type with aorist and general past tense reference:

- (4) *uu še-d*
2SG who-2SG
‘Who are you?’ [ANP II 37]
- (5) *uu tone iblēigu-d*
2SG still small-2SG
‘You are still young.’ [LDB & NKB I 140]
- (6) *uu kursi enči-d*
2SG what.kind.of person-2SG³⁹⁸
‘What kind of person are you?’ [ANP II 36]
- (7) *äki dēri ŋa-đa dūba*
this day sky-PX.3SG warm.3SG
‘Today the weather is warm.’ [ZNB I 33]
- (8) *to dōdīgun kasa äči-d-uš*
that period.LOC.SG [man youngster]-2SG-PST
‘In those days you were a young boy.’ [LDB & NKB I 140]
- (9) *tadibi-š*
shaman-3SG.PST
‘He was a shaman.’ [LDB & NKB I 175]

397. Further, this clause type differs in negation from intransitive clauses as a different negation strategy must be employed. This will be discussed below.

398. In predicative position, *enči?* behaves as a non-glottal stop stem because otherwise morphological assimilation would be expected, as demonstrated in chapter 3.

- (10) *čenuju* *ŋa-đa* *đuba-š*
 yesterday.ADV sky-PX.3SG warm-3SG.PST
 ‘Yesterday the weather was warm.’ [ZNB I 33]

The internal structure of such clauses can be complex, as the conjugated noun can be further modified by participles:

- (11) *mud'* *Tartu-xud'* *to-i* *enči-dʔ*
 1SG Tartu-ABL.SG come-PTCP.PFT person-1SG
 ‘I am a person from Tartu.’
 (Lit. ‘I from Tartu having-come person-I am’) [ZNB I 27]

9.3 Affirmative copula clauses

9.3.1 *eš* ‘be’

Copula clauses with *eš* (the stem for the future tense being *ä-*) form a predicate with a noun or an adjective in non-aorist and non-general past contexts. The semantic functions of this clause type are identification (12), classification (13), attribution, or property/qualification (14, 15):

- (12) *kuna-xo* *čiki* *soida* *tuka* *e-bi*
 when-INDEF this good axe be-PERF.3SG
 ‘This knife was once a good axe.’ [DSB V 47]
- (13) *älki-je* *kari* *äba* *uđi-ma* *čiki* *taimen'* *e-bi*
 huge-PEJ fish_[N/G] head appear-RES.3SG this taimen' be-PERF.3SG
 ‘A huge fish head appeared. This was a *taimen'*.’ [ANP Taimen']
- (14) *no* *kuñ* *ä-đa* *či* *nu* *äs-kuji-b* *ma-mnu-đa*
 PART how be-FUT.3SG PART PART father-DIM-PX.1SG say-AUD-3SG
 ‘“So how will it be,” so my father said...’ [NKB Prisoners]
- (15) *mud'* *ma-neđu* *obu* *añ* *enči* *ä-đa* *še-xuru*
 1SG say-ASS.1SG what FOC person be-FUT.3SG who-NEG
đagu-š
 not.exist-3SG.PST
 ‘I said: “what person will this be, there was nobody”.’ [LDB Supernatural]

9.3.2 *kañiš* 'become'

A special kind of copula clause is formed with the predicate introduced with *kañiš* 'become' and a translative-marked noun or adjective.³⁹⁹ Its semantic function is to indicate that something has become a member of the class denoted by the translative-marked noun or has acquired the property denoted by the adjective in the translative:

- (16) *tāda mud' aga-aš kañi-đ?*
 now 1SG big-TRSL go-1SG
 'Now I am getting old.' [LDB Taboo]

- (17) *ŋa-đa mādi-iš kãni*
 sky-PX.3SG wind-TRSL go.3SG
 'The weather becomes windy.' [ANP Old Way of Life]

- (18) *narei đeri-iš kañi uže mud' đurak*
 spring.ADV day-TRSL go.3SG already 1SG Nenets
nääči-iš kañi-đ?
 woman.youngster-TRSL go-1SG
 'And it became spring and I already turned into a Nenets girl.' [NKB Childhood]

- (19) *bunk-i aga bunki-iš kañi točguđ ka-ñu*
 dog-PX.1SG big dog-TRSL go.3SG then die-ASS.3SG
 'My dog became old and then he died.' [LDB I 109]

9.3.3 *ŋaš* 'be at'

Copula clauses with a NP in the locative case or a locative adverb are formed with the locational copula *ŋaš* 'be at':

- (20) *to đobun mud' ker-iñ aba-kuji-ď*
 that period.LOC.SG 1SG own-PX.GEN.1SG older.relative-DIM-PX.1SG
nã kas-sai busi-da no? Potabu-xun
 [girl companion]-COM old.man-PX.GEN.3SG with Potapovo-LOC.SG
ŋa-xi-ť
 be_{LOC}-3DU-PST
 'By that time, my older relative was in Potapovo with her daughter and her man.'
 [EIB Clairvoyant]

399. From a functional perspective, the copula-like meaning of *kañiš* 'become' is a direct extension of its prototypical goal-oriented movement meaning 'go', but this meaning is at best metaphorical here. As *kañiš* together with the translative case is only possible in this clause type, it is justified to speak of a construction here.

- (21) *nida Dudinka-xan mosara-ʔ šidi nă ńe-ďa*
 children.PL.3SG Dudinka-LOC.SG work-3PL two [woman child]-PX.3SG
kasa ńe-ďa äku-n ȷa
 [man child]-PX.3SG here-LOC be_{LOC}.3SG
 ‘His children work in Dudinka. His two daughters and one son are here (in Potapovo).’ [LDB Brigade]

Further, the negated locational copula is used in the negation of several non-verbal and semi-verbally conjugated nominal predicates (trad. predicative conjugation):

- (22) *mud’ đuraku-ď ni-ď ȷa-ʔ mud’ onai enči-ďʔ*
 1SG Nenets-1SG NEG.AUX-1SG be_{LOC}-CN 1SG real person-1SG
 ‘I am not a Nenets, I am an Enets.’ [ZNB IV 62]

This use of *ȷaš* will be discussed in more detail below in 9.4.

9.3.4 Summary of affirmative copula clauses

Copulas in affirmative clauses are used as follows:

COPULA	PREDICATIVE COMPLEMENT	TAM RESTRICTIONS
<i>eš</i>	noun, adjective	PERF, FUT
<i>kańiš</i>	translative-marked noun or adjective	none attested
<i>ȷaš</i>	locative NP, locative adverb	none attested

Table 9-1: Copulas in affirmative clauses

9.4 Negative copula clauses

Negative copula clauses with NEG.AUX *ńi*-VX *ȷaʔ* form a specialized copula clause that negates several verbal and semi-verbal clauses (including clauses with conjugated denominal predicates). The following example serves as a starting point:

- (23) a. *mod’ še-ďʔ*
 1SG who-1SG
 ‘Who am I?’
- b. *mud’ đuraku-ď ni-ď ȷa-ʔ mud’ onai enči-ďʔ*
 1SG Nenets-1SG NEG.AUX-1SG be_{LOC}-CN 1SG real person-1SG
 ‘I am not a Nenets, I am an Enets.’ [ZNB IV 62]

Syntactically it appears that in this negative copula clause, the predicative clause is dependent on the negative copula clause and serves as its complement. Formally, the construction is bi-clausal, but semantically it is a single unit as it is the way to negate this special clause type. Therefore, example (23) could be better translated as “I am a Nenets, I am not located (as such). I am an Enets.” Also in the negation of equative clauses, a complement interpretation seems plausible, as the negative copula clause follows and is the privileged syntactic element in this construction:

(24) *čiki šuibiču⁴⁰⁰ ní ηa?*
 this fairytale NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC}-CN
 ‘This is not a fairytale.’ [ANP Cuckoo]

(25) *čiki bađa šuibiču ní ηa?*
 this word fairytale NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC}-CN
 ‘This story is not a fairytale.’ [ANP Cuckoo]

This bi-clausal construction is syntactically interesting as the referent must be marked twice in both the affirmative and the negative clause:

(23) a. *mod' še-ď?*
 1SG who-1SG
 ‘Who am I?’

b. *mud' đuraku-ď ní-ď ηa-? mud' onai enči-ď?*
 1SG Nenets-1SG NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC}-CN 1SG real person-1SG
 ‘I am not a Nenets, I am an Enets.’ [ZNB IV 62]

Adjectives are also negated with *ní-vx ηa?*, but require movement from attributive to predicative position.⁴⁰¹

(26) a. *poju koru soйда-n moto-ra*
 sharp knife good-PROL cut-FREQ.3SG
 ‘A sharp knife cuts well.’ [ZNB I 32]

b. *koru poju ní ηa*
 knife sharp NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC}-CN
 ‘This knife is not sharp.’ [ZNB I 32]

400. Only ANP uses *šuibiču* for fairytale, all other speakers pronounce this lexeme as *šudibiču*.

401. When moving from attribute to predicative position, the morphological nature of ‘adjectives’ is revealed, and it becomes clear whether an adjective is indeed an adjective or a participle of a stative verb. A question that needs to be investigated in more detail is whether there exists a bi-categorial class of adjectives. By bi-categorial I mean adjectives which do not have overt participle-like morphology in attributive position but are negated as verbs in predicative usage. At present, my data contains a few unclear examples but a more thorough study is needed.

- (27) a. *dabu bini*
 long rope
 ‘a long rope’ [ZNB I 34]
- b. *bini dabu ni ηa*
 rope long NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC-CN}
 ‘This rope is not long.’ [ZNB I 34]

Finally, copula clauses with *ni-vx ηa?* are found when negating equative clauses and instances of proper inclusion (28), which are subtypes of equative clauses (29):

- (28) *bu noñ ma-mbi mud' abaa-r ne-d? ηa-?*
 3SG 1SG.LAT say-HAB.3SG 1SG sister-PX.2SG NEG.AUX-1SG be_{LOC-CN}
 ‘She usually told me: “I am not your sister”.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

- (29) a. *äki dëri mosra-da dëri ni ηa-?*
 this day work-PTCP.IPF day NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC-CN}
 ‘This day is not a working day.’ [ANP My Father]
- b. *äki nä mud' ä-i? ni ηa-?*
 this woman 1SG mother-PX.1SG NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC-CN}
 ‘This woman is not my mother.’ [VNP V 13]⁴⁰²
- c. *mud' ä-i? čiki enči ni ηa-?*
 1SG mother-PX.1SG this person NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC-CN}
 ‘My mother is not this person (in the picture).’ [VNP V 13]

9.5 Existential clauses

Existential clauses form a subclass of intransitive clauses but are discussed separately for semantic reasons. The predicate is formed by the existential verbs *tonäš* ‘exist’ and *däguš* ‘not exist’ which appear only in 3P context. This clause type is also used for the expression of possession on the clause level. The word order of existential clauses is fixed and the verb appears in final position. It is preceded by the subject and optionally by adverbials expressing locations.

402. In the idiolect of VNP, ‘mother’ *ää* is shortened to *ä* and attracts the regular PX.1SG *-i* after short vowels. His elder brother ANP used the regular forms instead. Also in texts told by ESG, *äi* instead of *ääb* could be found.

9.5.1 Proper existential clauses

- (30) *tunin soida nääčuk tonā bai nääčuk*
 there.LOC good girl.youngster exist.3SG clan.name girl.youngster
 ‘Over there, there is a good girl, a *bai* girl.’ [ESG Two Brothers]

- (31) *tāda đak čiki enčud še-xuru đak*
 now not.exist.3SG this person_{PL}.PX.PL.2SG who-NEG not.exist.3SG
ηolu-uš kaji-đ?
 one-TRSL stay-1SG
 ‘Now they are no more, these people, there is nobody left. I am the last one alive (Lit. ‘I remain alone’).’⁴⁰³ [LDB Brigade]

9.5.2 Existential clauses expressing possession

Existential clauses are also used to express possession on the clause level. For this, the same existential verbs *tonāš* ‘exists’ and its negative counterpart *đaguš* ‘does not exist/is absent’ are used. Unlike regular existential clauses, for the expression of possession the NP must be possessed.⁴⁰⁴

- (32) a. *mudna kerinā tina tonā-ť*
 1PL own.PX.GEN.1PL reindeer.PX.PL.1PL exist-3PL.PST
 ‘We had our own reindeer.’ (Lit. ‘our own reindeer existed’)
 [ANP Autobiographic]
- b. *mud’ šiđi bunki-xuň tonā-xi*
 1SG two dog-PX.DU.1SG exist-3DU
 ‘I have two dogs.’ (Lit. ‘my two dogs exist’) [LDB II 27]
- c. *čiki nääčiku-r aň pađir? neđi-ku-đa*
 this woman.youngster-PX.2SG FOC spotted reindeer.calf-DIM-PX.3SG
tonā-bi
 exist-PERF.3SG
 ‘This girl had a little spotted reindeer calf.’ [NKB Auka]

The negation of clausal possession is expressed by the negative existential *đaguš* ‘does not exist/is absent’:

403. Here, PX.PL.2SG *-iđ* is used referentially and not possessively. See also the discussion in the next chapter.

404. Phrasal expression of possession is addressed in chapter 5.2.1ff.

- (33) *dóđu-ŋa* *dóđu-ŋa* *kabi* *te* *koõ*
 go-FREQ.3SG go-FREQ.3SG dead reindeer_[ACC] find.3SG
kobu-đa *pädiđa* *dóxa-i* *seiđa* *dágu*
 skin-PX.3SG kamus.PX.PL.3SG skin-PTCP.PFT eye.PX.PL.3SG not.exist.3SG
 ‘He went farther and found a dead reindeer. Its skin, its kamus, skinned, it had no eyes (Lit. its eyes did not exist).’ [ANP Stupid People]

Frequently, *dágu* is shortened to *dák* and in many instances *dák* already behaves like a kind of negative particle. The following two examples are borderline cases between a negative verb and a negative particle:

- (34) *bi-m* *dák*
 water-PX.1SG not.exist.3SG
 ‘I have no water.’ (Lit. ‘my water does not exist’) [LDB I 138]

- (35) *kirba-i* *dák*
 bread-PX.1SG not.exist.3SG
 ‘I have no bread.’ (Lit. ‘my bread does not exist’) [LDB I 138]

9.5.3 Existential clauses introducing a new discourse topic

Occasionally, existential clauses can introduce new discourse topics, however this function should be analyzed as an extension of its regular existential semantics:

- (36) *kudaxai* *mud’* *ää-kuj-i* *badä-đa-š /* *bagla*
 long.ago 1SG mother-DIM-PX.1SG say-SG.3SG-PST / Selkup
busi *mañ* *tonä-bi*
 old.man QUOT exist-PERF.3SG
 ‘A long time ago my mother told this / there was an old Selkup man...’
 [LDB Chervo]

- (37) *Baka-xan* *đa-đa* *soida /* *muga* *tonä* *lota*
 Baka-LOC.SG ground-PX.3SG good.3SG forest exist.3SG laida
dóxo-ku *kasari* *tu /* *narnuju* *kasariu-xun*
 river-DIM sandbank lake spring.ADV sandbank-LOC.SG
dotu *ŋau* *díđu* *ŋul’* *oka*
 goose duck swan very many.3SG
 ‘At Baka, the land is good. There is a forest, a *laida*, a little river, a sandbank, a lake. In spring on the sandbank, there are many geese, ducks, swans...’
 [ANP Autobiographic]

- (38) *ää-b* *ma-ńu* *tođiń* *ma-ńu* *kađa-r*
 mother-PX.1SG say-ASS.3SG downstream say-ASS.3SG grandmother-PX.2SG
tonä
 exist.3SG
 ‘My mother said, “downstream”, she said, “you have a grandmother”.’
 [NKB Childhood]

9.6 Intransitive clause

Intransitive clauses are clauses whose predicate does not govern an accusative object. Predicates of intransitive clauses are formed using intransitive verbs, such as verbs of position, e.g. *ad’iš* ‘sit’, *moščiš* ‘lie’, mental or emotional processes, e.g. *leud’* ‘shout’, *d’araš* ‘cry’, *biid’* ‘think’, *pišid’* ‘laugh’, movement, e.g. *kaniš* ‘go’ *d’adaš* ‘go_{UDI}’ *toš* ‘come’ or ‘arrive’⁴⁰⁵, *sumoiš* ‘fall (III)’, physical processes, e.g. *loidit’* ‘burn’, *laxuš* ‘boil_{INTR}’, and states, e.g. *polđit* ‘be black’, *kodiš* ‘sleep’.

Three subclasses can be distinguished among intransitive clauses. The first subclass contains monovalent predicates (9.6.1). The second class contains bivalent predicates which govern either oblique objects or allow the addition of adverbials (9.6.2). The third class actually contains only one verb, namely *taraš* ‘is necessary that, must’, which governs sentential complements in subject position.

9.6.1 Intransitive clauses with a monovalent predicate

Intransitive clauses formed with monovalent verbs have only a subject argument (if not dropped) and a predicate:

- (39) *piri* *d’ara*
 always cry.3SG
 ‘He was always crying.’ [ESG Two Brothers]

- (40) *bi?* *laxu-bi*
 water cook-PERF.3SG
 ‘The water has boiled.’

405. The difference between ‘come’ and ‘arrive’ is expressed by morphosyntactic means. Whereas ‘come’ is conjugated in conjugation I, ‘arrive’ follows conjugation III. ERRE and ES show a difference in vowel length, *toš* ‘come’ vs. *tooš* ‘arrive’, although my own data does not show it for the language of the current generation. Historically, the two verbs derive from different sources (see Janhunen 1977: 146, 164) but have merged into one form.

- (47) *tipiu kau-ŋa*
 hail fall-FREQ.3SG
 ‘It’s hailing.’ (Lit. ‘hail is falling’) [ANP I 187]

Aurora borealis also belongs to this group:

- (48) *kaba loidi-ŋa*
 aurora.borealis burn-FREQ.3SG
 ‘The northern lights are burning.’ [ANP I 187]

9.6.2 Intransitive clauses with a bivalent predicate

In addition to the subject argument, the predicate of such clauses allow a non-object adverbial.

- (49) *mudna Potabu-xun diri-ba?*
 1PL Potapovo-LOC.SG live-1PL
 ‘We lived in Potapovo.’ [ANP Flood]

- (50) *obu-š Potabu-xuđ to-sa-d*
 what-TRSL Potapovo-ABL.SG come-IRG-2SG
 ‘Why did you come from Potapovo?’ [ZNB I 69]

Further, bivalent verbs that govern non-object cases also fall into this group, e.g. *komaš* + LAT ‘want’ or *dorid’* + PROL ‘speak’:

- (51) *mud’ osa-d koma-d?*
 1SG meat-LAT.SG want-1SG
 ‘I want meat.’ [ZNB I 81]

- (52) *mud’ onai bađa-an dori-ŋa-d?*
 1SG real language-PROL speak-FREQ-1SG
 ‘I speak Enets.’

9.6.3 *taraš* construction

A group of its own is formed by constructions with the verb *taraš* ‘be necessary, must’. Concerning its morphosyntactic realization, *taraš* differs from all other intransitive verbs as it can be used only in 3SG and only in conjugation I.⁴⁰⁷ *tara* requires its verb complement to be encoded as a -š converb:

- (53) *äjeiču-d* *bađa* *mata-r* *ma-ńu* *kańi-š*
 older.relative-PX.GEN.2SG word_[ACC] break-SG.2SG say-ASS.3SG go-CON
tara[...]
 must.3SG
 ‘‘You broke your older relative’s word,’’ she said, ‘‘you must go!’’
 [EIB Clairvoyant]

- (54) *täđa* *ań* *päči* *čuńi-š* *tara*
 now FOC oven light-CON must.3SG
 ‘Now, one must light the oven.’ [ANP Oven]

- (55) *mä-ku-ń* *všo ravno* *kańi-š* *tara-ńu*^w
 chum-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1DU anyway go-CON must-ASS.3SG
 ‘One must go home anyway’. [NKB Yenisei]

- (56) *mud’* *labka-d* *kańi-š* *tara*
 1SG shop-LAT.SG go-CON must.3SG
 ‘I must go to the shop.’ [EIB I 179]

Whereas non-core functions, e.g. movement, are not altered, the encoding of grammatical roles is currently unclear. In example (54), the syntactic function of ‘oven’ cannot be further specified as no overt morphology is attested:

- (54) *täđa* *ań* *päči* *čuńi-š* *tara*
 now FOC oven light-CON must.3SG
 ‘Now, one must light the oven.’ [ANP Oven]

In the following example, the possessive suffix on *malitsa* allows both a PX.1SG and a PX.ACC.1SG interpretation as the suffix is homonymous:

- (57) *mud’* *četa* *malč’a-i* *đuđi-š* *tara*
 1SG tomorrow malitsa-PX.1SG finish-CON must.3SG
 ‘Tomorrow I must finish sewing my *malitsa*.’ [EIB I 179]

407. All tests show that *taraš* is defective; it lacks an infinitival converb and forms other than 3SG. Tense marking is fully productive; also, some moods are compatible with *taraš*. Although *taraš* can be inflected for other persons, too, its meaning changes, e.g. *mud’ tarađ?* ‘I am needed’. This use should probably be classified as a different verb.

In an example from the parental generation, the object of *tara* is encoded as nominative:

- (58) *salba-r kodāda poga-đu-r čii-š tara salaba ne-on*
 ice-PX.2SG freeze.FUT.3SG net-BEN-PX.2SG put.up-CON must ice_[GEN] on-PROL
 ‘The ice will freeze, you must put up a net for ice-fishing.’ [ET 71:57]

This means that with *taraš*, argument marking follows a different pattern. If a pronominal argument is expressed, it is encoded in the nominative, but agreement on the verb shows that this is not the subject:

- (56) *mud' labka-d kañi-š tara*
 1SG shop-LAT.SG go-CON must.3SG
 ‘I must go to the shop.’ [EIB I 179]

As was seen above in (58), the undergoer role is expressed by nominative case. As this case cannot occupy the object position in transitive clauses⁴⁰⁸, the formal intransitive character is preserved. As the verb shows no further agreement, it is safe to classify *taraš* as an impersonal verb which appears in 3SG as a kind of default finite form. Syntactically speaking, although *taraš* is impersonal, the clause is intransitive.

Finally, a short note on language contact is in order here: in elicitation with possessed nouns and to a certain degree also with pronouns, the dative of the Russian *надо* construction is becoming intrusive. One of the youngest speakers of Forest Enets produced a lative-marked construction as early as 1969 when recorded by Sorokina at the boarding school:

- (59) *ää-đu mana xuči xuči tāda-xo neniñ bi?*
 mother-PX.3PL say.3SG xuči xuči now-INDEF 1SG.LAT water
ni tara-?
 NEG.AUX.3SG must-CN
 ‘Their mother said: hu hu, now I don’t need water (Lit. water is not necessary to me).’ [ET 33:14]

In 2011, the same speaker still preferred lative-marked arguments:

- (60) *mud' kasa-xu-ñ četa kada-š kañi-š tara*
 1SG friend-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG tomorrow hunt-CON go-CON must.3SG
 ‘Tomorrow, my friend must go hunting.’ [NNB V 16]

With other speakers, the same could be observed, though occasionally also genitive could be documented:

408. The other instance, object marking of imperatives in 2SG plays no role here.

- (a) Physical impact or transformation: *đođuš* ‘hit’, *kađaš* ‘kill’, *kodraš* ‘touch’, *piriš* ‘cook_{TRS}’, *porđaš* ‘burn_{TRS}’, *koltaš* ‘clean’, *ńuidas* ‘kiss’
- (b) Manufacturing: *muiuš* ‘make, create’, *pättruš* ‘hack wood’
- (c) Transportation: *mensiriš* ‘carry’, *tođaš* ‘bring’, *äđtaš* ‘send’
- (d) Verbs of perception, cognition and utterance (PCU): *täniš* ‘know’, *noiduš* ‘hear’, *modäč* ‘see’, *pič* ‘fear’
- (e) Verbs of consumption: *ood’* ‘eat’, *uid’* ‘breast feed’
- (f) Verbs of searching and finding: *ped’* ‘search’, *koš* ‘find’
- (g) Causative verbs *ootaš* ‘feed’

Some examples for transitive verbs:

- (63) *tu-čai kirba o-ma-đ*
fat-COM bread_[ACC] eat-RES-1SG
‘I ate bread with fat.’ [NKB IV 118]
- (64) *oka te? tođa-č*
many reindeer_[ACC.PL] bring-3PL.PST
‘They brought many reindeer.’ [LDB Yamal]
- (65) *aba noit-ubi säsor noit-ubi*
ptarmigan_[ACC] catch-HAB.3SG fox_[ACC] catch-HAB.3SG
‘He caught ptarmigans, he caught foxes.’ [LDB Chervo]

9.7.1 Transitive clauses expressing reciprocal actions

Forest Enets has no specialized reciprocal clauses. Clauses describing an action in which participants are both agents and patients are rendered syntactically as regular transitive clauses where the subject is co-referentially indexed by PX_{ACC} on *kasa* ‘friend’.⁴⁰⁹

409. Russian also uses *друг* ‘friend’ as reciprocal, e.g. *Что мы можем сказать друг другу?* ‘What can we say to each other?’ Whether this reciprocal is indeed a native strategy or a borrowing awaits further research.

- (66) *šidi kasa enči-gi kašidi dut-bi*
 two [man person]_[NOM.DU] companion.PX.ACC.DU.3DU beat-PERF.3SG
 ‘Two men beat each other.’ [LDB I 107]

9.7.2 Transitive clauses expressing reflexive actions

The existence of specialized reflexive clauses is uncertain. As mentioned earlier (5.10.6), Forest Enets has no true reflexive pronoun but employs the lexeme *puđu*+PX_{ACC} ‘body’ in this role. A special reflexive derivational suffix is lacking too. The following example with *puđu*+PX_{ACC} which semantically comes close to a reflexive clause, remains syntactically a regular transitive clause:

- (67) *mud' čiki koru-xun puđu-i mota-ď?*
 1SG this knife-LOC.SG body-PX.ACC.1SG cut-1SG
 ‘I cut myself with this knife.’ [LDB & NKB IV 141]

9.7.3 Transitive clauses expressing causation

Causative clauses, too, do not constitute a special clause type, but form regular transitive clauses. As the morphological principles of causativity derivation were addressed in 7.8.1, the following reappraisal is condensed.

Synchronically, causativization in Forest Enets is no longer productive, but traces of the causative *-ďa/-da/-ta* can be found in the following lexicalized causative verb pairs:

- (68) *ood'* ‘eat’ *ootaš* ‘feed’
äďďaš ‘drive’ *äďtaš* ‘send’
kaš ‘die’ *kaďaš* ‘kill’
modič ‘see’ *modiltaš* ‘show’

In contemporary Forest Enets, causativization does not seem to be very productive. In general, causativization applies to intransitive verbs and derives transitive verbs. Causativization of transitive verbs did not produce any results and it appears that such instances as *ood'* ‘eat’ vs. *ootaš* ‘feed’ are fully lexicalized. As the gathered data is scarce, a further semantic classification of the productive intransitive-to-transitive causative type as either direct or indirect causation is currently not possible. The following two examples are representatives of causativization of either ‘let’ or ‘make’, and the same semantic vagueness applies to the other examples too:

- (69) *tiḏa* *šimi-lta-gu-š*
 reindeer.PX.ACC.PL.3SG run-CAUS-DUR-3SG.PST
 ‘He let his reindeer run.’ [LDB Shaman]
- (70) *ńe-če-b* *ḏar-ta-ḏ?*
 child-DIM-PX.ACC.1SG cry-CAUS-1SG
 ‘I made my child cry.’ [NKB Auka]

9.8 Ditransitive clauses

A small class of verbs which express the transfer of goods and information enter a ditransitive construction.⁴¹⁰ In ditransitive constructions, the subject encodes the agent, the object encodes the theme, and the lative recipients. Prototypical ditransitive verbs in Forest Enets are *mič* ‘give’ and *taš* ‘give’ and *pud* ‘put’.⁴¹¹

- (71) *ań* *mariä* *mi* *pu-ŋa-ḏa* *sära-ḏa*
 FOC bag_[GEN] in.LAT put-FREQ-SG.3SG tie.up-SG.3SG
 ‘[The giant] put him into the bag, he tied it (=the bag) up.’ [ANP Giant]

The existence of two verbs expressing ‘give’ is surprising, but has parallels in other Samoyedic languages.⁴¹² In transfer situations 3P → 3P and 1P → 3P one finds *mič* ‘give’:

- (72) a. *tonin* *enči-giḏ* *ŋob* *soiḏa* *nä* *noń*
 there.LOC person-ABL.PL one good woman 1SG.LAT
biłtu-da *mi?ä-š*
 ticket-PX.ACC.3SG give-3SG.PST
 ‘There, out of the crowd, a good woman gave me her ticket.’ [ZNB Weekend]
- b. *säsur?* *säsur?* *kari?* *terik* *enči-t* *mi-ku-ina-t*
 fox_[ACC.PL] fox_[ACC.PL] fish_[ACC.PL] rich man-LAT.SG give-DUR-PL.1PL-PST
 ‘Foxes, foxes, fish, we gave them to the rich man.’ [ANP Flood]

In transfer situations of the kind 2P → 1P, a different ditransitive verb is found. This shows some variation in both the current and also in the parental generation and one finds both *taš* and *tadaš*.⁴¹³

410. Also here, the benefactive plays a prominent role, but this will be postponed until chapter 11.

411. Other verbs of transfer such as *badiäs* ‘tell’ or *äḏtaš* ‘send’, also allow the addition of a third argument (= recipient). In contrast to ‘give’, ‘tell’ and ‘send’ are grammatically well formed without a recipient.

412. Szeverényi & Wagner-Nagy (2010) discuss a similar phenomenon in Nganasan; the same is attested in Tundra Nenets (at least in the Taimyrian variant).

413. Although this verb is also known to mean ‘bring’, in these instances it was always translated as ‘give’!

- (73) a. *kirba-đu-i* *ta*
bread-BEN-PX.1SG give.IMP.2SG
'Give me bread!' [ZNB III 16]
- b. *uu* *kuđi-r* *ta-đ*
2SG spoon-PX.2SG give-IMP.SG.2SG
'Give me your spoon!' [LDB & NKB II 68]
- (74) a. *uu* *noń* *knīga* *tađa-d*
2SG 1SG.LAT book_[ACC] give-2SG
'You gave me a book.' [DSB V 46]
- b. **uu* *noń* *knīga* *mi?ä-d*
2SG 1SG.LAT book_[ACC] give-2SG
'You gave me a book.' [DSB V 46]

Also in other instances where the agent is an argument in 2P, the same verbs are used. For 2P → 3P, *mič* was also accepted in elicitation, though some subtle though unclear difference remained. Finally, clear grammaticality judgments are also available. Compare the two following examples:

- (75) a. **knīga* *noń* *mi-č* *tara*
book 1SG.LAT give-CON must.3SG
'A book must be given to me.' [DSB V 46]
- b. *knīga* *noń* *tađa-š* *tara*
book 1SG.LAT give-CON must.3SG
'A book must be given to me.' [DSB V 46]
- (76) a. **knīga* *nod* *mi-č* *tara*
book 2SG.LAT give-CON must.3SG
'A book must be given to you.' [DSB V 46]
- b. *knīga* *nod* *tađa-š* *tara*
book 2SG.LAT give-CON must.3SG
'A book must be given to you.' [DSB V 46]

Only in 3P context were both equally acceptable, however there is also a small semantic difference which could not be verbalized:

(77) a. *kńiga noda mi-č tara*
 book 3SG.LAT give-CON must.3SG
 ‘A book must be given to him.’ [DSB V 46]

b. *kńiga noda tađa-š tara*
 book 3SG.LAT give-CON must.3SG
 ‘A book must be given to him.’ [DSB V 46]

9.9 A note on interrogation

Interrogation was not studied in detail, though some basic patterns can nevertheless be identified. Two question types can be identified; on the one hand polar yes/no questions and content questions on the other. There is some overlap between both types of interrogation, mainly involving intonation and the use of the interrogative mood.⁴¹⁴ In general, interrogatives of both types rely on intonation; the typical intonation contour is shown in the following two examples. In polar questions, the intonation is clause final and LH:

(78) *uu čiki mosa mal’e mä-đa-r*
 2SG this work_[ACC] already make-FUT-SG.2SG
 ‘Will you already do this work?’ [ZNB IV 61]

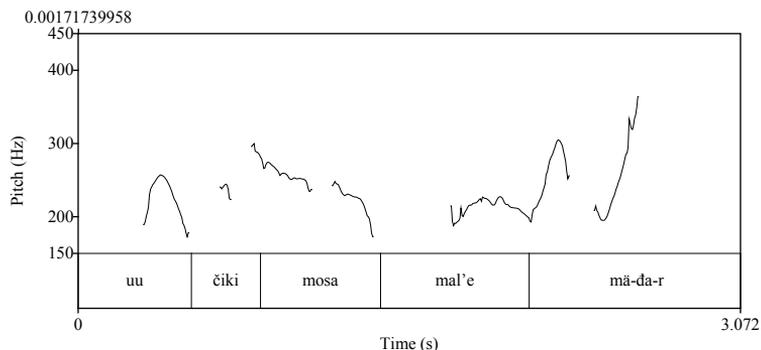


Figure 9-1: Intonation in polar questions

In content questions, the interrogative pronoun usually receives a rising intonation:

(79) *četa ku? kan-ta-d*
 tomorrow where.LAT go-FUT-2SG
 ‘Where will you go tomorrow?’ [ZNB IV 61]

414. The overview on yes/no questions is partly based on Siegl (2012a)

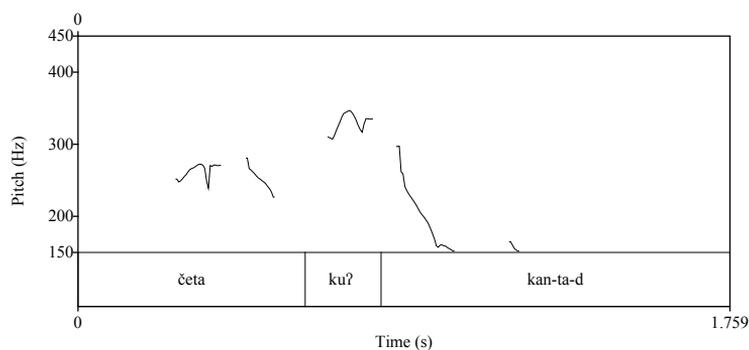


Figure 9-2: Intonation in content questions

9.9.1 Yes/no questions

In future, aorist and relative past tense contexts, yes-no questions rely entirely on intonation; neither word order changes nor other structural alternations are attested. In the following example, only intonation decides whether one deals with a yes-no question or a simple declarative speech act:

- (80) *bu to-bi*
 3SG come-PERF.3SG
 ‘Has he arrived? ~ He has arrived.’

In instances where the interrogative mood is found, a general past tense interpretation arises. To put it differently, when the verb is marked for the interrogative mood, a general past tense interpretation results; tense does not have to be marked on the verb separately. The intonation pattern is preserved, too:

- (81) *obu-š Potabu-xuđ to-sa-d*
 what-TRSL Potapovo-ABL.SG come-IRG-2SG
 ‘Why did you come from Potapovo?’ [ZNB I 69]

In question-answer pairs with general past tense reference, however, the answer must be marked for general past tense:

- (82) *kokođ to-sa-d* → *Karaul-xuđ to-đ-ud*
 from.where come-IRG-2SG Karaul-ABL.SG come-1SG-PST
 ‘Where did you come from?’ ‘I came from Karaul.’ [LDB I 141]

Summing up, in the analysis of yes/no questions, the following picture emerges. In non-past context, yes/no questions are based on intonation alone. With absolute past tense reference, yes/no questions are based on both intonation and verbal morphology. Still, the interrogative mood is not the default concerning interrogative formation in a past tense context, as it is incompatible with the two relative past tenses labeled perfect and distant past. In the latter, the default is again intonation. The following table summarizes the interaction between intonation, tense, and mood:

	NON-PAST	ABSOLUTE PAST TENSE	RELATIVE PAST TENSES
INTONATION	+	+	+
INTERROGATIVE MOOD	–	+	–

Table 9: 1 – Interaction between intonation, tense and interrogative mood

9.9.2 Content questions

Content questions or information questions substituting constituents are formed by interrogative pronouns and intonation:

(79) *četa ku? kan-ta-d*
 tomorrow where.LAT go-FUT-2SG
 ‘Where will you go tomorrow?’ [ZNB IV 61]

(83) *uu še-d*
 2SG who-2SG
 ‘Who are you?’ [ZNB IV 62]

When a question has general past tense reference, the predicate must be further marked with the interrogative mood:

(81) *obu-š Potabu-xuđ to-sa-d*
 what-TRSL Potapovo-ABL.SG come-IRG-2SG
 ‘Why did you come from Potapovo?’ [ZNB I 69]

Similarly to the case of yes/no questions, no changes in word order are found. When core grammatical constituents are enquired, these can attract PX for reference but this is optional. Whereas interrogative pronouns enquiring about constituents in o or adverbial position can appear in sentence-initial position, this is usually due to pro-drop and a covert pronominal constituent must be assumed nevertheless. This suggests that interrogation in Forest Enets is *in-situ*.

9.9.2.1 Constituent questions

It appears that every constituent of a simple clause can be the target of a question. The following examples illustrate this for a variety of constituents.

Subject

- (84) *čenuju* *še* *to-sa*
 yesterday.ADV who-INDEF come-IRG-3SG
 ‘Who has come yesterday?’

- (85) *obu* *to* *bunik* *mosu-ŋa*
 what come.3SG dog bark-FREQ.3SG
 ‘What came? The dog is barking. [ZNB I 93]

Object

- (86) *bu* *še* *bodu-n* *modä?ä*
 3SG who_[ACC] tundra-LOC see-3SG
 ‘Whom did he see in the tundra?’

- (87) *busi* *obu* *pu-go* *kod-da* *ni-?*
 old.man what_[ACC] put-DUR.3SG sled-PX.GEN.3SG on-LAT
 ‘What did the old man put on his sledge?’ [LDB Clairvoyant]

- (88) *du-kn-ida* *obu-ida* *mod-pu-ta* *peri*
 dream-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.3SG what-PX.ACC.PL.3SG see-CON-PX.GEN.3SG always
bađi-ubiđa
 tell-HAB.PL.3SG
 ‘What he sees while dreaming (Lit. what in his dreams while seeing), he usually tells.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

Adjuncts

- (89) *keriñ* *doxora* *ku* *käñi-bu-tu* *čiki*
 self.PX.GEN.1SG not.know.SG.1SG where.LAT go-CON-PX.GEN.3PL this
enču
 person_[NOM.PL]
 ‘I myself do not know where these people were going to.’ [ANP Stupid People]

- (90) *todi kunin ŋa tāda botuu-da sābe-đa*
 fox where be_{LOC}.3SG now tail-PX.ACC.3SG tear.off-SG.3SG
 “Where is the fox? I will tear of his tail!” [ANP Wolf and Hare]

- (91) *kokođ to-d toidu-š pä-đu kokođ*
 where.ABL come-2SG ask-CON begin-SG.3PL where.ABL
to-d
 come-2SG
 “From where do you come”, they started to ask him, “from where do you come?”
 [LDB Shaman]

As mentioned earlier, several speakers use a slightly different interrogative pronoun for movement from a location. Otherwise, the structure of the clause is preserved:

- (92) *amei kuniđ to čiki kuči-je kuniđ to*
 EXCL where.ABL come.3SG this cuckoo-PEJ where.ABL come.3SG
 ‘Oh, from where did it come, this cuckoo, from where did it come?’
 [ESG Two Brothers]

Concerning human addressees, instead of *ku?* ‘where to’, *šed* ‘to whom’ is used. Other interrogatives based on this stem are regular and are not presented here in detail:

- (93) *še-d to*
 who-LAT.SG come.3SG
 ‘To whom did he come?’ [NKB, LDB IV 182]

9.9.2.2 Questions and phrasal dependents

Apart from questions about constituents of simple clauses, dependents can also be the target of questions.

Adnominal possessor

As interrogatives, like proper nouns, lack case marking, formal case marking for GEN is absent. Still, the adnominal possessor exists as an independent category and can be the target of a question:

- (94) *nääčiku-r* *kuniđ* *koa-đa* *obu* *te*
 girl.youngster-PX.2SG where.ABL find-SG.3SG what_[GEN] reindeer
näämi *ä-đa*
 tongue be-FUT.3SG
 ‘How (Lit. from where) does the little girl know (Lit. find it) whose reindeer tongue this will be?’ [NKB Auka]

Similarly to interrogative pronouns, PX can be added to the genitive pronoun. Apart from referentiality, such an interrogative construction already implies the potential referent in the answer:

- (95) *še-d* *äki te*
 who-PX.GEN.2SG this reindeer
 ‘Whose reindeer is this reindeer here?’ (I assume it is yours) [ZNB I 70]

Modifiers can be enquired about using *kursi* ‘which’:

- (96) *kursi karandaš* *mu-da-đ?*
 which pencil_[ACC] take-FUT-1SG
 ‘Which pencil will I take?’ [ZNB IV 60]

9.9.2.3 Benefactives and questions

For questions about benefactives, the interrogative receives PX_{GEN} which indexes the actor of the benefactive action. The pronoun precedes the benefactive marked argument:

- (97) *še-ń* *bui-đ* *piri-go-đ?*
 who-PX.GEN.1SG soup-BEN cook-DUR-1SG
 ‘Soup for whom did I cook?’ [NKB IV 182]

- (98) *še-d* *bui-đ* *piri-go-d*
 who-PX.GEN.2SG soup-BEN cook-DUR-2SG
 ‘Soup for whom did you cook?’ [NKB IV 182]

Also for a benefactive construction in adjunct position, the same strategy is used. The interrogative pronoun must be marked with PX_{GEN} to index the actor of an action:

- (99) *obu-đu-ń* *ńe-xu-ń* *mə-bi-đ?*
 what-BEN-PX.GEN.1SG child-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG say-PERF-1SG
 ‘Why (Lit. as for what-my) did I tell my child.’ [NKB Auka]

9.9.2.4 Questions about adverbials

For questioning purposive adverbials, the translative form of *obu* ‘what’ *obuš* is used:

- (100) *obu-š* *äjeiču-d* *bađa* *ma-ta-r* *ma-ńu*
 what-TRSL older.relative-PX.2SG word[ACC] cut-FUT-SG.2SG say-ASS.3SG
 ‘Why did you break your promise (Lit. your older relative’s word)?’
 [EIB Clairvoyant]

Manner adverbials are questioned with *kuń* ‘how’:

- (101) *toř* *bäsi* *dori* *kuń* *i-bi-đa* *nodä*
 such iron sound how NEG.AUX-PERF-SG.3SG hear.CN
 ‘Such a sound of an iron trap (Lit. sound of iron), how did they not hear it?’
 [LDB Two fishermen]

9.9.2.5 Other uses of *obu* ‘what’

Apart from its use as a regular interrogative, *obu* can be used as a modifier in a variety of different constructions. The following list presents the most central instances attested.

In (102), the interrogative no longer serves as a plain interrogative but as the modifier of a dependent of a postposition. Functionally, it resembles *kursi* ‘which kind of’ however I have not yet been able to test whether *obu* and *kursi* are interchangeable in this context:

- (102) *obu* *to* *ńe-on* *ďaďa-d*
 what lake_[GEN] in-PROL go_{UDI}-2SG
 ‘Along which lake are you going?’ [ZNB IV 62]

Similar instances from spontaneous speech demonstrate that this is no artifact of elicitation:

- (103) *kasa-i* *mań* *obu* *täxä* *soši* *ńe-on* *mań*
 COMPANION-1SG say.ASS.3SG what that hill_[GEN] on-PROL say.ASS.3SG
enči *ďaďa*
 man go_{UDI}-3SG
 ‘My companion said: “there along the hill a man is walking”.’ [LDB Supernatural]

Also in the following example, *obu* most certainly does not serve as an interrogative but is again as the modifier in a NP. Sometimes, this use resembles that of the exclamative use of English ‘what’ in instances such as ‘what man would do such a thing’.

- (104) *busi biitu-ŋa obu enči tu bar-xun d'odu-ŋa*
 old.man think-FREQ.3SG what man lake_[GEN] shore-LOC.SG go-FREQ.3SG
 ‘The old man is thinking: what kind of man would walk along the lake shore!’
 [ANP Man and Bear]

In the following examples, an exclamative interpretation is not as likely as in (104), but a plain interrogative interpretation is equally unlikely. In both instances, *obu* appears as a pre-head modifier in an NP in object position:

- (105) *ää-đa mana obu bui piri-du-bu-ń*
 mother-PX.3SG say.3SG what soup_[ACC] cook-DETR-CON-PX.GEN.1SG
keriń d'oxora
 own.PX.GEN.1SG not.know.SG.1SG
 ‘His mother said: “what soup to cook, I myself don’t know!”’ [ANP Three Brothers]
- (106) *obu mosa četa pońi-da-d*
 what work_[ACC] tomorrow hold-FUT-2SG
 ‘What work you will do tomorrow!’ [ZNB IV 62]

10. Word order, topicality and topic marking

In the following chapter, several topics which are interconnected with word order are grouped together. The chapter begins with a basic description of word order in simple and complex clauses. As Forest Enets shows no overt case morphology, word order is diagnostic for the identification of grammatical roles in non-possessive declension. This discussion will be followed by a short characterization of an alternative word order and its connection to topicality. A short note on alternative means of topic marking concludes this discussion.

10.1 Constituent order

The general order of constituents is verb final and this rule is followed rigidly. All attempts with a verb initial constituent word order were judged as bad; the only accepted example comes from a stylized question-answer pair in the passive. This was judged as possible, though only with heavy stress on the fronted verb:⁴¹⁵

- (1) a. *Vitalik-ud koru mi-l-id?*
 PN-LAT.SG knife give-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘Was Vitalij given a knife?’
- b. *mi-l-id? mi-l-id? Vitalik-ud koru*
 give-PASS-R.3SG give-PASS-R.3SG PN-LAT.SG knife
 ‘[Yes, yes] Vitalij was given a knife.’ [ZNB IV 9]

10.1.1 Constituent order in intransitive verbal clauses

In intransitive verbal clauses, the verb is located in clause-final position. No diverging word patterns are attested:

- (2) *čiki Kasali đara ma-ńu^w ä-i kadi-ŋa*
 this PN cry.3SG say-ASS.3SG mother-PX.1SG be.sick-FREQ.3SG
 ‘This Kasali cries, he says: “my mother is ill”.’ [ESG Two Brothers]

Due to pro-drop, the pronominal subject is not required; adjuncts have to be placed in preverbal position:

415. This example was spontaneously produced by the consultant.

- (3) *nä tonä-š mugadi-xid ođi-ma ŋub toʹ*
 woman exist-3SG.PST clan-ABL.PL come.out-RES.3SG one such
 ‘There was a woman. She came from the *mugadis* (*mugadi* clan), such one.’
 [EIB Clairvoyant]

Also in other subtypes of intransitive clauses, e.g. with the locational copula, the verb is final:

- (4) *bunik muga-xan ŋa*
 dog forest-LOC.SG be_{LOC}.3SG
 ‘The dog is in the forest.’

10.1.2 Constituent order in semi-verbal clauses

For semi-verbal clauses, some variation can be encountered. Verbally encoded nominal predicatives are always in clause-final position:

- (5) *mudʹ Tartu-xud to-i enči-dʹ*
 1SG Tartu-ABL.SG come-PTCP.PFT person-1SG
 ‘I am a person from Tartu.’ (Lit. ‘I from Tartu having-come person-I am’)
 [ZNB I 27]

- (6) *uu še-d*
 2SG who-2SG
 ‘Who are you?’ [ANP II 37]

In apparently the only non-verbal clause type which is used in instances of identification, a noun appears clause-finally:

- (7) *čiki nä mudʹ ää-bʹ*
 this woman 1SG mother-PX.1SG
 ‘This woman is my mother.’ [DSB V 46]

When such clauses are shifted into the past, a free-standing copula is used, which then occupies the clause final position as one would expect:

- (8) *kuna-xo čiki soiđa tuka e-bi*
 when-INDEF this good axe be-PERF.3SG
 ‘Once, this was a good axe.’ [DSB V 47]

10.1.3 Constituent order in transitive verbal clauses

In simple unmarked transitive clauses, the dominant word order is SOV:

- (9) *kasa-i te toða*
 friend-PX.1SG reindeer_[ACC] bring.3SG
 ‘My friend brought a reindeer.’ [VNB IV 94]

Occasionally, SVO is attested too, but this has to be approached with caution. Especially in elicitation, SVO is produced once in a while and often when the Russian translation equivalent was presented as SVO too. Speakers with lesser proficiency in Forest Enets produce SVO more often than more fluent, but they correct themselves when this is brought to their attention. Sometimes, SVO/SVX is attested in cases of disfluency or when an adverbial constituent is delayed:

- (10) *te ponida-š mosara-bu-i-ń orte mud'*
 [reindeer herder]-TRSL work-CON-PST_{CO}-PX.GEN.1SG first 1SG
mosara-đ-uč // pervo brigada-xun
 work-1SG-PST first brigade-LOC.SG
 ‘While I was working as a reindeer herder, first, I worked // in the first brigade.’
 [LDB Brigade]⁴¹⁶

10.1.4 Constituent order in ditransitive clauses

In ditransitive constructions with lative-marked recipients, the recipient precedes the theme, resulting in SXOV word order:

- (11) *ää-đu? ńi-xita morga mi?ä-ða*
 mother-PX.3PL child-LAT.PL_{POSS}-PX.GEN.PL.3SG cloudberry_[ACC] give-SG.3SG
 ‘Their mother is giving cloudberry to her children.’ [ZNB IV 3]

When the direct object is focused via stress, word order switches to SOXV:

- (12) *ää-đu? morga ńi-xita mi?ä-ða*
 mother-PX.3PL cloudberry_[ACC] child-LAT.PL_{POSS}-PX.GEN.PL.3SG give-SG.3SG
 ‘Their mother is giving cloudberry to her children.’ [ZNB IV 3]

416. The whole clause was uttered under one intonation curve; the break before the delayed constituent lasted about 1s.

10.1.5 Constituent order and complement clauses

Complement clauses will be dealt with in more detail in chapter 13.5 and only some superficial comments are in order here. Complements in s/A position are rare; most commonly these are instances of permissive constructions:

- (13) *bud'í? äü-? adu-bu-d'í? boo*
 3DU here-LAT sit-CON-PX.GEN.3PL bad.3SG
 ‘May they not sit down here?’ (Lit. ‘Their two here sitting down is bad?’)
 [ZNB 10.02.2006]

Constituent order in sentences with a finite clausal complement in o position differs from that of simple transitive clauses in that the clausal complement follows the verb, resulting in SVO_{COMPL}:

- (14) *mod' modä-b-uš paður padda-š*
 1SG see-SG.1SG-PST letter_[ACC] write-3SG.PST
 ‘I saw that he wrote a letter.’ [VNB IV 146]
- (15) *Vitalik tän-ta-đa konin ŋa mud' tuka-i*
 PN know-FUT-SG.3SG where.LOC be_{LOC}.3SG 1SG axe-PX.1SG
 ‘Vitalij will know where my axe is.’ [LDB II 52]

The word order in complement clauses is sov. Occasionally, other orders such as XVS are attested, as in example (15), but these reflect artifacts of elicitation.

Infinitive phrasal complements, in contrast, appear pre-verbally:

- (16) *ää-b' nā kasa-i sosoru-č toxola-go-đa*
 mother-PX.1SG [woman man]-PX.ACC.1SG sew-CON teach-DUR-SG.3SG
 ‘My mother taught my daughter to sew.’ [LDB I 110]

10.1.6 Constituent order and adverbial clauses

Forest Enets has a variety of adverbial clauses expressing different types of subordination. These will be discussed in detail in chapter 13.2ff. In general, the preferred position of such adverbial clauses is in the left periphery, preceding the main clause which they modify. Only a small sample of different clauses will be presented here:

- (17) *dětsu bar-xun adi-ďa-xa-ń odu-?*
 Yenisei_[GEN] shore-LOC.SG sit-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG boat-_[NOM.PL]
to-č
 come-3PL.PST
 ‘While I was sitting on the bank of the Yenisei, boats came.’ [NKB I 130]
- (18) *adi-š nābi-da te mudā?-äd*
 sit-CON run-PTCP.IPF reindeer_[ACC] see-1SG
 ‘Sitting (being in a sitting position), I saw a running reindeer.’ [ANP Bear]
- (19) *sensi po ďagu-xad-da mensi*
 several year not.exist_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG old.woman
ďagu-ma-š
 not.exist-RES-3SG.PST
 ‘Some years after his death, the old woman had died.’ [LDB Taboo]
- (20) *kadaďa-bu-d iď dori-r?*
 hunt-CON.PX.GEN.2SG NEG.AUX.IMP.2SG speak-CN
 ‘When you are hunting, do not speak!’ [ZNB I 78]

Occasionally, they can either be embedded in the main clause (21), (22), or appear in the right periphery (23), but such instances are rare and by no means default:

- (21) *nā kod soču ńi-n adi-š ńe-da*
 woman sled_[N/G] nose_[GEN] on-LOC sit-CON child-PX.ACC.3SG
mosta-go
 lull.to.sleep-DUR.3SG
 ‘Sitting on the front part of the sled, the woman lulls her child to sleep.’
 [LDB & NKB & VNB II 55]
- (22) *busi toř soo-da-xa-da peri kinuo*
 old.man such jump-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG always sing.3SG
 ‘The old man, while jumping in such a manner, was singing.’ [LDB Shaman]
- (23) *keriń đoxora ku kăńi-bu-tu*
 self.PX.GEN.1SG not.know.SG.1SG where.LAT go-CON-PX.GEN.3PL
čiki enču
 this person_[NOM.PL]
 ‘I myself do not know where these people were going to.’ [ANP Stupid People]

Purposive-final clauses are the only clauses which are typically embedded:

- (24) *mud' päu-uč kani-ta-đ? pontek piri-?*
 1SG collect.wood-PURP go-FUT-1SG then cook-IMP.2SG
 'I will go collect wood. Then cook (him)!' [ANP Giant and Man]

10.2 Position of adverbs and the focus particle

In the following section, the position of adverbs and of the focus particle *an?* will be discussed.

10.2.1 Position of adverbs

The position of adverbial modifiers depends on their scope; adverbs which modify verbs usually precede verbs:

- (25) *mud' kadi-ŋa-đ // aga-an kadi-ŋa-đ*
 1SG be.sick-FREQ-1SG big-PROL be.sick-FREQ-1SG
 'I am sick, I am very sick.' [ESG Two Brothers]

Adverbs that have a sentential scope, such as temporal or modal adverbs, preferably occupy the left periphery:

- (26) *obu dōđigon naarnuju // Kasali kuđi*
 what period.LOC.SG spring.ADV PN sleep.3SG
 'Once in spring, Kasali slept.' [ESG Two Brothers]
- (27) *tonuju tina oka-n kadi-ŋa-č*
 summer.ADV reindeer.PX.PL.1PL many-PROL be.sick-FREQ-3PL.PST
 'In the summer our reindeer were very sick.' [LDB Plundered Sled]
- (28) *lokri torsi māđi to-đa*
 suddenly such winter come-FUT.3SG
 'Suddenly, such a wind will come.' [EIB Clairvoyant]

Occasionally, adverbs with a sentential scope can be found in the right periphery, however this is comparatively rare:

- (29) *mud'-xo-ní* 1SG-INDEF-PX-GEN.1SG *poxi* 1SG *jukola*_[ACC] *mui-ubi-d̄* make-HAB-1SG *naarnuju* // *spring*.ADV
tuxuda fly_[NOM.PL] *d̄agu-d̄a* // not.exist-FUT.3SG *tonuju* summer.ADV *tuuda?* fly_[NOM.PL] *oka* much.PL
e-ubi be-HAB.3PL *ań* FOC *ne-d̄* NEG.AUX-1SG *mui-ubi-?* make-HAB-CN
 'I usually make *jukola* in spring; there won't be any flies. But in summer, there are usually many flies and I usually don't make it (then).' [NKB *Jukola*]

Finally, several examples show temporal adverbs that are delayed. Although a detailed investigation has not been conducted as of yet, it seems that such adverbs occupy a potential focus position:

- (30) *kasi-raxa* dry-SIM *tu-xun* lake-LOC.SG *enči* person *sirnuju* winter.ADV *puga* net_[ACC] *ńi* NEG.AUX.3SG
či-gu-? put.up-DUR-CN
 'In this dry lake, a person does not put up a net in winter.'
 [ANP Lakes around Potapovo]

The focus interpretation is supported by the fact that a few turns later, ANP mentions in his narrative that this lake is attractive for fishing only during summer.

In the following interrogative clause, too, the temporal adverb *čenuju* 'yesterday' is delayed and seems to have a focus implication:

- (31) *uu* 2SG *tāńi-r* know-SG.2SG *kunin* where.LOC *bu* 3SG *čenuju* yesterday *e-bi* be-PERF.3SG
 'Do you know where he was yesterday?' [ZNB IV 61]

In the final two examples, we find temporal adverbs in initial position which are therefore focus-neutral, especially when contrasted with (31):

- (32) *četa* tomorrow *ku?* where.LAT *kan-ta-d* go-FUT-2SG
 'Where do you go tomorrow?' [ZNB IV 61]

- (33) *čenuju* yesterday.ADV *mud'* 1SG *mäd̄da-š* be.guest-CON *d̄ađu-ŋa-d̄-ud'* go-FREQ-1SG-PST
 'Yesterday I visited a friend.' [ZNB IV 61]

10.2.2 Position of the focus marker *ań?*

To the best of my knowledge, the first description of the function of *ań?* was presented by Sorokina (1994), where she classified *ań?* as a multifunctional particle whose major function was said to express co-ordination. In Sigl (2008), I showed that this element has no prototypical co-ordination features and that it is most likely used as a focus marker. However, it can also express such meanings as ‘but, so, again’, which can be assumed to mark contrastive focus. The element *ań?*, which in casual speech is usually realized as *ań*, predominantly occupies the position after the first constituent:

- (34) *bu ań či dǔ-d taslad-đa*
 3SG FOC PART dream-PX.ACC.2SG explain-SG.3SG
 ‘So he will explain your dream.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]
- (35) *mod tiń đagu-č uu ań tonä-č*
 1SG reindeer.PX.PL.1SG not.exist-3PL.PST 2SG FOC exist-3PL.PST
 ‘I did not have reindeer, but you had.’ [ZNB I 25]

Conditioned by pro-drop, *ań?* can be found in clause-initial position, too:

- (36) *bemo-u bemo-u ań đebi-š to-d*
 master-PX.1SG master-PX.1SG FOC be.hot-CON come-2SG
 ‘My lord, again you come drunk.’ [NKB II 64]

Occasionally, *ań?* is also attested in clause-final position, but such instances are not frequent:

- (37) *sira đabud bunče tuni-n đáđu-r ań*
 winter_[GEN] along NEG.AUX.1PL there.LOC go-FREQ.CN FOC
 ‘During the winter, we apparently have not been there.’ [LDB Supernatural]

Whereas Sorokina (1994) claims that *ań?* can be found in clause-initial position, I have not found any convincing evidence for this in the language of the current generation.⁴¹⁷ In those instances where *ań?* is found in clause-initial position, a dropped pronoun has to be assumed; otherwise *ań?* appears, as expected, after the first syntactic constituent.

Finally, although Sorokina was certainly correct in classifying *ań?* as a particle, she did not present any formal proof. The following example is a clear instance supporting the particle interpretation, as *ań?* can appear within a constituent (here a postpositional phrase) without affecting government rules:

417. In the speech of a prominent consultant of Sorokina, such instances can be found. However, this seems more like an idiolectal feature.

- (38) *pu* *dēđ* *kani-ä* *Vitalik* *ań* *no*
 mountain_[GEN] toward go-1DU PN_[GEN] FOC with
 ‘With Vitalij I went towards the mountain.’ (Lit. ‘with Vitalij we went...’)
 [LDB Bear]

10.3 Constituent order and its implication for alignment

As already mentioned several times, Forest Enets has no overt case marking (NOM, GEN, ACC) on lexical NPs.⁴¹⁸ This also seems to affect word order, which is predominantly SOV and rather strict. In the following examples which were uttered with neutral intonation and which are lacking PX, the first noun must therefore be considered the subject and the second the object:

- (39) *tori* *busi* *bogla* *kađa-bi*
 such old.man bear_[ACC] kill-PERF.3SG
 ‘In such a manner, the old man killed the bear.’ [ANP Bear and Man]
- (40) *ŋulu* *bi-čiča* *enči* *kädir* *te* *no?o*
 one mind-CAR.PTCP.IPF person [wild reindeer]_[ACC] catch.3SG
 ‘One stupid person caught a wild reindeer.’ [ANP Stupid People]

With the absence of CX/PX morphology and relative rigid word order, the fact that all roles S=A=P are unmarked seems to be compensated for. Consequently alignment is neutral with respect to lexical nouns.

However, even when nouns are used in the possessive declension which results in a clear-cut NOM-ACC alignment (S=A≠P), word order nevertheless remains SOV:

- (41) *kasi tu* *ŋulu* *tu-đa* *kasi-raxa*
 [dry lake] one lake-PX.3SG dry-SIM.3SG
 ‘The Dry Lake – one of its lakes is rather dry.’ [ANP Lakes around Potapovo]
- (40) *ŋulu* *bi-čiča* *enči* *kädir* *te* *no?o*
 one mind-CAR.PTCP person [wild reindeer]_[ACC] catch.3SG
 ‘One stupid person caught a wild reindeer.’ [ANP Stupid People]
- (42) *i-bi-đa* *te-da* *kađa-?*
 NEG.AUX-PERF-SG.3SG reindeer-PX.ACC.3SG kill-CN
 ‘He did not kill his reindeer.’ [ANP Stupid People]

418. Although a small class of nouns belonging to class IIb does show some morphological alternations in which NOM forms differ from GEN/ACC forms, this class is very small and is of little help in providing a comprehensive account of case alignment.

With pronouns, no diverging word order patterns are found and SOV prevails. In contrast to the instances provided above, personal pronouns always follow NOM-ACC alignment:

- (43) *mud' ηulu-š onai enči-đ-ud'*
 1SG one-TRSL real person-1SG-PST
 'I was the only Enets (in the brigade).' [LDB Brigade]

- (44) *mud' šit pārđi-da-đ?*
 1SG 2SG.ACC help-FUT-1SG
 'I will help you.' [EIB I 134]

- (45) *Xoriła ši ań koita-bi*
 PN 1SG.ACC FOC trick-PERF.3SG
 'Xoriła tricked me again.' [ANP Man and Giant]

10.4 Alternative word orders

As already mentioned in the description of conjugation II in chapter 7, left-detached topics trigger conjugation II on the verb. This pattern is stable in both elicitations and transcribed speech. From the perspective of syntax, this word order is slightly problematic, as the left-detached topic is usually morphologically unmarked and in principle, two alternative word order interpretations, either $O_{TOP}SV$ or $S_{TOP}SV$, are equally plausible.

- (46) *te bu tođa-bi-đa*
 reindeer 3SG bring-PERF-SG.3SG
 'A reindeer, he brought it.' [VNB IV 94]

- (47) *busi mod' bodu-n modä-b-uš*
 old.man 1SG tundra-LOC see-SG.1SG-PST
 'The old man, I saw him in the tundra.' [VNB IV 95]

- (48) *toř bāsi đori kuń i-bi-đa nodä-?*
 such iron sound how NEG.AUX-PERF-SG.3SG hear-CN
 'Such noise of an iron trap (Lit. sound of iron), how did he not hear it?'
 [LDB Two fishermen]

Nevertheless, the clear correlation between this alternative word order and verbal morphology shows that this instance of topic-detachment is important for both syntax and information structure. In comparison to the following short notes on topic prominence and topic marking, which operate on a level beyond the clause, this kind of topic-detachment still operates on the clausal level.

10.5 A note on topic prominence and topic marking

The last two topics, non-possessive use of PX and topic prominence via conjugation II, operate on a level beyond sentences. As far as I know, this terrain is terra incognita in Samoyedology and calls for a detailed study in the future. As it is not possible to present a comprehensive account here, this excursus on the basics of information structure must be understood as a pilot study.⁴¹⁹

10.5.1 Referential (non-possessive) use of possessive suffixes

As sketched in chapter 5, the prototypical function of PX is to encode both possessee and possessor. Apart from this prototypical use, possessive suffixes are used in two other contexts. In both of these instances the use of PX is no longer possessive but referential. In nominalizations, on which a variety of adverbial clauses are based (see chapter 13), PX index the actor/undergoer and are used for cross-reference. Whereas in such instances a somehow possessive context may occasionally be constructed (e.g. ‘after his coming’), this is not applicable in the following examples. At least since the 1970s (e.g. Puszta 1978: 5, Sorokina 1986: 71) it is known that possessive suffixes, especially PX.2SG and PX.3SG, can have an ‘article-like’ function and be used to maintain topic prominence. This ‘article-like’ use of PX has been known for a long time, but a more detailed description is still lacking. The use of PX.2SG and PX.3SG will be discussed in some detail now.⁴²⁰

10.5.1.1 The referential usage of PX.2SG

The function of PX.2SG as a means of maintaining topic prominence is straightforward and is exemplified by the opener of a personal story [NKB Auka].⁴²¹

- (49) (a) *tak tonida kunida nääčiku điri-bi*
 so sometime somewhere woman.youngster live-PERF.3SG
 ‘So sometime, somewhere lived a little girl.’

- (b) *ää-xuđa äsi-xuđa tonä-bi*
 [mother-PX.DU.3SG father-PX.DU.3SG] exist-PERF.3SG
 ‘She had parents.’

419. This interpretation was inspired by Nikolaeva’s observations on Khanty (Nikolaeva 2001).

420. Occasionally, PX.1SG can be found without clear possessive value. In such instances, PX.1SG seem to express a kind of vocative.

421. Every turn (characterized by one intonation unit) is presented as a single unit.

- (c) *ää-xuḏa* *äsi-xuḏa* *čiki* *ir* *te-kučiči*
 mother-PX.DU.3SG father-PX.DU.3SG this own reindeer-DIM.PX.PL.3DU
tonä-bi-xi?
 exist-PERF-3DU
 ‘Her parents had their own little reindeer.’
- (d) *sän-xo* *todä-sau*⁴²²
 many-INDEF exist-PROB_{PST}.3SG
 ‘Some reindeer they probably had.’
- (e) *čiki* *nääčiku-r* *ań* *paḏir?* *neḏi-ku-ḏa*
 this woman.youngster-PX.2SG FOC spotted reindeer.calf-DIM-PX.3SG
tonä-bi
 exist-PERF.3SG
 ‘This girl had her own spotted little reindeer.’
- (f) *auka* *e-bi*
 pet.reindeer be-PERF.3SG
 ‘It was a pet reindeer.’
- (g) *nääčiku-r* *Potabu-xun* *škola-xun* *paḏdu-bi*
 woman.youngster-PX.2SG Potapovo-LOC.SG school-LOC.SG write-PERF.3SG
 ‘This girl studied in Potapovo.’.
- (h) *internat-xun* *ḏiri-bi*
 boarding.school-LOC.SG live-PERF.3SG
 ‘She lived in the boarding school.’

The opener of this story introduces a young girl, the major protagonist of the following narrative. In the following three speech turns (b-d), the protagonist is not mentioned at all as the plot of the story continues to present more background information about the young girl. In turn (e), the plot returns to the girl for a turn and young girl is marked with *PX.2SG*, however no possible possessor can be identified. Turn (f) introduces another protagonist of this story, a pet reindeer. In (g) the plot returns to the young girl which is once again marked with *PX.2SG*. With no 2SG possessor retrievable, *PX.2SG* cannot be interpreted as possessive and a referential reading evolves as the topic (possibly an old topic) is reactivated in discourse. Similar instances are numerous in transcribed narratives and this phenomenon is quite common.

422. This form is not attested elsewhere and *tonäsau* should have been expected here.

When it comes to the use of PX as a means of reference tracking, several constraints must be mentioned. First, the reappearing topic must be a lexical noun and it must reappear in either S or A position so that it can be marked with PX.2SG. Clear examples for similar use of PX.2SG in P position have not been encountered thus far. Concerning the structure of the marked noun phrase, it can be simple, as in example (g), or preceded by a demonstrative as in (e):

- (e) *čiki* *nääčiku-r* *ań* *pađir?* *neđi-ku-đa*
 this woman.youngster-PX.2SG FOC spotted reindeer.calf-DIM-PX.3SG
tonä-bi
 exist-PERF.3SG
 ‘This girl had her own spotted little reindeer.’

- (g) *nääčiku-r* *Potabu-xun* *škola-xun* *pađdu-bi*
 woman.youngster-PX.2SG Potapovo-LOC.SG school-LOC.SG write-PERF.3SG
 ‘This girl studied in Potapovo.’

Second, the referential use of PX.2SG is not restricted to verbal clauses. A similar non-possessive use can be found in certain versions of equative clauses. The starting point is clause (50) where two nouns are equated and no PX can be encountered on the first noun which is equated with an entity in predicative position:

- (50) *čiki* *nä* *mud'* *ää-b'*
 this woman 1SG mother-PX.1SG
 ‘This woman is my mother.’ [DSB V 46]

In contrast, in both examples (51) and (52), the demonstrative *čiki* is marked for PX.2SG though no possessive relationship can be constructed as no referent in this noun phrase is attested. Instead, here the possessive suffix on *čiki* is referring to an ellipsed noun which is equated in the predicative part.

- (51) *čiki-r* *uu* *äsi-r*
 this-PX.2SG 2SG father-PX.2SG
 ‘This is your father.’ [NKB Childhood]
- (52) *čiki-r* *meju* *mä?*
 this-PX.2SG new house
 ‘This is a new house.’ [ZNB 08.02.06]

As the equated noun is topical, this seems to license the referential use of the possessive suffix here. This equative construction is only possible with PX.2SG; other PX seem to be banned.

10.5.1.2 The referential usage of PX.3SG

PX.3SG can be used referentially, too, but this function is less commonly attested than with PX.2SG. As in many instances a possible 3P possessor can be constructed, the referential use can be overlooked easily.⁴²³ In the following example, a possessive relationship between ‘laida’ and ‘ground’ is, in principle possible, but a referential interpretation seems more plausible:

- (53) *modiń* *lota* *ne-on* *dodi-ŋa-i* *morga-đ-iń*
 1DU *laida*_[GEN] on-PROL *go*_{MUDI}-FREQ-1DU *cloudberry*-BEN-PX.ACC.PL.1DU
pe-ŋa-i? *morga* *koo-b* *đa-đa* *ŋul*
 search-FREQ-1DU *cloudberry*_[ACC] find-SG.1SG *ground*-PX.3SG very
naldi-ŋa
 be.red-FREQ.3SG
 ‘We two walked along the laida. We two were looking for cloudberryes. I found cloudberryes. The ground was very red.’ [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]

For the other three examples, no convincing possessive relationship with an antecedent can be found and therefore PX.3SG should be analyzed as referential PX marking:

- (54) *čiki* *lota* *bar-xun* *tu-đa* *tonä*
 this *laida*_[GEN] edge-LOC.SG lake-PX.3SG exist.3SG
 ‘On the edge of this laida, there is this lake.’ [LDB Chervo]

- (55) *tu-đa* *čiki* *ibleigo-n* *čuo*
 fire-PX.3SG this little-PROL burn.3SG
 ‘The fire, it burned a little bit.’ [LDB Shaman]

- (56) *naak* *đeri-xun* *soida* *đeri-iš* *kani* *kođu-đa*
 other day-LOC.SG good day-TRSL go.3SG snow.storm-PX.3SG
ŋaari
 stop.3SG
 ‘The other day, the weather cleared up and the snowstorm stopped.’ [LDB Shaman]

Similar to topic prominence marked with PX.2SG, PX.3SG is found on reappearing arguments in S or A position though never on P. The major difference between 2P and 3P seems to lie in the fact that PX.2SG is found on a frequently re-appearing topic. 3P is apparently reserved for definite but less-frequent topics.

423. One instance of referential use was already described in chapter 6.5.5, which dealt with dummy-PX marking.

10.5.1.3 Topic prominence via conjugation II

The importance of conjugation II for topic continuity has already been brought up in chapter 7.1.2. In the following, a slightly more elaborate description will be given.⁴²⁴ As mentioned earlier, the necessary prerequisite for conjugation II is transitivity. But contrary to earlier research which assumed that conjugation II has something to do with object agreement, a more detailed analysis shows that such object agreement agreement is never triggered morphosyntactically by conjugation II; transitive verbs can be conjugated in conjugation I, too. This syntactic mismatch shows that the decisive criteria for assigning verbs to conjugation II must be sought elsewhere.

Research on Khanty which has a similar conjugation system has shown that the use of conjugation II should be seen as topic agreement with secondary topics (Nikolaeva 2001). This observation seems to be valid for Forest Enets too; the following stretch comes from personal narrative [LDB Taboo] which shows similar behavior:

- (57) (a) *tina* *bemu-uš* [...] *oša-š*
 reindeer.PX.GEN.PL.1PL chief-TRSL Evenki-3SG.PST
 ‘As the head of our reindeer brigade, it was an Evenki.’
- (b) *Igarka* *nä-đ* *to-i* *oša-š*
 Igarka_[GEN] side-ABL come-PTCP.PFT Evenki-3SG.PST
 ‘He was an Evenki who came from the area of Igarka.’
- (c) *nä-đa* *mensi-š*
 woman-PX.3SG old.woman-3SG.PST
 ‘His wife, she was an old woman.’
- (d) *sensi* *po* *đagu-xad-da* *mensi* *đagu-ma-š*
 some year not.exist_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG old.woman not.exist-RES-3SG.PST
 ‘Some years after his death, also the old woman died.’
- (e) *äba-đa* *boa-š* *ań* *Krasnojarska* *ne-n*
 head-PX.3SG bad-3SG.PST FOC Krasnojarsk_[GEN.RU] side-LOC
đagu-bi-š
 not.exist-PERF-3SG.PST
 ‘She was insane (Lit. her head was bad); she died in the area of Krasnojarsk.’

424. Conjugation II has mainly attracted research on this category for Tundra Nenets, see the discussion in Körtvély (2005).

- (f) *kasa* *ńe-ďa* *oburu-?* [...] *kuri-biďa-š*
 [man child]-PX.3SG thing-[ACC.PL] tie.up-PERF.PL.3SG-PST
 ‘Her son tied up all the things.’⁴²⁵
- (g) *tăxa* *to* *baru-d* *kai-biďa-š*
 that lake_[GEN] shore-LAT.SG left-PERF.PL.3SG-PST
 ‘He left them there at that shore of the lake.’
- (h) *čiki* *mensi-r* *kod* *ďipra-bi-ďa*
 this old.woman-PX.2SG sled_[ACC] unpack-PERF-SG.3SG
 ‘This old woman unpacked the sled.’
- (i) *kas-ta* *pag-ku* *poni-d’* *pă-bi-ďa*
 man-PX.GEN.3SG parka-DIM_[ACC] wear-CON start-PERF-SG.3SG
 ‘She started to wear the parka of her dead husband!’

In this example, turns (a)-(f) are used to create the necessary background for the remaining turns (f)-(i), which introduces Leonid’s earlier Evenki boss, his wife, and their son. What is of importance for this discussion starts in turn (f), where the verb ‘tie up’ refers to ‘things’. From a semantic perspective, the secondary topic is already clear. As Leonid has mentioned the death of his former boss, and the son is preparing a sled with the personal remains of his father to be left in the tundra, the activated cultural frame makes it immediately clear that the story enters the realm of taboos related to the sphere of death. Thus, it becomes the secondary topic of this stretch. The status of primary topic is held by the actors (old woman and son), who coincide with the grammatical subjects. In turn (g), then, the verb ‘leave’ refers to the ‘things’ from turn (f), but no overt object is realized in speech turn (g). The secondary topic, ‘sled’, however, is reactivated and overtly expressed in (h), which triggers reference to the verb ‘unpack’. In (i), a new secondary topic, ‘parka’, is introduced. As we are still in the domain of taboos, ‘parka’ is immediately active (and definite, as it was possessed by ‘her husband’), and once again the transitive verb is encoded in conjugation II.

Although there seems to be a good correlation between secondary topic reference and conjugation II, it must be stressed that only anaphoric reference qualifies as agreement with secondary topics. For cataphoric reference to finite *o* complements of PCU verbs, the matrix verb needs to be encoded in conjugation II. This feature will be addressed in more detail in chapter 13.5. In instances of anaphoric reference as presented above, conjugation II is best analyzed as a means of marking secondary topic prominence. An interpretation as a special kind of object agreement is syntactically speaking implausible.

425. The belongings of the dead were usually put together on a sled and left somewhere in the tundra. This is a taboo related to the sphere of death that is widely spread in Siberia, including among Forest Enetses.

10.5.1.4 Preliminary results – primary vs. secondary topics and syntax

Both the non-possessive use of PX and conjugation II are concerned with discourse above sentence level. Although this whole complex requires further investigation, a certain correlation is evident. First, as the discussion of non-possessive PX has shown, this kind of reference tracking is restricted to syntactic subjects. A more detailed search through the annotated recordings showed that there were no good candidates for non-possessive PX.2SG in object position. For PX.3SG the attested picture seems to follow the same pattern. This suggests that there could be a correlation between syntactic subjects and primary topics. On the other hand, ‘topic agreement’ with secondary topics is only possible with transitive verbs and via conjugation II. As only transitive verbs can be assigned to conjugation II, there seems to exist a mapping of syntactic objects on secondary topics. Both the primary topic and the secondary topic can be realized simultaneously in cases where the necessary pragmatic background is present. Such an instance can be found in the following example:

- (57) (h) *čiki mensi-r kod dīpra-bi-đa*
 this old.woman-PX.2SG sled_[ACC] unpack-PERF-SG.3SG
 ‘This old woman unpacked the sled.’

11. The benefactive declension

The benefactive (BEN), traditionally called the desiderative or predestinative declension (Ru: *лично-предназначительные формы, лично-предназначительное склонение*) is one of the morphosyntactic categories which separates Northern Samoyedic from Southern Samoyedic. While this category is usually called predestinative (PRD), it is referred to here as benefactive. The benefactive/predestinative has been reported for all Northern Samoyedic languages and all languages share the same etymological marker for which a common origin is quite plausible. In Southern Samoyedic, this category is absent.⁴²⁶ A predestinative was already mentioned by Castrén (1854: 220–221), but the first solid description was provided by Prokof'ev (1937a, b, c). Some more data on Tundra Nenets was presented by Hajdú (1968: 46–47), which was followed by a comparative Northern Samoyedic account with some historical notes by Tereščenko (1977). Still, both the morphology and the morphosyntactic status of benefactives have never been clarified in any description of Northern Samoyedic languages; in all traditional grammatical sketches and grammars it has been presented as distinct from regular case morphology. This choice has never been justified and has remained unclear ever since. The present chapter will focus on both the morphology and the syntax of this category which will henceforth be called benefactive.⁴²⁷ When discussing earlier approaches, I will stick to the traditional label PRD though I assume a benefactive meaning also in these instances.

The following two examples show the prototypical use of BEN in Forest Enets and serve as the starting point:

- (1) *te-đu-i?* *to*
 reindeer-BEN-PX.1SG come.3SG
 'A reindeer came for me.'

A more adequate translation would be "A reindeer came for me and I benefit from its coming – it is now at my disposal."

The next example shows that BEN can be combined with merged CX/PX suffixes in P position:

- (2) *mod'* *kodu-đu-da* *kamiđa-go-ď?*
 1SG sled-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG make-DUR-1SG
 'I am making a sled for him.' [ZNB I 44]

426. A desiderative case has been reported for several Selkup varieties (Bekker 1978: 160–169), but it is a recent grammaticalization.

427. In recent years, this category has attracted some research attention, which will be reviewed in this chapter.

11.1 The benefactive in earlier descriptions

The only elaborate description so far was provided by Prokof'ev in his sketch of Tundra Nenets (1937a: 32). To this description he referred in his descriptions of Nganasan (1937b: 66) and (Forest) Enets (1937c: 84):

“In contrast to the possessive case forms which contain a possessive reference to a designated object (or property or effect) of something or somebody, case forms of the predestinative contain a reference to the object (or property or effect) intended for something or somebody. For Nenets, the predestinative declension consists of three cases 1) nominative 2) accusative and 3) predestinative. The questions to which these cases refer are as follows:

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| 1. Nominative | 1) Who? What? | 2) For whom is it intended? |
| 2. Accusative | 1) Whom? What? | 2) For whom is it intended? |
| 3. Predestinative | 1) As an object for who? In the quality as who / what | 2) predestinated for whom? ⁴²⁸ |

Whereas Prokof'ev presented examples for all three ‘cases’ for both Tundra Nenets and Nganasan, his description of Enets presents only two forms, namely the predestinative nominative (PRD-NOM) and the predestinative accusative (PRD-ACC) – the original orthography is preserved. The predestinative morpheme is underlined:

Predestinative nominative⁴²⁹

- | | | | |
|--------|----|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (3) a. | TN | <i>ɲanod<u>ar</u> to</i> | ‘A boat came for you / to you.’ |
| b. | NG | <i>jas<u>edema</u> tuuf<u>a</u></i> | ‘Father came to me / for me.’ |
| c. | FE | <i>es<u>edojfj</u> toa</i> | ‘Father came to me / for me.’ |

428. В отличие от склонения лично-притяжательное падежные формы которого заключают в себе указание на принадлежность обозначаемого именем предмета (или свойства, или действия) тому или иному лицу, падежные формы лично-предназначительного склонения заключают в себе указание на предназначение обозначаемого именем предмета (или свойства, или действия) для того или иного лица. В ненецком языке лично-предназначительное склонение состоит из трех падежей: 1) именительного 2) винительного и 3) назначительного.

Основным вопросам, на которые отвечают указанные падежа, являются:

1. Для им. – 1) Кто? Что? 2) для кого предназначенный?
 2. Для вин. – 1) Кого? Что? 2) для кого предназначенного, -ое?
 3. Для наз. – 1) На предмет чего? В качестве кого? 2) предназначенного для кого?
429. *ɲanodar to* ‘лодка к тебе (для тебя) пришла’ (1937: 33); *jasedema tuufa* ‘отец ко мне (для меня) пришёл’ (1937: 67); *esedojfj toa* ‘отец ко мне (для меня) пришёл’ (1937: 84).

Predestinative accusative⁴³⁰

- (4) a. TN *hardamd təmdam* ‘I bought a knife for you.’
 b. NG *kumādama tamtujúfam* ‘I bought a knife for you.’
 c. FE *korudoddo tiddefjadofj* ‘I bought a knife for you.’

Predestinative predestinative⁴³¹

- (5) a. TN *neɟumda nedand məd* ‘Take his daughter as your wife.’
 b. NG *sete ɟirutana foruatum* ‘I consider him my friend.’

Later, forms comparable to Prokof’ev predestinative-predestinative were presented for Forest Enets by Tereščenko and Labanauskas:

- (6) *тэзонь бунэк поньңаз’*
teđon’ bunek poniŋađ’
 ‘As a reindeer, I keep a dog for myself’.⁴³² [T66:445]
- (7) *оласнэ манā: «пурзы дя ни комабут, нэзод ибляйгу бунтику му»*
olasne mana: purđi da ni komabut, nedod iblajgu buntiku mu?
 ‘The witch said: “if you want to come back on earth, take a little dog as your wife”.’
 [RS 17]⁴³³

11.1.1 The morphological structure of benefactive in earlier accounts

The morphological structure of BEN in Forest Enets as presented by Prokof’ev and Tereščenko is uniform: the BEN marker *-do* (Prokof’ev) *-đo* (Tereščenko) is added to nouns⁴³⁴ and followed by PX. For PRD-NOM, PX_{NOM} is added; for PRD-ACC and for PRD-PRD, PX_{ACC} and PX_{GEN} are added, respectively.

430. *hardamd təmdam* ‘нож для тебя купил я’ (1937: 33); *kumādama tamtujúfam* ‘нож тебе (для тебя) купил я’ (1937: 67); *korudoddo tiddefjadofj* ‘нож тебе купил (я)’ (1937: 84).

431. *neɟumda nedand məd* ‘дочь его в жены себе (для тебя) бозьми’ (1937: 34); *sete ɟirutana foruatum* ‘его своим (для себя) другом считаю’ (1937: 67).

432. ‘В качестве оленя я для себя собаку держу.’

433. ‘Ведьма сказала: «Если хочешь обратно на землю, возьми себе в жены маленькую собаку»’.

434. Assimilation with glottal stop stems must be assumed but no examples are available.

11.1.2 Other accounts describing the benefactive

So far, no detailed study of the benefactive in any Northern Samoyedic Language has been conducted. The published accounts offer little descriptive information and concentrate more on the possible historical emergence of this category (Tereščenko 1977, Künnap 1987, Janhunen 1989, Zayzon 2004). Recent attempts by Nikolaeva (2009) and Khanina & Shluinsky (2010) differ from the aforementioned accounts in that they address synchronic matters and include new data. Still, these new approaches are by no means comprehensive.

11.2 The benefactive in Forest Enets and its basic function

The function of the benefactive suffix is to mark a two-place relation, *X for the benefit of Y*. It can be attached either to the agent of an intransitive verb *s* or the patient of a transitive verb *p*:

- (1) *te-đu-i?* *to*
 reindeer-BEN-PX.1SG come.3SG
 ‘A reindeer came for me.’
- (2) *mod* *kodu-đu-da* *kamida-go-đ?*
 1SG sled-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG make-DUR-1SG
 ‘I am making a sled for him.’ [ZNB I 44]

Although the benefactive is followed by *PX*, it does not indicate a transfer of possession as the possessive suffix shows referential meaning here. Instead, the benefactive focuses on the benefit *X for Y* or *having X at Y's disposal*. *BEN* increases the relationality of the noun, while the possessive suffix refers to the beneficiary of the action. Thereby, two semantic roles are marked on one NP. Such NPs function as either *s* or *p*:

<i>te-đu-i?</i>	<i>to</i>
reindeer-BEN-PX.1SG	come.3SG
actor = <i>te</i> ‘reindeer’ beneficiary = <i>-đu-i?</i> BEN+ PX.1SG	predicate

Table 11-1: BEN on *s*

Otherwise, *BEN* is optional, and the subject can be encoded as usual by *NOM*:

- (8) a. *te-i?* *to*
 reindeer-PX.1SG come.3SG
 ‘My reindeer came.’
- b. *te* *to*
 reindeer come.3SG
 ‘A reindeer came.’

When P is marked with BEN, two semantic roles are once again encoded on one NP:

<i>mod'</i>	<i>kodu-đu-da</i>	<i>kamiđa-go-ď?</i>
1SG	sled-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG	make-DUR-1SG
actor	object = <i>kodu</i> ‘sled’ beneficiary = <i>-đu-da</i> BEN+PX.ACC.3SG	predicate

Table 11-2: BEN ON P

In P position, too, BEN is optional, and the object can be encoded with the accusative case:

- (9) *mod'* *kodu* *kamiđa-go-ď?*
 1SG sled_[ACC] make-DUR-1SG
 ‘I am making a sled.’ [ZNB I 44]

BEN is not restricted to simple noun phrases. In the case of complex noun phrases, the first NP is an attribute marked for GEN and the second NP hosts BEN.⁴³⁵ With two lexical NPs, BEN is realized as *-ď*:

- (10) a. *mod'* *kasa-ń* *kniga-ď* *moo-ď-uf'*
 1SG man-PX.GEN.1SG book-BEN take-1SG-PST
 ‘I bought a book for my brother.’ [ZNB IV 16]
- b. *mod'* *kemnä* *busi* *kirba-ď* *moo-ď-uf'*
 1SG poor old.man_[GEN] bread-BEN take-1SG-PST
 ‘I bought bread for the poor old man.’ [ZNB IV 16]

Complex noun phrases in s position are hard to obtain; the best examples come from passivization:

- (11) *kasa-ń* *kniga-ď* *tođ-la-r-id?*
 brother-PX.GEN.1SG book-BEN bring-FREQ-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘Books were brought for my brother several times.’ [ZNB IV17]

435. Whether the second NP ‘bread-GEN’ should be analyzed as ‘bread-BEN_[ACC]’ will be addressed later.

Thus, the aforementioned function of BEN must be recapitulated as follows: the BEN suffix increases the relationality of the noun, as BEN-marked nouns require either a complement in the genitive or a possessive suffix that refers to the beneficiary of the action.

11.2.1 BEN and number

Among the numerous problems connected to BEN in earlier descriptions, the question of whether this category is compatible with number has been a dominating problem. For Tundra Nenets, extensive variation has been reported (Tereščenko 1977, Künnap 1987, Salminen 1997: 129–130). In my data on Forest Enets, the answer is clearly negative;⁴³⁶ when a NP is marked for BEN, overt number marking is absent. Number can only be expressed via PX in the same way it would be marked in possession:

- (12) *te-đu-ń?* *to-?*
 reindeer-BEN-PX.PL.1SG come-3PL
 ‘Reindeer (PL) came for me.’⁴³⁷
- (1) *te-đu-i?* *to*
 reindeer-BEN-PX.1SG come.3SG
 ‘A reindeer came for me.’
- (13) *mud’* *pä-đu-da* *pätu-da-ď?*
 1SG wood-BEN-PX.ACC.PL.3SG hack-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will make firewood for him.’ [ZNB III 11]

Formally, however, example (13) could also mean ‘made one piece of firewood’ as the marker for PX.ACC.3SG is *-da*. A singular interpretation is semantically odd, as no collective interpretation of *pä* meaning ‘firewood’ is attested, but it is nevertheless likely. Because of the *i*-deletion rule (2.12.2), one has to assume the underlying PX.ACC.PL.3SG *-ida*.⁴³⁸

In complex noun phrases marked with BEN and lexical beneficiaries, no formal number distinction is attested and the interpretation has to rely on contextual information:

436. Khanina & Shluinsky (2010: 250) present some unclear examples with dual marking. As the consultants are not retrievable from their data, it is difficult to comment on this observation at present. It must be mentioned that Khanina & Shluinsky rely on more consultants than I do. Several of their consultants are offspring of a bilingual Enets-Nenets marriage who refused to work with me. As number marking with BEN was reported for several Tundra Nenets varieties, this might offer a tentative solution.

437. Compare *tei?* ‘my one reindeer’ vs *tiń* ‘my many reindeer’ → *tedui?* ‘a reindeer for me’ vs *teduń* ‘reindeer (PL) for me’ – the underlying *te-đu-iń* → *i*-deletion rule applies.

438. Morphologically, both interpretations are equally correct.

- (11) *kasa-ń* *kńiga-ď* *toď-la-r-idʔ*
 brother-PX.GEN.1SG book-BEN bring-FREQ-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘Books were brought for my brother several times.’ [ZNB IV17]
- (14) *äsi-ńʔ* *pä-ď* *pätu-da-ďʔ*
 father-PX.GEN.1SG wood-BEN hack-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will make firewood for my father.’ [ZNB III 11]

11.2.2 Intermediate summary

So far, the use of BEN can be summarized as follows:

- When BEN is used with one lexical NP in subject or object position, the beneficiary and case are expressed by the PX:

- (1) *te-ďu-iʔ* *to*
 reindeer-BEN-PX.1SG come.3SG
 ‘A reindeer came for me.’
- (12) *te-ďu-ńʔ* *to-ʔ*
 reindeer-BEN-PX.PL.1SG come-3PL
 ‘Reindeer (PL) came for me.’
- (9) *mod* *kodu* *kamida-go-ďʔ*
 1SG sled_[ACC] make-DUR-1SG
 ‘I am making a sled.’ [ZNB I 44]

- When BEN is used with lexical beneficiaries, the first noun must be encoded in the genitive and the second noun receives BEN. Further marking for number or case is not attested:

- (11) *kasa-ń* *kńiga-ď* *toď-la-r-idʔ*
 brother-PX.GEN.1SG book-BEN bring-FREQ-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘Books were brought for my brother several times.’ [ZNB IV17]
- (14) *äsi-ńʔ* *pä-ď* *pätu-da-ďʔ*
 father-PX.GEN.1SG wood-BEN hack-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will make firewood for my father.’ [ZNB III 11]

11.2.3 BEN and interrogatives

Interrogative pronouns, such as *še* ‘who’ and *obu* ‘what’ can be combined with BEN. For this, the same strategy as above is followed; with pronominal reference, PX have to be used:

- (15) *bu obu-đu-d tođa*
 3SG what-BEN-PX.ACC.2SG bring.3SG
 ‘What did he bring for you?’ [ZNB IV 16]

When questions address lexical beneficiaries, the pronoun is in the genitive case, and the lexical NP hosts BEN. Occasionally, PX_{GEN} referring to the actor can be added to the pronoun as the following echo question shows:

- (16) *še-d bui-ď uu piri-gu-sa-d*
 who-PX.GEN.2SG soup-BEN 2SG cook-DUR-IRG-2SG
 ‘For whom did you cook soup?’ [NKB IV 182]

11.2.4 The status of Prokof’ev’s ‘PRD-PRD’

So far, examples of BEN in S and P position have been presented. In S position, PX belonging to the nominative series are used; this construction matches Prokof’ev’s PRD-NOM. In P position, PX_{ACC} follow BEN and this construction matches Prokof’ev’s PRD-ACC. As noted, Prokof’ev’s sketch did not provide any examples for PRD-PRD. Such benefactives in adjunct position followed by PX_{GEN} were presented later by both Tereščenko and Labanauskas:

- (6) *тэзонь бунэк поньџаз’*
te-ďo-ń bunek poni-ŋa-ď?
 reindeer-BEN-PX.GEN.1SG dog_[ACC] hold-FREQ-1SG
 ‘Instead of a reindeer for myself, I keep a dog.’
 (Lit. ‘As a reindeer for myself, I keep a dog.’) [T 66:445]

- (7) *оласнэ манā: «пурзы дя ни комабут, нэзод ибляйгу бунтику му»*
olasne manaa purďi ďa ŋi-? koma-bu-t
 witch say.3SG back earth_[GEN] on-LAT want-CON-PX.GEN.2SG
ŋe-đu-d ibľeigu bunti-ku mu-?
 woman-BEN-PX.GEN.2SG little dog-DIM take-IMP.2SG
 ‘The witch said: “if you want to come back on earth, take a little dog as your wife”.’
 (Lit. ‘wife for you’) [RS 17]

My data reveal only three indisputable examples:

- (17) a. *uu* *bii-đu-ń* *e-bu-t* *soida*
 2SG in.law-BEN-PX.GEN.1SG be-CON-PX.GEN.2SG good.3SG
 ‘If you were my son-in-law, this would be good.’ [LDB IV 171]
 (Lit. ‘you being an in-law for me is good’)
- b. *čiki* *enči* *biđi-đu-ń* *tođa-r-iđ?*
 this person friend-BEN-PX.GEN.1SG bring-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘This person was brought as a friend for me.’ [ZNB IV 16]
- c. *bu* *mud* *kasa-đu-ń* *ä-ubi-š*
 3SG 1SG friend-BEN-PX.GEN.1SG be-HAB-3SG.PST
 ‘He used to be a friend of mine’ [DSB V 46]

The examples in (6), (7) and (17) are structurally uniform as a noun phrase in adjunct position is marked for BEN and PX_{GEN} . This is consistent with the syntactic distribution of PX_{GEN} , which can be found either on adnominal possessors or following locational cases.

A final note on PRD-PRD constructions is in order. First, equivalents of Prokof’ev’s PRD-PRD constructions are very rare in my data, with the previous examples being the only indisputable instances. Second, in contexts where one would expect to find the equivalent of Prokof’ev’s PRD-PRD constructions, other constructions are clearly preferred. All attempts to verify the existence of examples following Tereščenko’s example (6) produced no results:

- (6) *тэзонь бунэк поньһаз’*
te-đo-ń *bunek* *poni-ŋa-đ?*
 reindeer-BEN-PX.GEN.1SG dog_[ACC] hold-FREQ-1SG
 ‘Instead of a reindeer for myself, I keep a dog.’ [T66:445]

Several consultants [LDB, NKB, VNB] even claimed that such examples are ungrammatical, and instead, the following depictive was provided as its equivalent:

- (18) *täda* *mud* *bunik* *poni-ŋa-đ* *te* *bai-iš*
 now 1SG dog_[ACC] hold-FREQ-1SG reindeer capacity-TRSL
 ‘As a reindeer, I keep a dog.’ [LDB & NKB II 5]

11.2.5 BEN expressing a reflexive construction

As reported in 5.10.6, Forest Enets lacks a real reflexive pronoun. When actor and beneficiary are co-referential, the NP in object position is marked with BEN and followed by a co-referential PX_{ACC} , whereby the whole construction receives a reflexive interpretation.

Compare Forest Enets with Finnish (20) and Komi (21), which both use a reflexive pronoun marked for illative or dative case:

- (19) *äsi-i* *meju* *poga-đu-da* *tidä-š*
 father-PX.1SG new net-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG buy-3SG.PST
 ‘My father bought himself a new net.’ [ZNB III 11]

- (20) *isä-ni* *ost-i* *itse-lle-en* *uude-n* *verko-n*
 father-PX.1SG buy-PST.3SG REFL-ILL-PX.3SG new-ACC net-ACC
 ‘My father bought himself a new net.’

- (21) *batöi* *ňöb-is* *as-lis* *vil’ böt*
 father.PX.1SG buy-PST.3SG REFL-DAT.PX.3SG new net.NOM
 ‘My father bought himself a new net.’ [Nikolai Kuznetsov, p.c]

11.2.6 BEN and morphosyntactic restrictions

The interaction of BEN with other grammatical elements shows three restrictions.

- First, BEN can only be used with two lexical NPs ($NP_{GEN} NP_{BEN}$) or an NP with further pronominal reference ($NP_{BEN} + PX$). BEN without a possible benefactor e.g. **te-đ(u)* ‘a reindeer for’ is morphologically incomplete and therefore ungrammatical.
- Second, only one argument can be marked for BEN (either S or P, but not both; marking on A has so far not been found).
- Third, BEN can never occur with verbs in conjugation II. The last restriction will be addressed in more detail later.⁴³⁹

11.3 The internal morphology of BEN

Having presented the basic morphological and syntactic properties of BEN, a more detailed note on morphology is appropriate. So far it is possible to see both derivational and inflectional properties, and this provides at least four possibilities for classification: a) BEN = derivational suffix, b) BEN = case, c) BEN = double-case, or d) something else. A working solution will now be attempted.

When combined with derivational morphology, e.g. diminutives, BEN occurs after derivational suffixes. This is a characteristic of case morphology:

439. So far BEN-marked arguments in S position with the verb in conjugation III are absent too.

- (22) a. *te* <reindeer> ‘a reindeer’
 b. *te-ʔ* <reindeer-_[NOM.PL]> ‘reindeer’
 c. *te-kuča* <reindeer-DIM> ‘a little reindeer’
 d. *te-kuča-ʔ* <reindeer-DIM-_[NOM.PL]> ‘little reindeer’
 e. *bu* *ibʔeig* *te-kuča-đu-iʔ* *tođa-bi*
 3SG little reindeer-DIM-BEN-PX.ACC.1SG bring-PERF.3SG
 ‘He brought a little reindeer for me.’ [ZNB IV 28]

However, a case interpretation seems unlikely as BEN cannot index number unless it is accompanied by PX:

- (23) a. *kasa-ń kńiga-xan* <friend-PX.GEN.1SG book-LOC.SG>
 ‘in my friend’s book’
 b. *kasa-ń kńiga-xin* <friend-PX.GEN.1SG book-LOC.PL>
 ‘in my friend’s many books’
 (24) a. *kasa-ń kńiga-ď* <friend-PX.GEN.1SG book-BEN>
 a) ‘a book for my friend’ or b) ‘books for my friend’
 b. **kńiga-ď* <book-BEN>
 ‘book for’

Another serious argument against a potential case status for BEN is the fact that similarly to non-core cases such as TRSL and COM, BEN has no free-standing independent pronominal forms. In contrast to TRSL and potentially also COM, BEN is compatible with PX and in this instance BEN is definitely closer to case than TRSL and COM.

Indeed, in Castrén’s unpublished Tundra Enets grammar, the equivalent of BEN was regarded as a case called Acc.Obj:⁴⁴⁰

- (25) *lataroi’ tera’*
lata-ro-iʔ *tera-ʔ*
 board-BEN-PX_[ACC].1SG give-IMP.2SG
 ‘палку дай ~ give me a plank.’ (Castrén n. d. 30a)⁴⁴¹

440. Castrén’s manuscript has no examples of BEN in s position, which makes the interpretation as a case much easier. I will return to this point later. In his published grammar, BEN is hardly discussed.

441. Tundra Enets *-ro* is the regular etymological cognate of BEN *-đu* in Forest Enets.

Also in the unpublished fieldnotes of Gluxij and Susekov, BEN was usually regarded as a case.⁴⁴² Furthermore Sorokina's writings contain several hints that BEN is classified as a case.

The remaining solution, a double-case interpretation, seems least convincing. First, there is not evidence that BEN+PX is added to an already inflected stem. Second, how should the decreased case double case inventory consisting of a) BEN+PX_{NOM} b) BEN+PX_{GEN} c) BEN+PX_{ACC} be explained? Whereas syntactically a clear distinction exists between BEN on subjects and objects in contrast to BEN in adjunct positions, why should the adjunct position be special? Before continuing this discussion, more syntactic and semantic data needs to be evaluated first.

11.4 More on the morphosyntax of BEN

When recapitulating the examples from above, another look at the dichotomy between CX and BEN is necessary. We will start with BEN on S and where BEN usually needs a pronominal beneficiary:

- (1) *te-đu-i?* *to*
 reindeer-BEN.PX.1SG come.3SG
 'A reindeer came for me.'

As much as BEN is optional, possession via fused PX/CX is also not obligatory:

- (8) a. *te-i?* *to*
 reindeer-PX.1SG come.3SG
 'My reindeer came.' → SUBJ = NOM_{POSS}
- b. *te* *to*
 reindeer come.3SG
 'A reindeer came.' → SUBJ = NOM

Further, BEN does not interfere with agreement as agreement is expressed regularly:

- (1) *te-đu-i?* *to*
 reindeer-BEN-PX.1SG come.3SG
 'A reindeer came for me.'

442. During my visit to the Duřzon archive in Tomsk (late fall 2008) I was able to go through the fieldnotes of Gluxij and Susekov, but I did not detect any examples for BEN in s position. This is, however, not a final statement as these materials must be rechecked in more detail.

- (12) *te-đu-ń?* *to-?*
 reindeer-BEN-PX.PL.1SG come-3PL
 ‘Reindeer (PL) came for me.’

The same agreement pattern is also triggered by regular NPs. This shows that BEN is morphosyntactically neutral:

- (8b) *te* *to*
 reindeer come.3SG
 ‘A reindeer came.’

- (26) *te-?* *to-?*
 reindeer-_[NOM.PL] come-3PL
 ‘Reindeer came.’

The same alternative marking of P does not interfere with agreement:

- (27) a. *mud'* *osa-đu-d* *tođa-ď?*
 1SG meat-BEN-PX.ACC.2SG bring-1SG
 ‘I brought meat for you.’ [LDB I 112]

- b. *ää-đa* *pire-i?* *ńami* *tođa-bi*
 mother-PX.3SG cook-PTCP.PFT tongue_[ACC] bring-PERF.3SG
 ‘Her mother brought a cooked (reindeer) tongue.’ [NKB Auka]

- (28) a. *kasa* *äči* *kasa-đu-da* *ko*
 [man youngster] companion-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG find.3SG
 ‘The boy found a friend for himself.’ [VNB I 85]

- b. *nu* *obu* *đuđigun* *kasa-i* *ši?* *koa*
 so what period.LOC.SG man-PX.1SG 1SG.ACC find.3SG
 ‘So, after a while my husband found me.’ [NKB Yenisei]

- (29) a. *niń?* *kirba-ď* *pire-ď-ut'*
 child.PX.GEN.PL.1SG bread-BEN cook-1SG-PST
 ‘I baked bread for my children.’ [ZNB III 11]

- b. *ńulu* *enči* *uudamu* *piri-go*
 one person food_[ACC] cook-DUR.3SG
 ‘One person is cooking food.’ [ANP Hospital]

Also, with impersonal *taraš* BEN does not change agreement patterns either:

- (30) *četa* *mud'* *bui-đu-i* *piri-š* *tara*
 tomorrow 1SG soup-BEN-PX.1SG cook-CON must.3SG
 'Tomorrow I must cook soup for me.' [EIB I 179]

Although the majority of examples from elicitation and spontaneous speech with BEN on P arguments are syntactically simple, complex constructions are nevertheless possible; such examples derive however entirely from elicitation. Also here, BEN constructions in P position follow the usual syntactic restrictions by not allowing agreement between adjectives and their heads:

- (31) *mod'* [*kemnä* *busi* *kirba-ď*] *moo-ď-ud'*
 1SG poor old.man_[GEN] bread-BEN take-1SG-PST
 'I bought bread for the poor old man.' [ZNB IV 16]

Another example of a complex NP and BEN with dual coordination by a postposition looks as follows:

- (32) *kasa* *äči-xi?* *äsi-di?* *no?* *kirba-ď* *moo-ď?*
 [man youngster]_{-[GEN,DU]} father-PX.GEN.DU.3DU with bread-BEN take-1SG
 'I bought bread for the youngster and his father.' [ZNB IV 15]

As noted, BEN is not compatible with conjugation II. If P is marked for BEN, the accompanying transitive verb can only appear in conjugation I. This different encoding marks the most important difference between N-BEN-PX_{ACC} and N_{ACC}.

11.5 BEN, argument structure and the lexicon

For a variety of verbs, two different realizations concerning the use of case or BEN were shown (27)–(29). Whereas for intransitive verbs, only *toš* 'come' allows both realizations, the number of transitive verbs is much larger. The following section presents the encountered verb classes that allow BEN.

11.5.1 Verb classes and BEN

A variety of transitive verbs can take arguments in P position as either BEN-PX_{ACC} or ACC. The first table shows examples of verbs with a BEN-PX_{ACC} argument in annotated narratives.⁴⁴³ All verbs belong to the semantic classes of ACTIVITIES and ACTIVE ACHIEVEMENT.

443. Several verbs were registered more than once and are not repeated.

VERB	TRANSLATION	AGENT → BENEFICIARY	TEXT
<i>čiš</i>	‘fish by fishing net’	3P → 3P	ANP Chor To
<i>koš</i>	‘find’	3P → 3P	ANP Cuckoo
<i>moš</i>	‘take’	1P → 1P	ANP Fox Hunting
<i>čuňiš</i>	‘light a fire’	2P → 1P	ANP Bai Hoax
<i>máš</i>	‘make’	1P → 1P	ANP Oven
<i>nobdaš</i>	‘take/gather’	1P → 1P	ANP Taimen
<i>muš</i>	‘take’	2P → 2P	ESG Two Brothers
<i>pätruž</i>	‘make firewood’	2P → 1P	ESG Two Brothers
<i>piriš</i>	‘cook’	3P → 3P	ESG Two Brothers
<i>säruž</i>	‘dress’	2P → 2P	ESG Two Brothers
<i>tidiáš</i>	‘buy’	3P → 2P	NKB Auka
<i>máš</i>	‘make’	3P → 3P	NKB Mouse
<i>ood’</i>	‘eat’	2P → 3P	NKB Mouse
<i>ped’</i>	‘look for’	1P → 1P	ZNB Trip to Potapovo

Table 11-3: Transitive verbs with BEN in transcribed narratives

In elicited data, the following transitive verbs were encountered together with BEN. Also in this case, the verbs fall into the same semantic classes as above.

VERB	TRANSLATION	VERB	TRANSLATION
<i>tidiáš</i>	‘buy’	<i>bađič</i>	‘tell a story for X’
<i>mooš</i>	‘take, buy’	<i>tođaş</i>	‘bring’
<i>pätruž</i>	‘make firewood’	<i>kadaš</i>	‘kill’
<i>sosud’</i>	‘sew’	<i>ped’</i>	‘look for’
<i>piriš</i>	‘cook’	<i>noiraš</i>	‘catch’
<i>puđ’</i>	‘put’	<i>äđtaraš</i>	‘send’
<i>bataš</i>	‘pour tea’	<i>motraš</i>	‘cut’
<i>pađuš</i>	‘write’	<i>bärtaş</i>	‘throw’
<i>mič</i>	‘give’	<i>oot’</i>	‘eat, consume’
<i>poňid’</i>	‘sing a song for X’ ⁴⁴⁴	<i>taš</i>	‘give back’

Table 11-4: Transitive verbs with BEN in elicitation

As for the verb ‘write’, the difference between CX and BEN lies in the conceptualization of recipient vs. beneficiary. While CX encodes the recipient with the lative, BEN expresses the beneficiary of writing:

- (33) *mod’ not pađur pađ-go-đ?*
 1SG 2SG.LAT letter_[ACC] write-DUR-1SG
 ‘I am writing you a letter.’ [ZNB III 12]

444. Otherwise *poňid’* must be translated as ‘hold, keep’.

- (34) *mod' ää-ń?* *pađur-uđ* *pađ-go-đ?*
 1SG mother-PX.GEN.1SG letter-BEN write-DUR-1SG
 ‘I am writing a letter for my mother.’ [ZNB III 12]

Similar examples can be found in (35) and (36). In (35), the animate human beneficiary is encoded by BEN:

- (35) a. *mud' čai-đu-i?* *bata-đ?*
 1SG tea-BEN-PX.ACC.1SG pour-1SG
 ‘I poured myself tea.’ [ZNB III 12]
- b. *mud' äsi-ń* *čai-đ* *bata-đ*
 1SG father-PX.ACC.1SG tea-BEN pour-1SG
 ‘I poured my father tea.’ [ZNB III 12]

In contrast to the previous examples, example (36) shows that a semantic goal [-animate] can be added alongside a beneficiary with BEN. This shows that beneficiary and goal are encoded distinctively in Forest Enets:

- (36) *mud' kidi mi-?* *čai-đu-i?* *bata-đ?*
 1SG bowl_[GEN] in-LAT tea-BEN-PX.ACC.1SG pour-1SG
 ‘I poured tea for me into a bowl (as I had no cup).’ [ZNB III 12]

Apart from *toš* ‘come’, the only other intransitive verb found with BEN is *kaniš* ‘go’ in the following metaphorical expression:⁴⁴⁵

- (37) *mod' näxu đú?* *sobrigu-i* *po-đu-ń* *kańi*
 1SG three ten five-PX.1SG year-BEN-PX.GEN.1SG go.3SG
 ‘I am 35 years old.’ (Lit. ‘my 35 year is going for me’) [ZNB III 13]

Otherwise, the usual way to express age relies on a possessive construction:

- (38) a. *uu sän po-r*
 2SG how.many year-PX.2SG
 ‘How old are you?’ [ZNB III 13]
- b. *mod' näxu đú?* *sobrig po-i*
 1SG three ten five year-PX.1SG
 ‘I am 35 years old.’ [ZNB III 13]

445. The same construction for expressing age with BEN is used in Forest Nenets (Kaur Mägi, p.c.) and also in Taimyrian Tundra Nenets.

Semantically, (37) is much closer to Russian *мне 35 лет* (*me*_{DAT} 35 years) than the regular possessive construction. Whether this is chance must remain unanswered for the time being.

11.5.2 Alternative P encoding – different possible conceptualizations

Having presented an overview of verbs which allow both CX and BEN, we can see that the host of BEN is usually an argument which encodes grammatical relations such as subject or object. However, BEN is not encoded as an argument of a predicate, but rather as an obligatory attribute dependent on subject or object; example (27b) is bivalent and (27a) trivalent:

- (27) a. *mud' osa-đu-d tođa-d?*
 1SG meat-BEN-PX.ACC.2SG bring-1SG
 ‘I brought meat for you.’ [LDB I 112]
- b. *ää-đa pire-i? ńami tođa-bi*
 mother-PX.3SG cook-PTCP.PFT tongue_[ACC] bring-PERF.3SG
 ‘Her mother brought a cooked (reindeer) tongue.’ [NKB Auka]

For the ditransitive verb *mič* ‘give’, an interesting observation was made. In (39), ‘give’ behaves as a regular ditransitive verb which marks its arguments via CX. Further, in this context it can also mean ‘transfer of possession’:

- (39) *mod' [not]_{RECIPIENT} [koru-i?]_{THEME} mi-ta-d?*
 1SG 2SG.LAT knife-PX.ACC.1SG give-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will give you my knife.’ [ZNB II 12]

In (40), BEN with ‘give’ does not imply a transfer of possession but states that the knife is given for one’s benefit of using it:

- (40) *mod' [not]_{RECIPIENT} [koru-đu-d]_{THEME+BENEFICIARY} mi-ta-d?*
 1SG 2SG.LAT knife-BEN-PX.ACC.2SG give-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will give you a knife (so that you can use it for a while).’ [ZNB II 12]

The decisive conceptual difference in both examples lies in the encoding of ‘transfer of possession’. When one insists that ‘give’ should express transfer of possession, BEN is blocked as give+BEN cannot imply transfer of possession. For transfer of possession, either (39) or (41) must be used. Note that in (41) the verb is also conjugated in conjugation II, which is blocked by BEN:

- (41) *säsür-ʔ* *säsür-ʔ* *kari-ʔ* *terik* *enči-t*
fox-_[ACC.PL] fox-_[ACC.PL] fish-_[ACC.PL] rich man-LAT.SG
mi-ku-ina-tʔ
give-DUR-PL.1PL-PST
‘Foxes, foxes, fish we were giving to the rich man.’ [ANP Flood]

Slightly formalized, the conceptual difference in the encoding of an event with ‘give’ looks as follows:

Lexicon:	give+CX	give+BEN
Mapping:	S = NOM theme = ACC recipient = LAT	S = NOM theme = BEN ⁴⁴⁶ recipient = LAT
Semantics:	Transfer of possession +	Transfer of possession -

Table 11-5: Argument realization for ‘give’

11.6 BEN – case, derivation or something else?

Before we finally propose an answer to the question of whether BEN should be analyzed as case or derivation, data from syntactic tests such as passivization and relativization with regular NP and NP marked with BEN will be presented.⁴⁴⁷

11.6.1 BEN and passivization

Generally, Forest Enets allows only transitive verbs to undergo passivization. Both P arguments marked for BEN and for case can undergo passivization:

- (27) a. *mudʔ* *osa-đu-d* *tođa-dʔ*
1SG meat-BEN-PX.ACC.2SG bring-1SG
‘I bring/brought meat for you.’ [LDB I 112]
- (11) *kasa-ń* *kniga-d* *tođ-la-r-idʔ*
brother-PX.GEN.1SG book-BEN bring-FREQ-PASS-R.3SG
‘Books were brought for my brother several times.’ [ZNB IV17]
- (27) b. *ää-đa* *pire-iʔ* *ńami* *tođa-bi*
mother-PX.3SG cook-PTCP.PFT tongue_[ACC] bring-PERF.3SG
‘Her mother brought a cooked (reindeer) tongue.’ [NKB Auka]

446. A finer scale would make a difference between BEN with complex NP (lexical beneficiary) or BEN on NP with pronominal beneficiary, but this is not necessary here.

447. Passives and relative clauses will be addressed in detail in the following two chapters.

- (42) *mod' bu noda kolu-t tođa-r-ij?*
 1SG 3SG 3SG.LAT school-LAT.SG bring-PASS-R.1SG
 'I was brought to school by him.' [ZNB IV 54]

As both BEN-marked and ACC-marked P arguments can be passivized, no difference in objecthood can be observed.

11.6.2 BEN and relativization

Several strategies for relativization of NPs can be found (see chapter 13.7). Concerning BEN, relativization of S and P arguments was tested.⁴⁴⁸ Relativization of objects has proven to be unproblematic to elicit, and both NP_{CX} and NP_{BEN} in P position can be relativized:

- (43) a. *mud' koru tidiä-d?*
 1SG knife_[ACC] buy-1SG
 'I bought a knife.'
- b. *mud' noda tidi-du-i-b koru*
 1SG 3SG.LAT buy-DETR-PTCP.PFT-PX.ACC.1SG knife_[ACC]
bu ma'e d'o-pi-da
 3SG already loose-PERF-SG.3SG
 'The knife which I bought him, he has already lost it.' [ZNB III 14]
- (44) a. *mud' nä äči-n kukla-d tidä-d-ut*
 1SG [girl youngster]-PX.GEN.1SG doll-BEN buy-1SG-PST
 'I bought a doll for my girl.'
- b. *mud' tit-tu-i-b nä äči-n*
 1SG buy-DETR-PTCP.PFT-PX.ACC.1SG [girl youngster]-PX.GEN.1SG
kukla-d lata ni-n mošči
 doll-BEN floor_[GEN] on-LOC lie.3SG
 'The doll which I bought for my girl lies on the floor.' [NKB IV 181]

Relativization of NP_{CX} in S position:

- (45) a. *enči? to*
 person come.3SG
 'A person came.'
- b. *mud' Tartu-xud to-i enči-d?*
 1SG Tartu-ABL.SG come-PTCP.PFT person-1SG
 'I am a person from Tartu.' [ZNB I 27]

448. Whether BEN on adjuncts can be passivized has not been tested yet.

Relativization of *s* with NP_{BEN} turned out to be more complicated. The best example currently at my disposal is a relativized BEN from a passive:

- (46) *tođ-ra-i* *kasa-ń* *khiga-đ* *tol* *ńi-n* *mošči*
 bring-PASS-PTCP.PFT brother-PX.GEN.1SG book-BEN table_[GEN] on-LOC lie.3SG
 ‘The books which were brought for my brother lie on the table.’ [NKB IV 180]

Although it seems to be possible to relativize both regular subjects and objects, respectively, BEN in *s* and *p* position, further research is necessary as especially the passivization of NP_{BEN} in *s* position has caused some problems.

At present it appears that BEN-marked arguments do not differ from case-marked arguments at least syntactically. This offers further evidence against a case interpretation, as BEN is not sensitive to operations which alter argument structure.

11.6.3 BEN – case, derivation, declension or something else?

As was already briefly mentioned earlier, BEN has attracted two interpretations. The case interpretation was favored by Castrén (n.d) and Gluxij/Susekov and as the latter were not aware of Castrén’s unpublished Tundra Enets grammar⁴⁴⁹, both interpretations were arrived at independently. As far as Castrén is concerned, no instances of BEN on *s* could be found in his unpublished Tundra Enets grammar sketch. Further, no examples of two lexical NP with BEN were reported by Castrén nor were there any examples of the type PRD-PRD. Therefore, an interpretation favoring case is attractive as all examples reported by Castrén were instances of BEN on *p* which is restricted to nouns in syntactic object position. The same situation seems to prevail in Gluxij and Susekov’s unpublished field-materials; There, too, BEN was regarded as case with a further note *для него* ‘for him’. However, their interpretation has remained unpublished.

Beginning with Prokofev (1937), Russian grammaticography has treated BEN as either a predestinative declension or simply as predestinative forms, both independent from regular case morphology.⁴⁵⁰ This classification was adopted without further adjustment by Tereščenko (1947, 1966, 1973, 1977). Also Salminen (1997: 129–130) follows this classification by discussing Tundra Nenets predestinative forms after case morphology and possessive suffixes, however he occasionally nevertheless refers to them as ‘predestinative case forms’.

Finally, Sorokina (1986) adopted an intermediate position which cannot be classified as either CX or BEN.⁴⁵¹ Although Sorokina generally refers to BEN as case, her paper offers a variety of conflicting and even contradictory remarks. Whereas Sorokina in

449. In Castrén’s comparative grammar, BEN was described for Tundra Nenets (1854: 220–222) and mentioned en passant for Nganasan and (Tundra) Enets. Further, Castrén’s interpretation was based on an incorrect etymology which confused early research of this category. A more detailed discussion can be found in Künnap (1987) and Janhunen (1989).

450. The terminus technicus *predestinative* seemed to have been taken from the description of Tungusic languages; this topic will be addressed in the next paragraph in more detail.

451. As far as I know, the article by Sorokina is one of her very few attempts to address nominal morphology, which otherwise remained beyond her research agenda.

general classifies what I label BEN a benefactive case, she also uses another label, namely benefactive-partitive case. Whereas Sorokina at least motivates her use of the label benefactive towards the end of her paper (1986: 74), the reason why she assumed a further partitive function remains unexplained and not a single example can be found to demonstrate a possible partitive meaning.⁴⁵² Further, at least once in this paper, this ‘possible’ case is not called benefactive or benefactive-partitive case but simply predestinative case (назначительный падеж p. 74). In contrast to Castrén and Gluxij/Susekov, Sorokina is aware that BEN can also be found in S position, though it remains unknown whether she is aware of BEN on interrogatives. Finally, the most problematic point in Sorokina’s analysis is the fact that although she is keen to present BEN as a case, she does not even refer to the interpretations of Prokof’ev and Tereščenko of BEN as declension, nor does she discuss her diverging analysis of this category. Later it appeared that Sorokina must have changed her interpretation because in the grammatical sketch in ES, Sorokina has classified BEN as a case.

A third interpretation, namely BEN as ‘nominal (future) tense’ was proposed at least for Nganasan (Helimski 1998: 497)⁴⁵³, a position which was later repeated by Wagner-Nagy (2001: 167). However, this proposal has never been accompanied by a detailed syntactic study either.⁴⁵⁴ Recently, Nikolaeva (2009) propagated it also for Tundra Nenets. What makes this interpretation unconvincing from a Forest Enets perspective is demonstrated by the re-analysis of two previous examples. On the one hand, examples, such as (2) are certainly compatible with a nominal tense interpretation:

- (2) *mod’ kodu-đu-da kamida-go-đ?*
 1SG sled-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG make-DUR-1SG
 ‘I am making a sled for him.’ [ZNB I 44]

Whereas the translation provided by my consultant is clearly benefactive, one could perhaps also construct the meaning ‘I am currently making something that is going to be a sled for him in the future’. However, such an interpretation is inappropriate for such examples as (10b), regardless of tense-marking on the predicate:

- (10b) *mod’ kemnä busi kirba-đ moo-đ-ut’*
 1SG poor old.man_[GEN] bread-BEN take-1SG-PST
 ‘I bought bread for the poor old man.’ [ZNB IV 16]

A translation such as ‘I bought something that is going to be (a loaf of) bread for the poor old man’ is semantically unsatisfying, as the entity bought was already bread at the

452. No partitive meaning of BEN has been registered in my data nor has any other researcher tried to find a partitive meaning.

453. Between the lines, a tense-on-NP interpretation for Northern Samoyedic can be found in Tereščenko (1977) too.

454. The examples presented by Künnap 1987 show that BEN in Nganasan differs morphosyntactically from Nenets and Enets as Nganasan allows BEN on NP without a second NP or pronominal reference *binida* <rope-BEN> ‘for a rope’. As no other syntactic comparative study has ever been published, this question calls for further investigations.

moment of buying.⁴⁵⁵ Finally, for BEN in adjunct positions (morphologically BEN+PX_{GEN}), a tense-on-NP interpretation is potentially promising too:

- (7) *оласнэ манā: «пурзы дя ни комабут, нэзод ибляйгу бунтику му»*
olasne manaa purđi da ŋi-ʔ koma-bu-t
 witch say.3SG back earth_[GEN] on-LAT want-CON-PX.GEN.2SG
ŋe-đu-d ibľeigu bunti-ku mu-ʔ
 woman-BEN-PX.GEN.2SG little dog-DIM take-IMP.2SG
 ‘The witch said: ‘if you want to come back on earth, take a little dog as your wife.’
 (Lit. ‘wife for you’) [RS 17]

However, it is precisely this category that is the least productive in contemporary Forest Enets. Further, in addition to the nominal future tense interpretation, an interpretation as depictive secondary predication is semantically equally possible. Summing up, the tense-on-NP interpretation shows too many problems and should be abandoned immediately, at least for Forest Enets.

Summing up all arguments in this rather lengthy discussion, BEN as nominal tense is presumably the least convincing analysis, at least for Forest Enets. An interpretation based on derivation is also implausible, as BEN appears in the same position as case does:

- (22) c. *te-kuča* <reindeer-DIM> ‘a little reindeer’
 d. *te-kuča-ʔ* <reindeer-DIM-_[NOM.PL.]> ‘little reindeer’
 e. *bu ibľeig te-kuča-đu-i-ʔ tođa-bi*
 3SG little reindeer-DIM-BEN-PX.ACC.1SG bring-PERF.3SG
 ‘He brought a little reindeer for me.’ [ZNB IV 28]

Therefore, only the case vs. declension discussion seems suited for consideration. Recapitulating its syntactic behavior, BEN and CX can be found in identical positions but they exclude each other. As already mentioned, the similarity of BEN and CX is due to the compatibility of both categories with PX. Further, as with a pronominal possessor case is automatically assigned via PX, a case interpretation is favorable for BEN. The situation with complex NPs is, however, more complicated, as there are no formal NP-inherent features which would identify a NP without reservation as occupying subject or object position due to missing case information on the second NP marked for BEN. For example, in (11), a subject interpretation can only be achieved by incorporating information marked on the verb, namely passive diathesis:

- (11) *kasa-ŋ kŋiga-ď toď-la-r-idʔ*
 brother-PX.GEN.1SG book-BEN bring-FREQ-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘Books were brought for my brother several times.’ [ZNB IV17]

455. The same odd interpretation would result for examples such as ‘he killed a reindeer for me’ or ‘I brought fish for you’ or ‘I poured you tea’, all of which are rendered as BEN in Forest Enets.

In example (35b), BEN occupies object position, the verb agrees regularly with its subject:

- (35b) *mud' äsi-ń čai-ď bata-ď*
 1SG father-PX.GEN.1SG tea-BEN pour-1SG
 ‘I poured my father tea.’ [ZNB III 12]

The reason why in contrast to regular declension, BEN does not allow the addition of a case label, rendering (11) as BEN_{NOM} and (35b) as BEN_{ACC}, is the fact that with complex NPs, case cannot be added to the second NP marked for BEN. Instead, only NP-external morphosyntactic information and word order allow subject and object to be specified.⁴⁵⁶ Leaving the case interpretation aside, one could ask whether one would benefit from a different interpretation. As the case interpretation of BEN runs into the problem of having two (historically three) cases which have no one-to-one correspondence to the usual (core) case system, one might even wish to abandon a case interpretation altogether. Such an assumption seems to underlie Salminen’s idea, although he nevertheless blends both case and predestinative declension, which therefore does not allow a classification of his categorization for Tundra Nenets:

“The category of case is also slightly problematic in the predestinative declension, because the functions of the cases are partly different from those found in other declensions, most notably in the genitive, which is therefore often called ‘determinative’ or something akin to that. However, from a purely morphological point of view, there is no question about the identity of the predestinative case forms, and there is no need to use peculiar names for them.” (Salminen 1997: 129)⁴⁵⁷

As a final thought, a slightly different double-case interpretation than that mentioned above (e.g. Plank 1995), where BEN could be interpreted as case which can be further specified for a second case value via PX, leaves one half of the attested data unexplained, namely those instances with complex NPs.

The currently preferred solution is the original approach by Prokof’ev (1937a, b, c) which assumed that BEN is a distinct but defective nominal declension. In adopting this analysis, BEN would not be considered case but instead a special declension whose marker is BEN. This, then, would result in a three-part nominal declension system in which three categories should be distinguished:

456. To be sure, also in Tundra Nenets, two lexical NP in object position show no overt case morphology (example is given in Tereščenko’s original transcription, glossing is mine):

ɲaβka-n ɲamde-t pad' ńu' sāba-dm'
 auka-PX.GEN.1SG food-BEN bag.GEN in.LAT stuff-1SG

‘I stuffed food for my auka into the bag.’ (Ru: ‘Я уложил в мешок травы для моей ауки.’)
 (Tereščenko 1977: 103)

457. Tundra Nenets differs from Forest Enets as the predestinative marker *-to* precedes case (GEN *-n*, ACC *-m*) when combined with PX e.g. *ngono-do-da* <boat-BEN-PX.3SG> ‘boat for him’ (NOM) vs *ngono-do-nta* <boat-BEN-GEN.PX.3SG> ‘boat for him’ (GEN) vs *ngono-do-mta* <boat-BEN-ACC.PX.3SG> ‘boat for him’ (ACC). As shown in the footnote above, no case morphology is expressed with two lexical NP but this was not incorporated into Salminen’s analysis for unknown reasons.

GENERAL DECLENSION	POSSESSIVE DECLENSION	BENEFACTIVE DECLENSION
non-possessive	CX+PX, partly fused	NOM+ACC only (hist. GEN)

Table 11-6: Alternative three-way declension of nouns

Leaving the morphological status of BEN aside for a moment, the benefactive in Forest Enets is functionally very close to applicatives. The major difference lies in the fact that BEN is a nominal category, whereas applicatives are verbal as they are affixed to verbs. Functionally, the Forest Enets benefactive and prototypical applicatives are similar, as both increase the number of semantic roles encoded in the clause. Whereas I am tempted to classify BEN as an applicative on NP, such an interpretation is at odds with cross-linguistic characterizations of applicatives. The latter have been reported for languages without or with only little case morphology, and thus are restricted to verbal morphology. On the other hand, the interpretation of BEN as a case (even as a benefactive case subsystem) as proposed by other researchers is hard to defend because BEN does not combine with number unless number is encoded by PX and has no forms for locational cases. Summing up, the original proposal of a specialized declension as introduced by Prokof'ev in 1937 is still, despite its poor verbalization at the time, the most likely analysis for this category.

11.7 BEN – language history and areal considerations

11.7.1 Internal reconstruction

As the synchronic description of BEN is problematic, one is tempted to look into language history to find some hints for a synchronic analysis. As a matter of fact, the diachronic emergence of BEN is also unclear and far from being settled. First, BEN has not been discussed in major comparative-historical accounts, such as Mikola (1988, 2004). As far as I am aware of the published accounts, the history of BEN has rarely been addressed but nevertheless a wide range of possible scenarios has been offered. The first approach goes back to Castrén (1854: 220), who assumed that the marker of benefactivity should etymologically be related to PX.3SG, to which further PX were added. This interpretation turned out to be incompatible with the historical development of the Northern Samoyedic vocalism, and was therefore later abandoned by almost all researchers (e.g. Tereščenko 1977, Janhunen 1989), except for Hajdú (1968: 46–47). A different explanation advocated by Künnap (1987) assumed that BEN could derive from the fossilized nominal derivational suffix **tV*. A third explanation advocated by Janhunen (1989) assumes that BEN could be etymologically connected to the Finnic translative case (Finnish *-ksi*, Estonian *-ks*). However, Janhunen is cautious as this case marker is not attested elsewhere in the language family beside Finnic, Mordvin and possibly Northern Samoyedic. From a syn-

tactic perspective (excluded by Janhunen) this reconstruction is unlikely, as the Finnic translative is preferably found on adjuncts, but not on core arguments as in Northern Samoyedic. A recent approach by Zayzon (2004: 184) tried to explain BEN in Northern Samoyedic as being the result of grammaticalization of a 3P pronoun as a cline “Person-alpronomen 3sg > Determinativsuffix > Prädestinativsuffix”, which for both syntactic as well as vocalism-related problems is equally unlikely.

11.7.2 Areal considerations

Although BEN is only attested in Northern Samoyedic and not elsewhere in Uralic, benefactive cases have been reported for some other languages in the same area. First, Werner’s description of Ket (Werner 1997a: 104, 114) mentions a benefactive case which possesses “Objektcharakter”. The same category has been attested for Sym Ket (Werner 1997b: 76–78) but not for Kott (Werner 1997c). Interestingly, the first component of the case marker reported for Ket, *-data/-dita*, is rather close to the BEN+PX.3SG marker in Northern Samoyedic. Second, benefactive morphology is known in variety of Tungusic languages.⁴⁵⁸ In Evenki, the indefinite accusative case (ACCIN) combined with possessive marker comes close in meaning to BEN in Forest Enets:

(47) *Dáv-ja-v* *o:-kal*
 boat-ACCIN-1SG.POSS make-2SG.IMP
 ‘Make a boat for me’ [Nedjalkov 1997: 147]⁴⁵⁹

(48) *Su* *unta-ja-n* *o:-kallu*
 you-PL fur.boots-ACCIN-3SG.POSS make-2PL.IMP
 ‘You make fur boots for him.’ [Nedjalkov 1997: 148]

(49) *Déptyle-je-ver* *ga-kaim* *suru-che-tyn*
 food-ACCIN-PREFL.PL take-CONV go.away-PST-3PL
 ‘Taking food for themselves, they went away.’ [Nedjalkov 1997: 148]

However, other local cases, such as the dative and the locative-directive case, are also used to express benefactives (Nedjalkov 1997: 153–154), but apparently they lack object status. Finally, both Dolgan and Yakut know a partitive-like object case (Ru: *частный падеж*). In the description of Ubrjatova (2006: 129–130) and later confirmed by Artem’ev (1999: 58–65), the Dolgan forms are said to be more productive than their Yakut cognates. What is most important here is that the Dolgan forms are semanti-

458. Benzing (1956: 82–83) mentions that such benefactives have a further partitive meaning. It might be possible that Sorokina’s approach in 1986, where she spoke of a benefactive-partitive case, could have been influenced by descriptions of Tungusic.

459. Original glossing and orthography unaltered.

cally indeed much closer to the Northern Samoyedic benefactive than the Yakut forms. Although significant from an areal perspective, it is generally assumed that the function of this partitive-like object case (deriving from a former ablative-like local case) is a byproduct of Evenki substrate and not of Turkic origin, although Ubrjatova (2006: 125–127) mentions some parallels from other Southern Siberian Turkic languages. As the reconstruction of Turkic does not mention a benefactive case (or a case encoding a similar meaning), and as the same holds for the Finno-Ugric branch of Uralic, a clustering of this feature in western and central Siberia remains unusual.⁴⁶⁰ This areal clustering is indeed even more intriguing, as there are also several Selkup idioms which are reported to have a ‘desiderative case’ (Bekker 1978: 160–169), but this case seems not to encode core grammatical cases either. Although the Selkup desiderative case does not show any historical connections to Northern Samoyedic, this further instance of a benefactive in Western and Central Siberia is worth mentioning from an areal perspective. Due to the dialectal fragmentation of Selkup, the ‘desiderative case’ still awaits a detailed dialectological and syntactic study, however concerning its semantic potential, it fits extraordinarily well into this area and its grammaticalization seems to be more than an instance of pure chance. Further attempts should take both areal and substrate considerations into account, as the clustering of this category around the Yeniseian language family, whose speakers are known to have switched to numerous other languages of the area, might provide new insights for further research.⁴⁶¹

460. As far as other Paleoasiatic languages are concerned, a comparable category could not be identified thus far.

461. Such contacts have been assumed earlier in the literature (Janhunen 1998) but still await detailed studies.

12. The passive

The existence of a passive in Forest Enets was first registered by Sorokina (1975) in her *kandidatskaja dissertatsija*, but this category has never been subject to a detailed published investigation. The reasons for addressing the Forest Enets passive in more detail come from both a Uralic and a Siberian areal perspective. First, among the languages of the Finno-Ugric branch, impersonals and passives are known in Finnic, Saami and Ob-Ugric. However, the peculiar status of Finnic impersonals in contrast to Saami and Ob-Ugric passives has somehow led to descriptions of passives of Finno-Ugric languages from either a Finnic or an Indo-European perspective (see the survey in Kulonen 1989). For Samoyedic, Nganasan is known to have a fully productive passive, which was described by Leisiö (2006). By contrast, both Nenets varieties are reported to lack a passive.⁴⁶² In Southern Samoyedic, the situation remains unclear. For Northern Selkup, Kuznetsova et al (1980: 221) reported that durative verbs derived from transitive verbs allow a passive reading, but agents cannot be added. However, for the Ket variety of Selkup, a fully productive passive, including an agent, was identified by Kuznetsova (1987). Finally, for Kamass, no passive was reported in Donner/Joki (Joki 1944) nor could a corresponding construction be found later (Ago Künnap, p.c.). Data on other extinct Samoyedic idioms is too fragmentary and does not allow any conclusions.

Concerning the passive in Forest Enets, it shares a peculiar detail with Nganasan and Tundra Enets as all three languages encode the agents of passives using the lative case.⁴⁶³ Whereas for both Enets languages, a common historic origin can be posited, as the shape of the passive suffix seems to suggest a shared innovation, this seems unlikely when adding Nganasan to the analysis. This means that the passive is at best a shared areal feature which unites Enets and Nganasan.⁴⁶⁴ Cross-linguistically the encoding of agents in passive constructions using latives or semantically related cases/adpositions is less common; locatives, ablatives, comitatives or instrumentals (both morphological and adpositional) are preferred. However, lative-marked agents of passives and passive-like constructions are not uncommon in Siberia, that is to say in Northern Eurasia; in addition to Forest and Tundra Enets and Nganasan, they have been reported for a variety of other languages (Southern Siberian Turkic as well as several Tungusic, Mongolic and Saami languages).

462. My own fieldwork among speakers of Taimyrian Tundra Nenets confirms this.

463. Passive morphology has not been reconstructed for any earlier stage of Samoyedic as far as I know. The comments in Lehtisalo (1936: 77–78) are also at best speculative.

464. As contact between individual Taimyrian Samoyedic languages is still terra incognita and as contacts with other areal languages is equally little studied, I prefer to speak of areality for the current moment.

12.1 Voice in Forest Enets

Previous descriptions of Forest Enets (Prokof'ev 1937c, Tereščenko 1966) did not mention the existence of a voice distinction. The ultimate reason for not postulating, for example, a reflexive-medial voice for Forest Enets (and Northern Samoyedic in general) and speaking of a reflexive conjugation (conjugation III in this description) was based on the existence of a distinctive set of *vx*. Although, the element *-i* preceding *vx* (see 7.1.3) has been reconstructed as a reflexive marker (Lehtisalo 1936: 78; Mikola 2004: 124–127), it is usually classified as belonging to the category of *vx* and not as a derivational ‘medial-reflexive’ suffix. Other voice phenomena have never been reported.

12.1.1 Passive voice in Forest Enets

The existence of a distinction *active-passive* in Forest Enets was first discussed in print by Sorokina (1975a: 17–19) with the following examples:

- (1) a. *эньче' камоз седа*
enč'e? kamod šeda
 person house_[ACC] make.3SG
 ‘A person built a house.’ (Ru: ‘Человек дом построил.’)
- b. *камоз энчед седарэйз*
kamod enče-d šeda-re-id
 house person-LAT.SG make-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘A/the house was built by a/the person.’ (Ru: ‘Дом человеком построен.’)

In (1b), the patient *kamod* ‘house’ has become the subject and the agent *enče?* ‘man, person’ is deprived of any core grammatical case marking and is encoded by the lative case. Concerning verbal morphology, the verb in (1b) is encoded by a passive marker *-re* which triggers conjugation III and agrees with its subject. Although formally intransitive, the passivized verb remains morphosyntactically personal.

- (2) a. *модь койтарэибь*
mod' koita-re-ib'
 1SG trick-PASS-R.1SG
 ‘I was tricked.’ (Ru: ‘Я обманут кем-то.’)
- b. *уу койтареидь*
uu koita-re-id'
 2SG trick-PASS-R.2SG
 ‘You were tricked.’ (Ru: ‘Ты обманут кем-то.’)

- c. *бу койтарэуз'*
bu koita-re-idʔ
 3SG trick-PASS-R.3SG
 'He was tricked.' (Ru: 'Он обманут кем-то.')

Sorokina explicitly stated that only transitive verbs can be passivized. What follows in her description is of lesser importance for syntax as it is centered on the morphological analysis of Forest Enets verbs in general and does not need to be reviewed further.⁴⁶⁵

12.2 Voice, diathesis, passives/impersonals and related matters

When examining the vast literature on passive/impersonal, voice, diathesis and the like⁴⁶⁶, one cannot help but to see multiple usages of a single terminus technicus. Although there have been several attempts to synthesize the field in recent years (e.g. Keenan & Dryer 2007, Shibatani 2006, Xrakovskij 2004, Melchuk 2004, just to name a few), divergent understandings of these notions will inevitably remain. As limitation of space does not permit a detailed discussion of these approaches, I restrict myself to some very superficial comments on these topics.

According to Shibatani, voice should be defined via discourse

"...voice opposition reflects conceptual distinctions pertaining to the evolutionary properties of an action – namely the nature of the origin of an action, the manner of its development, and the way it terminates" (2006: 262).

Shibatani justifies such an approach as formal means which oppose voice categories via distinctions such as inflection versus derivation, constructions or general concepts such as regularity and productivity "*should not be taken as important criteria for the discussion of voice*" (Shibatani 2006: 219). Whereas from the perspective of typology, construction grammar or cognitive grammar, morphology is, indeed, not a determining factor, the diathesis-versus-voice approach as advocated by the Leningrad/St.Petersburg school (see e.g. Xrakovskij 2004 and Melchuk 2004) offers an alternative solution. In this approach, *diathesis* is used as a correlation scheme between semantic roles (agent X and patient Y) and syntactic constituents (subject [I] and object [II]). By keeping *diathesis* restricted to syntax, *залог*, which is usually translated as 'voice', remains part of verbal morphology. According to this approach, both Russian (3) and English (4) are classified as having a *passive diathesis* but not a morphological 'passive voice' (залог).

465. Although not considered in this monograph, Tundra Enets possesses a similar passive (data from Anna Urmančiev, p.c.) *mod'i odujʔ d'urakodoʔ nexoreʔ*. <1SG boat.PX.1SG Nenets.LAT.SG take.PASS.R.3SG> 'My boat was taken by the Nenets.' (Моя лодка взята ненцем)

466. This condensed overview focuses on non-formal accounts published in recent years.

active diathesis		passive diathesis	
X	Y	X	Y
I	II	II	I

Table 11-1: Active vs. passive diathesis

- (3) a. *Витя причесывает Машу.*
 PN comb.3SG PN.ACC.FEM.SG
 ‘Vitalij combs Masha.’ (active diathesis)
- b. *Маша причесывается Витей.*
 PN comb.3SG.REFL PN.INSTR.MASC.SG
 ‘Masha is combed by Vitalij.’ (passive diathesis)
- (4) a. *Peter combs Mary.* (active diathesis)
- b. *Mary is combed by Peter.* (passive diathesis)

12.3 Passives and impersonals

From a Finnic perspective, it still comes as a surprise that the relationship between impersonals and passives is generally downplayed in typological literature. Whereas it is generally agreed that the pragmatic function of passives has to do with agent suppression or agent de-topicalization (e.g. Givón 2001 II: 125; Creissels 2006: 46) or backgrounding and foregrounding (Keenan & Dryer 2007), the question of labeling something a passive or impersonal is still far from being obvious. Further, a variety of passives are discussed, e.g. basic passives (agentless passive, transitive verbs), non-basic passives (agent phrase expressed, non-transitive verbs), constructions resembling passives (all Keenan & Dryer 2007) or prototypical promotional passives vs. prototypical non-promotional passives (Givón 2001 II: 125ff), but the position of impersonals and their relation to passives is indeed not always made explicit. One of the better known instances of impersonals, Finnic impersonals often remain unmentioned in syntax textbooks.⁴⁶⁷ However, the Finnic case is rather instructive because of its clear cut syntax-semantics mismatch. Whereas in Finnish and Estonian both transitive and intransitive verbs can undergo impersonalization, the agent is suppressed and remains syntactically unrealized.⁴⁶⁸ Further, impersonalized Finnic verbs do not agree with subject or object but have a special ending labeled impersonal as the following examples from Estonian (5a, 6a) and Finnish (5b, 6b) show:

467. Creissels (2006) is a noteworthy exception.

468. Estonian constructions of the type ‘tema poolt tehtud’ <3SG.GEN SIDE.ABL DO.PTCP.IPERS.PST> ‘done by him’ (Lit. done from his side) and similar forms in older Finnish Bible translations are not of concern here.

- (5) a. *Eile söö-di palju liha.*
 yesterday eat-IPERS.PST much meat.PART
 ‘Yesterday much meat was eaten.’
- b. *Eilen syö-ttiin paljon liha-a.*
 yesterday eat-IPERS.PST much meat-PART
 ‘Yesterday much meat was eaten.’
- (6) a. *Siin tants-iti ja joo-di.*
 here dance-IPERS.PST and drink-IPERS.PST
 ‘There was dancing and drinking here.’
- b. *Täällä tansi-ttiin ja ryypä-ttiin.*
 here dance-IPERS.PST and drink-IPERS.PST
 ‘There was dancing and drinking here.’

Semantically, human agency is of course implied in the Finnic impersonal, but it is not identified and cannot be expressed because an overt syntactic agent is missing.

Also Forest Enets shows that impersonals and passives are two different morpho-syntactic concepts which do not overlap, and the same must be assumed cross-linguistically. In example (7b) the regular passive encodes the patient via *vx* on the passive verb:

- (7) a. *bunik ši? sakra*
 dog 1SG.ACC bite.3SG
 ‘The dog bit me.’ [ZNB IV 37]
- b. *bunki-d sarkra-r-ii?*
 dog-LAT.SG bit-PASS-R.1SG
 ‘I was bitten by the dog.’ [ZNB IV 37]

In contrast to passives, which encode the patient on the verb, the impersonal verb *taraš* governs a non-finite complement in subject position, but remains in 3P:

- (8) *mä-kuñ všo ravno kañi-š tara-ñu*
 chum-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1DU anyway go-CON must-ASS.3SG
 ‘We had to return to our chum home anyway.’ [NKB Yenisei]
- (9) *mud’ labka-d kañi-š tara*
 1SG shop-LAT.SG go-CON must.3SG
 ‘I must go to the shop.’ [EIB I 179]

Example (10) is also impersonal, but it is morphosyntactically not passive. The vx.3PL in conjugation I does not overtly refer to participants whose identity is retrievable from the context; it expresses an implied but unidentifiable agent:

- (10) *ńe-ʔ* *kol-xon* *toxola-gu-iđuʔ*
 children-_[ACC.PL] school-LOC.SG teach-DUR-PL.3PL
 ‘Children are taught in school.’ (Not: ‘They teach the children at school.’)
 [ZNB 121207]

Summing up this short survey of recent approaches, semantic ties between impersonals and passives are less clear than they are assumed to be. Languages can and do encode impersonals without formal resemblance to passives. Consequently, impersonals resist the addition of syntactic agents, even as agency needs to be assumed semantically, as the case of Finnic impersonals shows. In this respect, it makes little sense to speak of ‘agentless passives’ or ‘impersonal passives’, or of ‘basic’ and ‘non-basic’, respectively. Therefore, the question should be asked differently: does a category that demotes agents and promotes patients allow the addition of a syntactic agent or not? For Forest Enets, the answer is yes. In transcribed narratives, agents are regularly suppressed and patients are topicalized, which leads to an impersonal interpretation. This is, however, only a discourse feature. Elicitation shows that agents can be added to such impersonals, and Forest Enets does indeed possess a category which should be labeled passive. Incorporating the aforementioned short discussion on diathesis vs. voice, Forest Enets can be characterized as having both, a passive diathesis and a passive voice, as in examples (1), (2) and (7). On the other hand, Forest Enets also has an impersonal construction in which the agent is suppressed and remains syntactically unexpressed; verbal agreement is realized in a 3P form in conjugation I, a default for morphosyntactic reasons. As there is no agent with whom the verb can agree, such constructions, exemplified in (8), (9) and (10), should be classified as impersonals. Along this distinction, the discussion of the passive will now be conducted.

12.4 The passive in Forest Enets

Having introduced the necessary background, some morphological observations are in order before the syntax and semantics of the Forest Enets passives can be addressed.

12.4.1 Morphology

If one indeed wants to draw a distinction between inflectional and derivational morphology, the Forest Enets passive marker *-ra/-la* should be classified as derivational. In negation, the passive suffix remains on the negated main verb and is not transferred to the negative auxiliary, which is the case with inflectional categories:

- (11) *obu-xuru* *še-xuru-d* *ni-dʔ* *tođa-ra-ʔ*
 what-NEG who-NEG-LAT.SG NEG.AUX-R.3SG bring-PASS-CN
 ‘Nothing was brought by anybody (Lit. nobody).’ [ZNB IV 54]

The passive marker is attached exclusively to transitive verbs and triggers conjugation III. It is worthwhile to keep in mind that another derivational *-ra/-la* is known in Enets which also assigns verbs to conjugation III. In this case, *-ra/-la* is attached to intransitive and some transitive verbs and derives inchoatives. This does not seem to be coincidental and will be addressed in more detail later.⁴⁶⁹

12.4.2 Syntax – passive and simple clauses

The Forest Enets passive is usually found without an expressed syntactic agent in both elicitation (12), (13) and spontaneous speech (14), (15), (16):

- (12) *kirba* *čukči* *tidi-r-iđʔ*
 bread all sell-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘All bread was sold.’ [ZNB IV 10]

- (13) *kañi-iʔ* *po-xun* *pošolka-xan-iñʔ* *ŋolu* *meju*
 go-PTCP.PFT year-LOC.SG village-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.1PL one new
kamuđ *mä-r-iđ-udʔ*
 house make-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘Last year a new house was built in our village.’ [ZNB 12.12.07]

- (14) *pona* *či* *ma-ñu* *te* *poñida-aš* *kañi-d*
 then so say-ASS.3SG [reindeer herder]-TRSL go-1SG
äsi-kuji-b *ma-ñu* *te* *poñida-aš* *mu-r-iđ*
 father-DIM-PX.1SG say-ASS.3SG [reindeer herder]-TRSL take-PASS-R.3SG
bodu-n *mosra-š*
 tundra-LOC work-3SG.PST
 ‘‘Then,’’ he said, ‘‘I will become a reindeer herdsman’’, so my father said. He was hired [Lit. he was taken] as a reindeer herdsman and then he worked in the tundra. [EIB Autobiographic]

- (15) *[kadir* *isiu]* *peñsia-t* *mokta-r-iđ*
 [be.ill.CN NEG.AUX.ASU.3SG] pension-LAT.SG put.up-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘Apparently he was ill and so he was sent to retire.’ [EIB Autobiographic]

469. Deletion of /a/ before /i/ is regular (see 2.12.2).

Besides its appearance in simple clauses, the passive can also appear in complements of PCU verbs:

- (16) *mod' noda badiä-b-uš <šidi te tär-ra-bi-xi>*
 1SG 3SG.LAT tell-SG.1SG-PST two reindeer steal-PASS-PERF-3DU
 'I told him that two reindeer were stolen.' [LDB IV 160]

As the examples above show, passives are usually expressed without an agent. This use is in accordance with the general pragmatic implications of agent de-topicalization and foregrounding of the patient. Still, agents can be expressed if necessary, and are encoded with the lative case:

- (17) a. *mädi no tora-đa*
 wind door_[ACC] close-SG.3SG
 'The wind closed the door.' [ZNB III 65]
- b. *mädi-d no tora-r-id?*
 wind-LAT.SG door close-PASS-R.3SG
 'The door was closed by the wind.' [ZNB III 65]
- c. *bunik ši? sakra*
 dog 1SG.ACC bite.3SG
 'The dog bit me.' [ZNB IV 37]
- d. *bunki-d sakra-r-ii?*
 dog-LAT.SG bit-PASS-R.1SG
 'I was bitten by the dog.' [ZNB IV 37]
- (18) *mud' mana-đ-ud' uu peršulut-ut modiä-l-id-uš*
 1SG say-1SG-PST 2SG doctor-LAT.SG see-PASS-R.2SG-PST
 'I said, "you should be examined by the doctor".' [VNB IV 145]⁴⁷⁰
- (19) *[okoška-da ke-xun adi-đa nā äči]*
 window-PX.GEN.3SG side-LOC.SG sit-PTCP.IPF [girl]_[N/G] youngster]
kasa äči-d modi-l-id
 [man]_[N/G] youngster]-LAT.SG see-PASS-R.3SG
 'The girl who is sitting at the window is seen by the boy.' [VNB IV 104]

470. *peršul* belongs to an older stratum of Russian loanwords which still underwent phonological nativization (Ru: *фельдшер* 'doctor's assistant' < German '*Feldscher*'). Further, although the English translation would make a complement interpretation plausible, Forest Enets does not allow reported speech, and therefore we are not dealing here with a complement of a PCU verb. See also 13.5 for further discussion.

12.4.3 Passives in complex clauses

Passives are not restricted to simple clauses but can be found in complex constructions too. Irrespective of whether a clause is active or passive, its subject can be omitted if its referent is identical with that of the subject referent of the preceding clause.

- (20) *nä* *äči-ku*_{PIVOT} *okoška-da* *ke-xun* *adi*
 [girl]_[N/G] youngster-DIM] window-PX.GEN.3SG side-LOC.SG sit.3SG
kasa *äči-d* *mod-l-iđ*
 [man]_[N/G] youngster]-LAT.SG see-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘The girl is sitting at the window. She was seen by the boy.’ [VNB IV 104]

In Forest Enets, this control can also be exercised by an oblique agent phrase in the lative case:

- (21) *nä* *äči* *odi-d*_{PIVOT} *ñuilta-l-iđ* *točgođ* *ø*_{PIVOT} *kañi*
 [girl]_[N/G] youngster] young.man-LAT.SG kiss-PASS-R.3SG then go.3SG
 ‘The girl was kissed by the youngster_i, who_i then went away.’ [NKB & LDB IV 61]

These examples suggest that subject deletion in coordinated clauses is not so much a matter of subjecthood but a matter of context. This interpretation is also supported by the fact that (22) is considered ambiguous by consultants:

- (22) *bunik* *kasa* *äči-d* *dóđi-r-iđ* *točgođ* *kañi*
 dog [man]_[N/G] youngster]-LAT.SG beat-PASS-R.3SG then go.3SG
 ‘The dog was beaten by the youngster and then went away.’ [NKB & LDB IV 161]

- a) The dog went away.
 b) The boy went away.

While discussing example (22), both NKB and LDB confirmed that in order to avoid ambiguity, either a full NP, *kasa äči* ‘youngster’ or *bunik* ‘dog’, would be needed to resolve the reference problem. However, both consultants also agreed that with *šimniš* ‘run away’ the only possible interpretation of (22) would mean that the dog ran away. It would then also restore the subject as pivot.

To sum up this discussion, although the available data is restricted, pivots seem generally to be encoded by nominative subjects. Semantic overriding of syntactic alignment as seen in (21) is rare and good examples derive from elicitation, but this should not be seen as a counter-argument concerning the possible existence of such a phenomenon.

12.4.4 Passive and tense

The passive in Forest Enets is compatible with all tenses: the aorist (23a), general past (23b), perfect (23c), distant past (23d), future (23e) and the anterior in the future (23f).

- (23) a. *kniga kolu-t äđta-r-iđ?*
 book school-LAT.SG send-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘The book is sent/was just sent to the school.’
- b. *kniga kolu-t äđta-r-iđ-ut’*
 book school-LAT.SG send-PASS-R.3SG-PST
 ‘The book was sent (recently) to the school.’
- c. *kniga kolu-t äđta-ra-b-iđ?*
 book school-LAT.SG send-PASS-PERF-R.3SG
 ‘The book has been sent to the school.’
- d. *kniga kolu-t äđta-ra-b-iđ-ud’*
 book school-LAT.SG send-PASS-PERF-R.3SG-PST
 ‘The book had been sent to the school (in the distant past).’
- e. *kniga kolu-t äđta-ra-d-iđ?*
 book school-LAT.SG send-PASS-FUT-R.3SG
 ‘The book will be sent to the school.’
- f. *kniga kolu-t äđta-ra-d-iđ-ud’*
 book school-LAT.SG send-PASS-FUT-R.3SG-PST
 ‘The book will have been sent to school.’ [All ZNB IV 9]

12.4.5 Passive and aspect

The majority of passives have a stative-resultative meaning, regardless of whether the attested examples derive from elicitation or spontaneous speech. This poses an important question, namely, whether this stative-resultative meaning excludes aspectual derivation, and if yes, which kinds of aspectual derivations are indeed possible with the passive. Closely related to this is the question of whether transitive-stative verbs, such as ‘love’, ‘want’, or ‘hate’, which have an inherent atelic lexical aspect, can be passivized too. Concerning the latter class, the picture at present is unclear. First, *komaš* ‘want’ is not a transitive verb in Forest Enets as it governs the lative case and, therefore, it cannot

be passivized. Elicitation with the verb *komitaš* ‘love’ failed to produce safe results⁴⁷¹, and only the passive participle construction, which will be addressed later, was judged grammatical. As there seems to be no verb for ‘hate’, the overall question of whether prototypical stative-transitive verbs allow passives cannot be answered.⁴⁷²

Concerning examples from spontaneous speech, no example marked for any kind of aspect could be found. In contrast, during elicitation, some passivized verbs further marked with the durative marker were encountered:

- (24) *bu busi-d koita-ra-gu-iđ*
 3SG old.man-LAT.SG trick-PASS-DUR-R.3SG
 ‘He was tricked by the old man.’ [VNB IV 93]
- (25) *nä äči ää-xu-da eri-t*
 [girl youngster] mother-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG water.fetch-CON
äđta-ra-gu-iđ?
 send-PASS-DUR-R.3SG
 ‘The girl was sent by her mother to fetch water.’ [ZNB 12.12.2007]

Concerning other aspectual derivations, only one habitual is currently attested. As habituals can express repetitive states, the following example, too, allows a resultative interpretation:

- (26) *boo samko-da de-on no čiki-ru-xun mäđi-t*
 bad lock-PX.GEN.3SG toward-PROL door this-LIM-LOC.SG wind-LAT.SG
nät-ra-ubi-đ?
 open-PASS-HAB-R.3SG
 ‘Because of that bad lock of his, the door is usually opened by the wind.’
 [ZNB III 64]

Other aspectual derivations in combination with the passive are currently not attested in my data.

12.4.6 Passive and mood

Several isolated examples in which verbs are marked for both passive and conditional mood *-ni* were presented by Sorokina (1977: 206). Concerning ordering principles, the passive marker precedes the mood suffix. As Sorokina’s analysis differs from mine, both examples are re-glossed, but the original transliteration is preserved:

471. Once, a consultant produced a passive clause with the verb ‘love’ but during cross-checking with other consultants, this was judged ungrammatical.

472. Example (20) shows that ‘see’ can be passivized. This verb is inherently perfective though.

- (27) a. *more-ra-ńi-jď-od'*
break-PASS-COND-R.3SG-PST
'If this would have been broken'
- b. *pasu-ra-ńi-jď-od'*
write-PASS-COND-R.3SG-PST
'If this would have been written'⁴⁷³

Similar examples could be obtained through elicitation. Whereas in example (28a), the passivized verb is somehow surprisingly encoded in conjugation I, in (28b) the expected vx of conjugation III appeared.⁴⁷⁴

- (28) a. *čenuju bodu-? kańi-ńi-ď-uč čukči nānagi-xiď*
yesterday.ADV tundra-LAT go-COND-1SG-PST all mosquito-LAT.PL
o-la-ńi-ď-uč
eat-PASS-COND-1SG-PST
'If I would have gone to the tundra yesterday, I would have been eaten by the mosquitos.' [DSB V 48]
- b. *bunik kasa äči-d dōđi-ra-ńi-ď-ud'*
dog [man youngster]-LAT.SG beat-PASS-COND-R.3SG-PST
'The dog would have been beaten by the boy.' [DSV V 48]

12.4.7 Variation in agent encoding – differential encoding or decay?

As mentioned above, the passive in Forest Enets is usually agentless in spontaneous speech. Such agentless passives are also widely attested in elicitation:

- (29) *otuđnuju ńe-? internat-ud äđđu-š kada-ra-d-iđ?*
fall.ADV children-[NOM.PL] school-LAT.SG drive-CON take-PASS-FUT-R.3SG
'In fall, the children will be taken to school.' [ZNB 121207]

Still, the decisive factor for calling it a passive is the possibility of encoding an agent. Animacy does not play any role as inanimates (30), (31) and animates (32), (24) can qualify as agents:

473. *pasuš* 'write' is apparently a typo in the original.

474. It must be mentioned, though, that work on this category proved to be difficult, which explains the slip of the tongue in (28a), which shows no conjugation III on the verb.

- (30) *mod' vertal'ot-ut kolu-t tora-r-ii?*
 1SG helicopter-LAT.SG school-LAT.SG bring-PASS-R.1SG
 'I was brought to school by a helicopter' [ZNB IV 54]
- (31) *mädi-d no tora-r-id?*
 wind-LAT.SG door close-PASS-R.3SG
 'The door was closed by the wind.' [ZNB III 65]
- (32) *bu busi-d koita-ra-gu-id*
 3SG old.man-LAT.SG trick-PASS-DUR-R.3SG
 'He was tricked by the old man.' [VNB IV 93]
- (7b) *bunki-d sakra-r-ii?*
 dog-LAT.SG bit-PASS-R.1SG
 'I was bitten by the dog.' [ZNB IV 37]

Pronouns, too, are marked with the lative case:

- (33) *mod' bu noda kolu-t tođa-r-ij?*
 1SG 3SG.LAT school-LAT.SG bring-PASS-R.1SG
 'I was brought to school by him.' [ZNB IV 54]
- (34) *še-xo-d no tora-r-id?*
 who-INDEF-LAT.SG door close-PASS-R.3SG
 'The door was closed by somebody.' [ZNB III 65]
- (11) *obu-xuru še-xuru-d ni-d? tođa-ra-?*
 what-NEG who-NEG-LAT.SG NEG.AUX-R.3SG bring-PASS-CN
 'Nothing was brought by anybody.' [ZNB IV 54]

However, occasionally nominal agents are found which were marked with the locative-instrumental and not with the lative:

- (35) *odu doxa bedi-gun kada-ra-b-id?*
 boat river_[N/G] current-LOC.SG carry-PASS-PERF-R.3SG
 'The boat was taken with the river current.' [ZNB IV 36]
- (36) *odu doxa bedi-t kada-ra-b-id?*
 boat river_[N/G] current-LAT.SG carry-PASS-PERF-R.3SG
 'The boat was taken by the river current.' [ZNB IV 36]

This behavior is somehow unexpected, but all the data come from one consultant. According to her, the difference in (35) and (36) was due to volition, and (35) should be translated as taken away ‘by accident’. A further example which was said to follow the same pattern looks as follows:

- (37) *bi-t* *kada-ra-bi-đ?*
 water-LAT.SG carry-PASS-PERF-R.3SG
 ‘It was taken away by the stream.’ (Lit. ‘by the water’)

- (38) *bi-kun* *kada-ra-bi-đ?*
 water-LOC.SG carry-PASS-PERF-R.3SG
 ‘It was taken away with the stream.’ [both ZNB IV 36]

Such examples are not numerous and, it must be stressed immediately, were restricted to one consultant. It seems likely that instead of volition in (35) – (38) we are dealing with Russian interference. As Russian marks the agents of passive constructions with the instrumental case, the secondary meaning of the Forest Enets locatives as instrumental was chosen perhaps by accident during elicitation. Other examples of this kind, where volitional vs. unvolitional could not apply but the agent is encoded with LOC, include:

- (39) *äki balok kasa äči-gin mä-ra-d-id?*
 this balok [man_[N/G] youngster]-LOC.PL make-PASS-FUT-R.3SG
 ‘This balok will be built by the sons.’ [ZNB 12.12.2007]

- (40) *čiki pađur äsi-xun-da pađ-ra-d-id?*
 this letter father-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.3SG write-PASS-FUT-R.3SG
 ‘This letter will be written by his father.’ [ZNB 12.12.2007]

Whereas in (35) and (38) a locative interpretation is theoretically possible, this is impossible in (39) and (40), where the secondary instrumental function of the locative is used.

12.4.8 Passive and participles

As described in chapter 8.3 Forest Enets has a variety of participles. For the discussion of passives, the perfective participle has to be addressed in more detail because it is unoriented and can refer either to the verb’s underlying actor or its undergoer. As such, unoriented participles can express a passive meaning without overt passive morphology:

- (41) *đuru-mi enči*
 speak-PTCP.PFT person
 ‘A person who has (already) spoken.’ [ZNB IV 35]

- (42) *pu-mi tuka*
 put-PTCP.PFT axe
 ‘An axe which was laid down.’ [LDB I 183]

Interestingly enough, perfective participles, in sharp contrast to imperfective participles, can further co-occur with the passive marker:

- (43) *tođ-ra-i kasa-ń kniġa-đ tol ńi-n mošči*
 bring-PASS-PTCP.PFT brother-PX.GEN.1SG book-BEN table_[GEN] on-LOC lie.3SG
 ‘The books which were brought for my brother lie on the table.’ [NKB IV 180]

When combined with the passive marker, perfective participles allow the addition of agents. Such agents are encoded either by the lative or the locative case.⁴⁷⁵ The following list of examples merely demonstrates this behavior; an explanation for either agent marking cannot be offered for the time being as this variation is restricted to the same consultant who showed similar variation with agents of passivized verbs:

- (44) *mäđi-t kada-ra-i koba*
 wind-LAT.SG take-PASS-PTCP.PFT skin
 ‘A skin which was taken away by the wind.’ [ZNB IV 7]
- (45) *te-d todu-la-i bunik*
 reindeer-LAT.SG trample-PASS-PTCP.PFT dog
 ‘A dog trampled down by a reindeer.’ [ZNB IV 7]
- (46) *kasa enči-gun komita-ra-i kati*
 [man person]-LOC.SG love-PASS-PTCP.PFT girl
 ‘A girl loved by the boy.’ [ZNB IV 7]

Although participles allow further passive specification as shown in (47), unoriented participles can be used without such markers, and, in fact, they are as frequent as passive-derived participles, as shown in (48):

- (47) *busi-xu-da dūt-ra-i nā*
 old.man-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG beat-PASS-PTCP.PFT woman
 ‘A woman beaten by her man.’ [ZNB IV 7]
- (48) *tipi-xun laturta-i ođi-?*
 hail-LOC.SG beat.down-PTCP.PFT berry_[NOM.PL]
 ‘Berries smashed by the hail.’ [ZNB IV 7]

475. No examples of passive-derived participles are currently attested in transcribed narratives so far.

tion III to a transitive verb; instead, the passive marker *-ra/-la*, which merely triggers conjugation III, must be considered the central element:

- (52) a. *Leonid Vitalik-ut koru mi?ä*
 PN PN-LAT.SG knife_[ACC] give.3SG
 ‘Leonid gave a knife to Vitalij.’ [ZNB IV 9]
- b. *Vitalik-ut koru mi-l-id?*
 PN-LAT.SG knife give-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘Vitalij was given a knife.’ [ZNB IV 9]

In the chapter on aspect (7.3) a homonymous suffix *-ra/-la*, which also triggers conjugation III, was described. This suffix expresses inchoative aspect and triggers conjugation III. Input verbs are generally intransitive and remain formally intransitive after derivation but appear in conjugation III:

- (53) a. *nä ne dara*
 [woman child] cry.3SG
 ‘The girl is crying.’
- b. *nä ne dara-r-id?*
 [woman child] cry-INCH-R.3SG
 ‘The girl started to cry.’

Apart from intransitive verbs, there are also several transitive verbs which have to undergo detransitivization by *-du/-tu* and which can be used with the inchoative:

- (54) *kasa-i? male mui-tu-l-id?*
 man-PX.1SG already build-DETR-INCH-R.3SG
 ‘My husband already began building.’ [LDB & NKB I 189]

Otherwise, transitive verbs block this derivation, and a periphrastic construction with *päs* ‘begin’ must be used:

- (55) *no šeru-gu-š pä-ba?*
 so bury-DUR-CON begin-1PL
 ‘So we started burying her’. [EIB Clairvoyant]
- (56) *peči muju-č pä-da-đ?*
 oven_[ACC] make-CON begin-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will start building a (new) oven.’ [ANP Oven]

Several ambitransitive verbs are registered, which allow inchoative derivation with *-ra/-la*, the outcome of which cannot be interpreted as passive:

- (57) *bu oo-l-idʔ*
 3SG eat-INCH-R.3SG
 ‘He started eating.’ [LDB & NKB I 190]

Example (57) coincides with an earlier observation that there have been problems with passivizing stative-transitive (atelic) verbs. Although at present there is only a strong correlation, a suggestion that *-ra/-la* is blocked by transitive verbs which need a periphrastic construction with *päš* ‘begin’ to express inchoativity, as this would otherwise result in a passive interpretation, is at hands:

- (58) *onai mä-či mokta-gu-š pä-xiʔ*
 real chum-PX.ACC.SG.3DU put.up-DUR-CON begin-3DU
 ‘They started to put up their chum.’ [LDB Shaman]

- (59) *mäʔ malé mokta-ra-bidʔ*
 chum already put.up-PASS-PERF.R.3SG
 ‘The chum was already put up.’ [ZNB IV 8]

As the next step, the question of agent encoding needs to be addressed. I tentatively assume that lative-marked agents were introduced to the intransitive inchoative predicate to express an external enforcer which made a situation come into being. As examples such as (30) show, the agent encoded by the lative case is conceptually clearly different from the usual goal-based interpretation of latives, and both can appear simultaneously:

- (30) *modʔ vertalot-ut kolu-t tora-r-ijʔ*
 1SG helicopter-LAT.SG school-LAT.SG bring-PASS-R.1SG
 ‘I was brought to school by a helicopter’ [ZNB IV 54]

Further support for this external enforcer scenario comes from the observation that passives usually express a stative-resultative situation, for which the underlying inchoative aspect marker seems to be responsible. This assumption can be backed up by the observation that atelic verbs appeared to be problematic to passivize. The addition of an external enforcer to this stative-resultative situation eventually led to the grammaticalization of a passive.

12.5.2 The Forest Enets passive from an areal perspective

12.5.2.1 Lative-marked and similarly marked agents in Eurasia

From a cross-linguistic perspective, lative-marked agents of passives are at least unusual, because either morphologically or adpositionally marked locative, instrumental, ablative or similar agents seem to be preferred. On the other hand, lative-marked agents (or their functional equivalents encoding goals) are not unusual in Siberia and Northern Eurasia, though they do not occur throughout the whole area. Whereas the list below shows a variety of languages in Northern Eurasia which have been reported to have lative-marked agents with passives, other languages spoken much closer to Forest Enets follow the cross-linguistically more general pattern of using functional equivalents of locatives and instrumentals for the encoding of agents. Ket and probably Yeniseian in general relies on comitatives.⁴⁷⁷ The neighboring Turkic languages Dolgan and Yakut rely on instrumentals. Whereas Yakut has been reported to prefer impersonals⁴⁷⁸, Dolgan allows agents that are encoded with the instrumental case:

- (60) a. *täätä-m* *it-i* *boi-buta*
 father-PX.1SG dog-ACC punish-PSTII.3SG
 ‘My father punished the dog.’ [AAB]
- b. *it* *täätä-bi-nen* *boi-ullu-buta*
 dog father-PX.1SG-INSTR punish-PASS-PSTII.3SG
 ‘The dog was punished by my father.’ [AAB]

However, Yakut (61a) and Dolgan (61b) also seem to possess a category which looks like an adversative passive where the agent can be encoded in the dative case (Artem'ev 1999: 80; GSJ I 255):

- (61) a. *Кубах* *айа-ҕа* *ман-тар-быт*
 hare arbalest-DAT fall-CAUS-PSTII.3SG
 ‘The hare got killed by an arbalest.’ (Ru: ‘Заяц угодил под самострел.’)
 [GSJ I 255]
- b. *буһузу* *ынныт* *тут-тар-быт* *этэ* *эбээкэ-гэ*
 1PL dog.PX.1PL bite-CAUS-PTCP.PST be.PST.3SG bear-DAT
 ‘Our dog was bitten by a bear.’ (Ru: ‘Наша собака была покусана медведем.’)
 [Artem'ev 1999: 80]

477. E.g. Ket (Werner 1997a: 116; 214–221); the same has been reported for Yugh (Werner 1997b: 79; 148–150), which however differs from Ket in the degree of grammaticalization. For the extinct Kott, the existence of a medium-passive has been assumed too (Werner 1997c: 111).

478. GSJ I (1982: 265–268) claimed that occasionally agents in either the dative or the instrumental case are attested but an impersonal meaning seems to prevail.

Further, lative-marked agents are attested in the following languages or language families in Eurasia: For Uralic, lative-marked agents (or those marked with other functionally similar cases) have been reported for Nganasan⁴⁷⁹, Mansi⁴⁸⁰ and several Saami varieties.⁴⁸¹ In Turkic, both Tuva⁴⁸² and Xakas⁴⁸³ are reported to allow lative-marked passives. In Tungusic, the same strategy is widely attested, e.g. Udeghe⁴⁸⁴, Even⁴⁸⁵, Evenki⁴⁸⁶, Manchu⁴⁸⁷ as well as in Mongolic (e.g. Buryat, Mongol). However, at least historically-speaking this isogloss must be addressed with caution. For example, Tuva marks the agents of passives with the dative, however the dative case expresses not only movement towards a goal but also location and therefore, at least synchronically, agent marking is ambivalent.⁴⁸⁸ Also for Tungusic, a similar situation has been reported; the dative in Udeghe, Evenki and Manchu expresses both movement and location, and to a certain degree this seems to be valid in Even, though with some semantic restrictions.⁴⁸⁹ Also Mongol and Buryat behave similarly.

For Saami and Ob-Ugric languages, the picture is a somewhat more complicated. At least Mansi has been reported to mark the agents of passives with the lative case, however its closest relative Khanty relies on the locative (Kulonen 1989). Still, a case distinction encoding goal and location is generally attested. For several Saami varieties, the passive continuum contains several constructions but the prototypical passive is regularly marked by the locative or the ablative. In contrast, a more ‘specialized passive’ (often with an adversative connotation) that encodes agents with the illative case has been reported (see e.g. Schlachter 1968).

12.5.2.2 Passives, resultatives and adversatives in Eurasia

Another interesting feature of passives in several languages of Eurasia is concerned with their meaning. Evenki and Even are known to possess passives and adversative passives (Nedjalkov also assumes that Evenki has both personal and impersonal passives), yet for Forest Enets no adversative passive is attested. The description of Nganasan passives does not mention adversative passives either. On the other hand, Forest Enets passives share an important feature with Tungusic and Ket, namely that passive expresses a stative-resultative meaning. As far as Dolgan and Yakut are concerned, available data and descriptions point into the same direction. For Nganasan, this question has not been addressed as of yet, but all examples in the accounts on Nganasan passives in recent years (Leisiö 2006; Wagner-Nagy 2001: 44–47) show a clear stative-resultative reading.

479. Leisiö (2006).

480. Kulonen (1989).

481. Schlachter (1968, 1984, 1986).

482. Harrison & Anderson (1999: 18–19).

483. Anderson (1998: 8–9).

484. Girfanova (2002: 26).

485. Malchukov (1995: 14).

486. Bulatova & Grenoble (1998: 9).

487. Avrorin (2000: 84).

488. Note that Tuva has a locative case which however cannot be used in this context (see Harrison & Anderson 1999: 18–19). In contrast to Tuva, Xakas has preserved an independent locative case.

489. Girfanova (2000: 11–12), Nedjalkov (1997: 152); Malchukov (1995: 14).

12.6 The Forest Enets passive – conclusions

As already mentioned in the introduction, passives are not attested in all the Samoyedic languages. As Northern Samoyedic Nganasan, Forest Enets, Tundra Enets and Southern Samoyedic Ket Selkup have been reported to have a passive, this isogloss does not coincide with any other known Samoyedic isogloss. Although both Nganasan and both Enets languages encode agents of passives using the lative case and although the Nganasan passive suffix *-ru* and the Enets suffixes (FE *-ra/-la*; TE *-re/-le*) are remarkably close, no common history can be constructed for the time being. From a typological perspective, the constellation in which the Forest Enets passive marker is homonymous with the inchoative marker and the agent is encoded using the lative case shows a significant parallel in several Saami varieties. Although the passive category is structurally diverse in Saami, Schlachter has constantly mentioned the existence of a ‘specialized passive’ whose agent is encoded using the lative case (called the illative in Saami linguistics) (Schlachter 1966, 1984, 1986). This ‘specialized passive’ is said to occur with inchoative verbs only, and this parallel calls for further research. The parallel is even more intriguing as Haspelmath’s survey of the grammaticalization of passives (Haspelmath 1990) did not mention the inchoative as a potential source for passives.

13. Complex sentences

Complex sentences are largely terra incognita in Forest Enets. Tereščenko's monograph on comparative Samoyedic syntax (T73) was restricted to simple main clauses and excluded complex clauses. Irina Sorokina published several small articles on complex sentences focusing mainly on adverbial clauses (Sorokina 1981a, 1985, 1990, ST) as well as a short, incomplete account on coordination (1994). As her work on adverbial clauses was mainly conducted within the framework of the Novosibirsk 'school', this makes the syntactic argumentation hard to follow for those not trained in this tradition. In 2008, Khanina and Shluinsky addressed finite subordination in Forest Enets, however with little primary data on the language of the current generation of speakers. Their effort is best understood as a pilot study which, however, is not included in this discussion.⁴⁹⁰

13.1 Coordination on clause level

The default coordination strategy on clause/sentence level is juxtaposition:

- (1) *kasa enči id-tu-ŋa poga šiti-go*
 [man person] consume-DETRS-FREQ.3SG net_[ACC] repair-DUR.3SG
 'The man is smoking and repairing his nets.' [LDB II 54]

Occasionally, *točgođ* 'and then, and after this' introduces a clause which is semantically closely connected to the preceding clause, as it expresses a subsequent action. Still, *točgođ* should be better understood as a temporal adverb:

- (2) *čiki počtovij katir ni-? ad-iŋ? // točgođ Dudinka-xađ*
 this postal_[ADJ.RU] boat_[GEN] on-LAT sit-R.1DU then Dudinka-ABL.SG
tona taxa kaŋi-ä?
 still back.LAT go-1PL
 'So we two sat on this post boat. Then from Dudinka on, we even went further.'
 [NKB Childhood]

Occasionally, the Russian connector *i* 'and' can be found in Forest Enets. In contrast to Russian, which uses *i* as a connector on both phrase and clause level, Forest Enets prefers it as a coordinator on sentence level. Although consultants clearly avoid *i* in elicitation and correct themselves, it is readily attested in spontaneous speech:

490. The discussion in Khanina & Shluinsky (2008) was based on a very small data set from pilot-phase fieldwork which was then compared to earlier descriptions by Irina Sorokina. As the scope of this work is to present my own data which I can back up, I have decided not to address their study in any detail. This is reserved for the future.

- (3) *sämi-je-xuđ* *šimbi-š* *käni-bi* *i* *mä-k-ta*
 wolf-PEJ-ABL.SG run-CON go-PERF.3SG and chum-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG
to-b-iđ?
 come-PERF-R.3SG
 ‘Running away from the wolf, he went and came to his chum.’ [ANP Legend]
- (4) *onsi-on* *ma-bi* *i* *enču* *ma-ńim* *aa*
 SO-PROL say-PERF.3SG and person_[NOM.PL] say-ASS.3PL EXCL
 ‘So he said and the people say, “oh”.’ [LDB Shaman]⁴⁹¹
- (5) *no* *vot* *kasa-i* *ši* *ko* *kodu* *ńi-?* *ad-iń?*
 SO PTCL man-PX.1SG 1SG.ACC find.3SG sled_[GEN] on-LAT sit-R.1DU
i *mä-ku-ń?* *kani-i?*
 and chum-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1DU go-1DU
 ‘So yes, my husband found me. We sat on the sled and went to our chum.’
 [NKB Yenisei]

13.2 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses were studied in some detail by Sorokina following the general framework of ‘dependent predicates and polypredicative constructions’ characteristic of the Novosibirsk school of syntax.⁴⁹² In these papers (Sorokina 1981a, 1985, 1990, ST), the morphological means of expressing ‘dependent predicates’ received much more attention than their functional interpretation. In the following discussion, the adverbial clauses are classified on the basis of their form and meaning. All adverbial clauses are morphosyntactically non-finite and dependent clauses, but differ in the form of their non-finite predicates and the encoding of their arguments. The following table presents the different types of adverbial clauses before they are discussed in detail:

491. *mabi* instead of *mambi* is infrequent but apparently a sign of simplifying paradigms as *mad* ‘say’ belongs to a small set of slightly irregular verbs.

492. As no specialized introduction is available, the best overview can be found in the collected works of Čeremisina (Čeremisina 2004).

TYPE	MORPHOLOGY	SYNTAX	SECTION
POSTERIORITY	V _{NLZ} + PX _{GEN} + <i>orun</i> ‘before’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agent expressed by PX_{GEN} on nominalized verb • Subject and object degraded to adjunct of nominalized verb • Oblique arguments are allowed 	13.2.1.1
SIMULTANEITY	<u>Construction 1:</u> V + PTCP.IPF + LAT.SG + PX _{GEN} <u>Construction 2:</u> V _{NLZ} + PX _{GEN} + postposition <i>šer</i>	<u>Construction 1:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agent expressed by PX_{GEN} on nominalized verb • Object marking preserved • Oblique arguments are allowed <u>Construction 2:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agent expressed by PX_{GEN} on nominalized verb • Oblique arguments are allowed • Object marking unclear 	13.2.1.2
ANTERIORITY	V _{NLZ} + ABL.SG + PX _{GEN}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agent expressed by PX_{GEN} on nominalized verb • Object marking preserved • Oblique arguments are allowed 	13.2.1.3
MANNER	-š converb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agent of manner clause co-referential with agent of main clause → no special marking on the non-finite verb 	13.2.2
PURPOSIVE	<u>Construction 1:</u> <i>-ud’, -uč</i> <u>Construction 2:</u> <i>kusaeš, kusaiš</i>	<u>Construction 1:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agent of purposive clause co-referential with agent of main clause → no person marking on the non-finite verb • Object of purposive clause expressed as genitive adjunct of purposive verb. <u>Construction 2:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agent of purposive clause co-referential with agent of main clause • Object marking preserved 	13.2.3
‘INSTEAD OF DOING X’ CONSTRUCTION	<u>Construction 1:</u> V + PTCP.FUT + postposition <i>déon</i> <u>Construction 2:</u> V _{NLZ} + PX _{GEN} + postposition <i>déon</i>	<u>Construction 1:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agent of adverbial clause formally unexpressed <u>Construction 2:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agent expressed by PX_{GEN} on nominalized verb • Object degraded to genitive adjunct of nominalized verb. 	13.2.4.1 13.2.4.2
‘LEST CONSTRUCTIONS’	NEG.AUX-PTCP + PX _{GEN} + V _{CN}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agent expressed by PX_{GEN} on negative auxiliary 	13.2.4.3
TEMPORAL/CONDITIONAL	V- <i>bu/pu</i> -PX _{GEN} OR PX _{NOM}	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agent expressed by PX_{GEN} on converb • Object marking preserved • Oblique arguments preserved 	13.3

Table 13-1: Adverbial clauses

13.2.1 Adverbial clauses with temporal reference

Temporal adverbial clauses are formed by non-finite verb forms, which usually occupy the left periphery and precede the main clauses they modify. The resulting order is prototypically $\text{CLAUSE}_{\text{ADV}} \text{CLAUSE}_{\text{MAIN}}$.

13.2.1.1 Posteriority

The concept of posteriority (*before A happens, B happens*) is expressed by a postpositional phrase with *oru-n* ‘before, in front of’, whose dependent is a *zero/-ma-nominalized* verb.⁴⁹³ The nominalized verb is further marked with PX_{GEN} , where the PX denotes the agent of an action. Otherwise, the nominalization inherits the argument structure of the finite verb:

- (6) *kañe-n* *oru-n* *Leonid* *obu-xo* *noñ* *mana-š*
 go_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.1SG before-LOC Leonid what-INDEF_[ACC] 1SG.LAT say-3SG.PST
 ‘Before I left, Leonid said something to me.’ [VNB IV 143]
- (7) *đagu-ma-da* *oru-n* *či* *mod’ bađiä-t* *koma-đ*
 not.exist-NLZ-PX.GEN.3SG before-LOC so 1SG tell_{NLZ}-LAT.SG want-1SG
 ‘Before she died, I wanted to say...’ [EIB Clairvoyant]
- (8) *mä-kuđ-uda* *ođi-ma-da* *oru-n* *bu* *meju đori-?*
 house-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG leave-NLZ-PX.GEN.3SG before-LOC 3SG new talk-_[ACC.PL]
đusiri-š
 listen-3SG.PST
 ‘Before she left her house, she listened to the news.’ [ZNB I 76]

Certain descriptive problems arise when arguments appear that depend on the nominalized verb. Due to the lack of overt case morphology for core cases it is not obvious whether such an NP should be considered an argument of the verb or a genitive adjunct of the nominalized verb:⁴⁹⁴

- (9) *Leonid* *kañe-da* *oru-n* *mod’* *obu-xo*
 Leonid_[?] go_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.3SG before-LOC 1SG what-INDEF_[ACC]
toi-ŋa-đ-ut’
 ask-FREQ-1SG-PST
 ‘Before Leonid left, I asked him something.’ [VNB IV 143]

493. See 8.4 for a description of this type of nominalization (*zero/-ma type*)

494. Examples with PX could neither be found in my collected data nor in Sorokina’s writings.

- (10) *paður?* *paða-ń* *oru-n* *mod'* *magazin-ud*
 letter_[?] write_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.1SG before-LOC 1SG shop-LAT.SG
kańe-d *koma-ď-ut'*
 go_{NLZ}-LAT.SG want-1SG-PST
 ‘Before I wrote the letters I wanted to go to the shop.’ [ZNB I 78]

As the adverbial clause expressing posteriority is syntactically a postpositional phrase, both *Leonid* in (9) and *paður?* ‘letters’ (10) should be considered genitive adjuncts of the nominalized verb, even with the absence of formal morphological proof at the moment. Further support for such an interpretation is offered by Forest Nenets, which uses a similar postpositional construction for the expression of posteriority in which the argument of the nominalized verb is genitive-marked and serves as an adjunct of the nominalized verb (Kaur Mägi, p.c.). Based on this, the NP *Leonid* in example (9) and *paður?* ‘letters’ in (10) are considered adjuncts of the nominalized verb and glossed as [GEN] and [GEN.PL] respectively:

- (9) *Leonid* *kańe-da* *oru-n* *mod' obu-xo* *toi-ńa-ď-ut'*
 Leonid_[GEN] go_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.3SG before-LOC 1SG what-INDEF_[ACC] ask-FREQ-1SG-PST
 ‘Before Leonid left, I asked him something.’ [VNB IV 143]

- (10) *paður-?* *paða-ń* *oru-n* *mod'* *magazin-ud*
 letter_[GEN.PL] write_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.1SG before-LOC 1SG shop-LAT.SG
kańe-d *koma-ď-ut'*
 go_{NLZ}-LAT.SG want-1SG-PST
 ‘Before I wrote the letters I wanted to go to the shop.’ [ZNB I 78]

13.2.1.2 Simultaneity

The concept of simultaneity (A and B co-occur at the same moment) is encoded by a construction which relies on the imperfective participle *-ďa/-da/-ta* inflected for lative case and *PX_{GEN}*. Also here, *PX_{GEN}* expresses the agent of the adverbial clause:

- (11) *soši* *äba* *ni-ń* *nä-ďa-xa-ń* *đotu-?*
 hill_[N/G] head_[GEN] on-LOC stand-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG goose-_[ACC.PL]
modä-ď-ud'
 see-1SG-PST
 ‘While I was standing on the hill I saw geese.’ [ZNB I 67]

The simultaneity construction can be combined with adverbials and oblique arguments:

- (12) *toʻ od-da deđ dađ-da-xa-da*
 such boat-PX.GEN.3SG toward go-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG
toʻbku-ku-r // täu-đa kurxat päti-đʔ
 mouse-DIM-PX.2SG belly-PX.3SG PART burst-R.3SG
 ‘So, while going towards its boat, this mouse, its belly burst.’
 [NKB Mouse and Fishermen]

In one example, this construction was found with a possible object. Again, due to the absence of case-marking, that is PX/CX marking, the grammatical encoding of the object cannot be classified unanimously. As *biʔ* ‘water’ is a class I**b** noun, where *biđ* can be analysed as either GEN or ACC, both versions are morphologically equally possible. In contrast to the posteriority construction, which is based on a postpositional construction requiring its adjuncts in genitive, this participle construction seems to be more verbal and could license an ACC argument. As will be shown below, also the anteriority construction, which is based on a case-inflected nominalized verb, allows regular objects. Based on this parallel, I opt for object status here. Although syntactically the adverbial clause is an NP, verbal valency is partly inherited as the nominalized verb still governs objects:

- (13) *oti-da-xa-di kod-ra-bi-xi*
 wait-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3DU sleep-INCH-PERF-R.3DU
biđ oo-da-xa-di kod-ra-bi-xiʔ
 water_[ACC] eat-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3DU sleep-INCH-PERF-R.3DU
 ‘While they were waiting, they fell asleep. While drinking vodka, they fell asleep.’
 [LDB Two Fishermen]

In (14), the nominalized predicate is found in a slightly unusual position as it is embedded in the main clause. This type of ordering is marginal:

- (14) *busi toʻ soo-da-xa-da peri kinuo*
 old.man such jump-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG always sing.3SG
 ‘The old man, while jumping in such a manner, was singing.’ [LDB Shaman]

From a discourse point of view, this adverbial clause is most frequently attested when the agent of the main clause and the agent of the adverbial clause are co-referential:

- (15) *điri-da-xa-da toʻ mana ań mana*
 live-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG such say.3SG FOC say.3SG
 ‘While she was still alive (Lit. living), so she said...’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

However, co-referentiality is not required for this construction to be grammatical:

- (16) *dáď-ta-xa-ń* *koti-da-xa-ń*
 go-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1DU swim-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1DU
kasa-i mań obu táxä soši ne-on mań enči
 companion-1SG say.ASS.3SG what that hill_[GEN] on-PROL say.ASS.3SG man
dáďa
 go_{UDI}-3SG
 ‘While floating on the lake (Lit. while going, while swimming), my companion said:
 “there along the hill a man is walking”.’ [LDB Supernatural]

- (17) *děťšu bar-xun adi-ďa-xa-ń*
 Yenisei_[GEN] shore-LOC.SG sit-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG
odu-? to-č
 boat-_[NOM.PL] come-3PL.PST
 ‘While I was sitting on the shore of the Yenisei, boats came.’ [NKB I 130]

Apart from this participle-based construction, a second construction expressing simultaneity is attested, as in (19). The verb in the subordinate clause is a *zero/-ma* nominalized form to which PX_{GEN} attach, expressing the actor. This nominalized predicate serves as the dependent of the postposition *šer*. The postposition *šer* is equally rare, and no satisfying translation can be provided for the time being. Whereas in some examples, *šer* seems to mean ‘in front of’, a meaning otherwise expressed by *orun*, a homonymic noun *šer* ‘thing’ is also attested. As a simple postposition, *šer* has a temporal meaning close to ‘during’.⁴⁹⁵ Compare:

- (18) *kiuďa šer to-sau=jet sama-ďi?*
 morning_[GEN] during come-PROB_{PST}.3SG=EMPH beast-PX.SG.3DU
 ‘So during the morning, their beast must have come (again).’ [LDB Two Fishermen]
- (19) *dáďu-ma-ń šer moga-t to-b-ij?*
 go-NLZ-PX.GEN.1SG during forest-LAT.SG come-PERF-R.1SG
 ‘While walking, I somehow must have come into the forest.’ [ZNB I 46]

As the whole construction is based on a postposition, arguments of verbs should be classified as adjuncts of the nominalized verb. Further, a same-subject requirement is not needed with this nominalization:

- (20) *kirba piri-guo-ń šer pexun sari dáďa-š*
 bread_[GEN] bake-DUR-PX.GEN.1SG during outside rain go_{UDI}-3SG.PST
 ‘While I was baking bread, it was raining outside.’ [ZNB V 3]

495. Though here, too, some other possibilities, such as *dod’igon*, are available.

Sorokina (1985: 143) mentions two more constructions expressing simultaneity. Both are based on nominalizations and postpositions but have not, so far, been identified in my data:

- (21) a. *oma-ń* *dúđigon* *bu* *ši* *ota-š*
 eat_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.1SG during.LOC.SG 3SG 1SG.ACC wait-3SG.PST
 ‘While I was eating, he waited for me.’ [Sorokina 1985: 143]
- b. *äsi-j* *kade-da* *mođigon* *dúđi-ŋa*
 father-PX.1SG sleep_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.3SG during sleep-FREQ.3SG
 ‘My father, while sleeping, dreamt.’ [Sorokina 1985: 144]

13.2.1.3 Anteriority

For expressing anteriority (*after A has happened, B happens*), the verb in the adverbial clause is nominalized by *zero/ma-* and marked for the ablative case, while the agent is expressed by a possessive suffix from the genitive series following the case marker. Otherwise, the argument structure is preserved:

- (22) *tonin* *ada-xad-un* *točguđ* *mä-ku-ń* *kani-d?*
 there.LOC sit_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.1SG then chum-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG go-1SG
 ‘After having visited (Lit. ‘from visiting-my’), then I went home.’ [ZNB Weekend]
- (23) *naarnuju* *no* *vot* *orte* *sei-da-r* *kari-t*
 spring.ADV so yes first clean-FUT-SG.2SG fish-PX.ACC.2SG
točgođ *seira-xad-ud* *liđida* *kaara-da-t*
 then clean_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.2SG bone.PX.ACC.PL.3SG take-FUT-2SG
liđida *kaara-xad-ut* *mo-da-r* *nu*
 bone.PX.ACC.PL.3SG take_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.2SG take-FUR-SG.2SG so
motu-da-r
 cut-FUT-SG.2SG
 ‘In spring, so first you clean your fish, then after having cleaned it you will have to take out its bones. Then after you have taken out its bones you will take it, so, you will cut it.’ [NKB Jukola]
- (24) *äjeiču-d* *šero-xođ-ud* *kań* *täxä*
 relative-PX.ACC.2SG bury_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.2SG go.IMP.2SG those
kašixid
 friend.LAT.PL
 ‘After you have buried your older relative, go to those friends.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

In one case, the adverbial clause could be found after the main clause:

- (25) *čiki dabu-xun đurak bađa đurta ši*
 this period-LOC.SG Nenets word_[ACC] forget.SG.1SG 1SG.ACC
enču pišisa-xađ-du
 person_[NOM.PL] mock_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3PL
 ‘In this period I forgot Nenets, after the people’s mocking me.’ [NKB Childhood]

Nominalized verbs of motion, too, preserve their argument structure:

- (26) *mä-k-ta to-xađ-da minxuda*
 chum-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG come_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG at.once
mosara-š adi-đ?
 work-CON sit-R.3SG
 ‘After having returned home, he immediately sat down to work.’ [LDB II 44]

In this construction, too, the agent in the adverbial clause need not be identical to the agent of the finite main clause:

- (27) *äu Potabu-t to-xađ-na enču-?*
 here.LAT Potapovo-LAT.SG come_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.1PL people-_[NOM.PL]
kerna? enčuna? kerna? enčuna?
 own.PX.GEN.3SG person_{PL}.PX.PL.1PL own.PX.GEN.3SG person_{PL}.PX.PL.1PL
ŋa-ŋim ań kerna? enči-gin-ina
 be_{LOC}-ASS.3PL FOC own.PX.GEN.1PL person-LOC.PL-PX.GEN.PL.1PL
mud’ đurak bađa-ru-n đori-ť pä-u
 1SG Nenets word-LIM-PROL speak-CON begin-SG.1SG
 ‘After we came back here to Potapovo, our people and our own people, with our own people I started to speak Tundra Nenets.’ [NKB Childhood]⁴⁹⁶

- (28) *sensi po đagu-xađ-da mensi đagu-ma-š*
 several year not.exist_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG old.woman not.exist-RES-3SG.PST
 ‘Some years after his death, the old woman had died.’ [LDB Taboo]

Weather verbs, which are monovalent, require an overt agent as PX.GEN.3SG when used in anteriority constructions:

- (29) *kiudä-š kańe-xađ-da nări-xi?*
 morning-TRSL go_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG wake.up-R.3SG
 ‘After it began to dawn, they woke up.’ [LDB Two Fishermen]

496. This example is also interesting from another perspective, as here the verb ‘begin’ seems to ‘agree’ with an oblique ‘speaking Tundra Nenets’, which is marked by the prolativ. As it is the only instance of this kind of ‘agreement’ with an oblique, cross-checking with the speaker is necessary before far-reaching conclusions can be made.

13.2.1.4 Summary: temporal adverbial clauses

As the description above has shown, Forest Enets relies on three different strategies to express posteriority, simultaneity and anteriority. Both anteriority and posteriority are expressed by nominalization (*zero/-ma* type), but while in the case of posteriority the nominal depends on the postposition *orun*, the nominalization expressing anteriority is marked for ABL.SG. Simultaneity is realized by a different construction, in which the imperfective participle is inflected for lative case. In all three instances, the actor is expressed by PX_{GEN} on the nominalized verb.

For simultaneous actions, a second strategy with the postposition *šer* was encountered. Other constructions expressing simultaneity as mentioned in Sorokina (1985) are not attested in my data.

13.2.2 Manner

Manner clauses are formed by converbs marked with the suffix *-š*. The implied subject/agent of the converb is coreferential with the subject of the verb of the main clause:

- (30) *stol ke-xun adi-š minxuda kariḁa sei-gu-š*
 table_[GEN] side-LOC.SG sit-CON at.once fish.PX.ACC.PL.3SG clean-DUR-CON
pā
 begin.3SG
 ‘Sitting at the table, he immediately started cleaning the fish.’ [LDB II 44]

- (31) *aḁ-iš nābi-da te mudā?-āḁ*
 sit-CON run-PTCP.IPF reindeer_[ACC] see-1SG
 ‘Sitting (being in a sitting position), I saw a running reindeer.’ [ANP Bear]

Occasionally, manner clauses can also be embedded, though this is rare:

- (32) *nā kod soču ḁi-n adi-š ḁe-da mosta-go*
 woman sled_[N/G] nose_[GEN] on-LOC sit-CON child-PX.ACC.3SG lull.to.sleep-DUR.3SG
 ‘Sitting on the front part of the sled, the woman lulls her child to sleep.’
 [LDB & NKB & VNB II 55]

Simultaneous events that do not involve the subject referent of the main clause as an agent must be expressed by the simultaneity construction:

- (33) *mud' oo-da-xa-ḁ ši oti-š*
 1SG eat-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG 1SG.ACC wait-3SG.PST
 ‘While I was eating, he waited for me.’ [LDB II 73]

An interesting mixture of manner clause with the otherwise infinitival properties of *-š* is attested in a variety of examples provided by ANP. In the following two examples, the manner converb *-š* is used in the same way as Russian would use the regular infinitive in impersonal constructions. For other consultants these examples sounded bad, and imperatives were provided instead:

- (34) a. *ko kibi sāxeti enči-xun mota-š ifuk enči motra-š*
 birch_[ACC] sin old man-LOC.SG⁴⁹⁷ cut-CON young person cut-CON
tara
 must.3SG
 ‘It is a sin to cut a birch with an old man; a young person must cut it.’
 (Ru: ‘Со старыми людьми грех берёза рубить, надо просить молодых.’)
 [ANP II 71]

- b. *udamo bāri-t kibi*
 food_[ACC] throw-CON sin.3SG
 ‘It is a sin to throw food away.’ (Ru: ‘Еду бросить – грех.’) [ANP II 71]

13.2.3 Purpose-final clauses

There are two kinds of purposive adverbial clauses. One is marked by the suffix *-ud’/-uč*, the other by *-saeš*. In both instances, the final component of the suffix is homonymous with the manner converb *-š*, although in the first case it seems to have merged with an unknown glottal stop. The suffix *-ud’* was erroneously classified as an aspectual marker by Künnap (1999: 28): ‘the most common suffixes of the aspect are as follows (...) the finitive *-wd’/-od’*, e.g. *met kani tāhi? kađa-wd’* ‘he entered the tent to slay two reindeer’.⁴⁹⁸ What Künnap regarded as an aspectual marker should rather be classified as a purposive marker, as this suffix is not attached to the finite main verb:

- (35) *mā-t kani te-xi? kađa-ud’*
 chum-LAT.SG go.3SG reindeer-_[ACC.DU] kill-PURP
 ‘He went to the chum to kill two reindeer.’ [LDB II 34]

As the structure of (34) shows, the verb marked for purpose is formally non-finite as no *vx* are added, and, therefore, it cannot occur independently. It seems that the purposive form is a special type of nominalization and implies an overtly unexpressed agent which must be identical with the subject referent of the matrix verb. In this respect, the purposive *-ud’* resembles the converb marked in *-š*.

497. Again, a glottal stop noun (class IIa) behaves as a class I stem as the expected assimilations do not apply.

498. This semantically rather odd examples derives from [T73:147], but one would not kill a reindeer inside a chum. The position of the purposive-marked verb after the finite verb in this example is also syntactically unusual.

In general, purposive forms with *-ud'* (occasionally realized also as *-uč*) are not very common; further, there is certain trend to use the manner converb *-š* instead of the purposive.⁴⁹⁹ This is probably due to the same-subject requirement in both instances. Purposive constructions are semantically akin to one another in that all examples are expressed with a finite verb of movement. The purposive clause is generally embedded and the finite verb appears clause-finally:

- (36) *pä-ud'* *moga-d* *dóđu-ŋa*
 collect.wood-PURP forest-LAT.SG go-FREQ.3SG
 'He went to the forest to collect firewood.' [ANP Old Woman and Son]

- (37) *mud'* *päu-uč* *kāni-ta-ď?* *pontek* *piri-?*
 1SG collect.wood-PUROP go-FUT-1SG then cook-IMP.2SG
 'I will go collect wood. Then cook (him)!' [ANP Giant and Man]

Purposive forms derived from transitive verbs can combine with a genitive NP corresponding to the object NP of the finite verb form:

- (38) *kiudnuju* *naak* *ďeri-xun* *kiudnuju* *pogu-ń*
 morning.ADV next day-LOC.SG morning.ADV net-PX.GEN.PL.1SG
mods-ud' *kāni-i?*
 see-PURP go-1DU
 'So the next day, in the morning we went to check my nets.' [LDB Supernatural]

- (39) *mud'* *äu* *kasa-ń* *persi-u'ď* *to-ď-uč*
 1SG here.LAT friend-PX.GEN.1SG help-PURP come-1SG-PST
 'I came here to help my friend.' [ZNB I 69]

- (40) *mud'* *[kirba-đu-ń* *mu?-u'ď]* *to-ď-ud'*
 1SG bread-BEN-PX.GEN.1SG buy-PURP come-1SG-PST
 'I came to buy myself bread.' [ZNB I 69]

The second purposive adverbial clause is formed using a special verb in *kusaiš ~ kusaeš*. In ES (192–193), *kosaiš* can be found as an independent entry described as a “transitive auxiliary used with verbs of movement”. In contrast to the *-ud'* purposive, regular objects can be added to the construction with *kusaiš*:

- (41) a. *kirba-ď-da* *kusaeš* *kan-ta*
 bread-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG AUX.PURP.CON go-FUT.3SG
 'He will go to buy bread.' [LDB I 88]

499. This has already been observed by Tereščenko (1973: 147).

- b. *kasa-i* *ši* *oddu-xun* *kusaiš* *to*
 man-PX.1SG 1SG.ACC boat-LOC.SG AUX.PURP.CON come.3SG
 ‘My husband came with a boat to pick me up.’ [EIB I 95]

13.2.4 ‘instead of doing X’ clauses

‘Instead of doing X’ clauses state that something happened in the opposite way of what was anticipated. This construction consists of the postposition *déon* ‘for, about, instead’ and various kinds of nominalizations as its complements. At present, this type is only attested in examples from elicitation.

13.2.4.1 ‘Instead of doing X’ clauses based on participles and *déon*

In the speech of LDB, ‘instead of doing X’ constructions are based on the futuritive participle, which functions as the complement of the postposition *déon*.

- (42) *noñin* *to-uda* *déon* *bunk-i* *muga-d* *šim-id?*
 1SG.LOC come-PTCP.FUT instead dog-PX.1SG forest-LAT.SG run-R.3SG
 ‘Instead of coming with me, my dog ran into the forest.’ [LDB II 74]

- (43) *pogu-t* *kañe-uda* *déon* *kada-š* *kañi*
 fish.with.net-CON go-PTCP.FUT instead hunt-CON go.3SG
 ‘Instead of going fishing, he went hunting.’ [LDB II 74]

13.2.4.2 ‘Instead of doing X’ constructions based on *zero/ma-* nominalization, PX_{GEN} and *déon*

In the speech of ZNB, a different realization is attested, though it must be added that ZNB was not completely sure about its grammaticality. Whereas this construction includes the same postposition that is used in examples (42) and (43), the complement is a *zero/ma-* nominalization with PX_{GEN} and *déon*. PX_{GEN} encodes the agent:

- (44) *kodu-da* *muiä-da* *déon* *bu* *añ* *kodi*
 sled-PX.GEN.3SG make_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.3SG instead 3SG FOC sleep.3SG
 ‘Instead of making a sled, he slept.’ [ZNB I 79]

In (45), the postposition *dēd* ‘towards’ is used instead; otherwise, the construction remains the same:

- (45) *kada-š kañiä-da déđ bu aň pogu-d' kañi*
 hunt-CON go_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.3SG towards 3SG FOC fish.with.net-CON go.3SG
 ‘Instead of going hunting, he went fishing.’ [ZNB I 79]

13.2.4.3 ‘Instead of doing X’ constructions in Sorokina (1981a) and Tereščenko (1966)

As ‘instead of doing X’ constructions were discussed in more detail by Sorokina (1981a: 166–174), a preliminary comparison can be attempted here. Examples (42) and (43), which in Russian are rendered as *вместо того* ‘instead of’, look as follows in Sorokina’s description:

- (46) *äda perze=da dekon näbi-ŋa*
ää-da pärdē-da dékon näbi-ŋa
 mother-PX.GEN.3SG help_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.3SG instead run-FREQ.3SG
 ‘Instead of helping her mother, she ran around.’
 (Ru: ‘Вместо того, чтобы матери помочь бегаёт.’)

The equivalent of example (44) is as follows. As the adverbial clause is based on a postpositional construction, the argument should be considered an adjunct of the nominalized verb:

- (47) *kizi mosoo=da dekoz bu kani*
kiđi mosoo-da dekođ bu kañi
 plate_[GEN] wash_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.3SG toward 3SG go.3SG
 ‘Instead of cleaning the dish, she went away.’
 (Ru: ‘Чтобы не мыть посуду, она ушла.’)

Finally, another construction with *d’eon* was discussed by Sorokina. However, this type is not attested in my materials:

- (48) *Konfetka čukči oma=đ deon, эр čit kauzta-da*
konfetka čukči oma-d deon ää-r šit
 sweet_[?] all eat_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.2SG instead mother-PX.2SG 2SG.ACC
kaud-ta-da
 argue-CAUS-SG.3SG
 ‘Because you ate all the sweets your mother is angry with you.’
 (Ru: ‘За то, что ты съел все конфеты, тебе попадет от матери.’)

Although the data is still restricted, some major differences can be observed. First, in Sorokina's examples, all constructions are based on *zero/ma-* nominalization with a postposition. In contrast, the 'instead of' adverbial in (42) and (43) is based on participles. No equivalent has been documented for the construction in (48).

(45) and (46), which are translated as 'lest' constructions in Sorokina's example (47), show no 'lest' meaning in contemporary Enets. For such 'lest' constructions, I documented an entirely different construction.⁵⁰⁰ The 'lest' construction is non-finite and is expressed by an otherwise unknown element *-de* on the negative auxiliary:

- (49) *modna ješar mi-n kodiä-ba nänagi-xiđ*
 1PL mosquito.net_[GEN] in-LOC sleep-1PL mosquito-LAT.PL
i-de-na o-la-ʔ
 NEG.AUX-LEST-PX.GEN.1PL eat-PASS-CN
 'We sleep under a mosquito net so that we won't be eaten by the mosquitos.'
 [ZNB IV 10]

- (50) *mod' ješar mi-n kodi-đ nänagi-xiđ*
 1SG mosquito.net_[GEN] in-LOC sleep-1SG mosquito-LAT.PL
i-de-ń o-la-ʔ
 NEG.AUX-LEST-PTCP.IPF-PX.GEN.1SG eat-PASS-CN
 'I sleep under a mosquito net so that I won't be eaten by the mosquitoes.'
 [ZNB IV 11]

There is no doubt that this construction needs further investigation, but it was offered as the best Forest Enets equivalent of Russian *чтобы не* ('lest'). Concerning its internal structure, the negated subordinated verb in (49) and (50) is clearly non-finite (NEG.AUX-LEST+PX_{GEN}). This would make this category another good candidate for an adverbial clause. In the affirmative (51), a regular passive clause is used:

- (51) *pe-xun kodei nänagi-xiđ o-l-iđ*
 outside-LOC.SG sleep-IMP.3SG mosquito-LAT.SG eat-PASS-R.3SG
 'He should sleep on the street so that he is eaten by the mosquitos.' [ZNB IV 11]

500. Although it is currently not possible to label this category in more detail, it would fit Tereščenko's desiderative (желательная форма *-ra/-la* Tereščenko 1966: 452), which remained unmentioned in Künnap's translation. However, the verb must be analyzed as passive here.

13.3 Adverbial clauses based on the *-bu/-pu* converb

The *-bu/-pu*⁵⁰¹ converb is marked with PX which encodes the actor or the undergoer; otherwise, the nominalization inherits the argument structure of the finite verb. The *-bu/-pu* converb clause is generally located in the left periphery and, thus, precedes the finite clause. As this adverbial clause allows both a temporal and a conditional interpretation, the temporal interpretation will be addressed first.

13.3.1 *-bu/-pu* converb clauses expressing a simultaneous relationship in the aorist

In the following examples, the *bu*-converb clause allows only a temporal interpretation:

- (52) *kadaḏa-bu-d* *iḏ* *ḏori-r?*
 hunt-CON-PX.GEN.2SG NEG.AUX.IMP.2SG speak-CN
 ‘When you are hunting, do not speak!’ [ZNB I 78]

- (53) *bagu-ń* *mi-?* *ši* *pu-bu-tu* *ań* *mana* *lokri*
 hole-PX.GEN.1SG in-LAT 1SG.ACC lay-CON-PX.GEN.3PL FOC say.3SG suddenly
torsi *māḏi* *to-ḏa* *ma-ńu*
 such wind come-FUT.3SG say-ASS.3SG
 ‘‘When laying me into my grave,’’ she said, ‘‘suddenly such a wind will come,’’ so she said.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

- (54) *kuna* *Potab* *keu-d* *to-bu-na?* *Potab*
 when Potapovo_[GEN] side-LAT.SG come-CON-PX.GEN.1PL Potapovo_[GEN]
nā-ḏ *biḏ* *bar-xuḏ* *enču-?* *oka-an*
 side-ABL water_[GEN] shore-ABL.SG person-_[NOM.PL] many-PROL
odu *ni-ń* *poroxod* *ḏeḏ* *äḏḏ-iḏ?*
 boat_[GEN] on-LOC ferry_[GEN] toward come-R.3PL
 ‘When arriving at the side of Potapovo, from the shore many people came (Lit. people came ‘manily’) on their boats toward the ferry.’ [ZNB Trip to Potapovo]

- (55) *ńolu-uš* *kaij-bu-ń* *ḏešsu* *mi-n* *pida-ḏ?*
 one-TRSL remain-CON-PX.GEN.1SG Yenisei_[GEN] in-LOC be.afraid-1SG
 ‘While I remained on the Yenisei, I was afraid.’ [NKB Yenisei]

501. In Tereščenko (1966: 452–453), the suffix was described as comprising a glottal stop *-bu?/-pu?* yet no traces of it could be found.

13.3.2 *-bu/-pu* converb clauses expressing a temporal relationship in the past

When the main finite verb is marked for the general past tense, the converb combines with an additional element *-i* and PX_{GEN} . As this marker *-i* is not attested elsewhere in the nominal domain, I currently assume that it could be a tense co-marker restricted to the *-bu* converb to maintain past tense reference:⁵⁰²

- (56) *te ponida-š mosara-bu-i-ń orte mud'*
 [reindeer herder]-TRSL work-CON-PST_{CO}-PX.GEN.1SG first 1SG
mosara-đu-č // pervo brigada-xun
 work-1SG-PST first brigade-LOC.SG
 'When I was working as a reindeer herder, first I worked in the first brigade.'
 [LDB Brigade]

- (57) *kolta-gu-bu-i-ń bu kodī-š*
 clean-DUR-CON-PST_{CO}-PX.GEN.1SG 3SG sleep-3SG.PST
 'While I was cleaning he slept.' [ZNB I 78]

- (58) *tāta-bu-i-ń? malé čas děđ*
 dress-CON-PST_{CO}-PX.GEN.1SG already clock_[GEN] toward
seŋli-bu-i-ń? malé šiđiät čas-iš kańi-š
 look-CON-PST_{CO}-PX.GEN.1SG already eight hour-TRSL go-3SG.PST
 'While I was dressing and looked at my watch, it became already 8 o'clock.'
 [ZNB Hat]

13.3.3 *-bu/-pu* converb + conditional *ńi* + PX_{GEN}

The *-bu* converb can be combined with the conditional marker *-ńi*⁵⁰³ and PX_{GEN} , and the resulting construction receives a hypothetical interpretation with future reference:

- (59) *ka-bu-ńi-ń uu to-ńi-t ši šeru-go-š*
 die-CON-COND-PX.GEN.1SG 2SG come-COND-2SG 1SG.ACC bury-DUR-CON
 'If I will die, please come to bury me.' [EIB Clairvoyant]

502. A similar observation for Tundra Enets was made by Anna Urmančieva (p.c.). The morpheme was identified by Sorokina in her contribution to ST (page 193), but was not further described.

503. In ST (page 193), Sorokina presented the form as *-ńbi*, which would not match the conditional mood suffix. Whether this marker is indeed the conditional suffix is open for discussion (see e.g. Burkova 2003: 43–51 for a cross-Samoyedic survey). As there is a clear difference in meaning between the regular *-bu* converb and the *-bu+ńi* converb, a modal interpretation cannot be ignored and it is possible that the futuritive meaning is a secondary extension of the hypothetical notion.

- (60) *četa* *tu-bu-ńi-d* *šordŭ-đu-i*
 tomorrow come-CON-COND-PX.GEN.2SG cigarette-BEN-PX.ACC.1SG
tođo-ńi-t
 bring-COND-2SG
 ‘If you come tomorrow (to work with me), bring me cigarettes.’ [ANP II 65]

The following example shows both the future conditional and the regular *-bu* converb:

- (61) *ka-bu-ńi-ń* *to-ńi-t* *i-bu-t* *to*
 die-CON-COND-PX.GEN.1SG come-COND-2SG NEG.AUX-CON-PX.GEN.2SG come.CN
ań *mana* *mudʹ* *čiku-ru* *i-bu-t* *to*
 FOC say.3SG 1SG this-LIM NEG.AUX-CON-PX.GEN.2SG come.CN
ši *šer-gu-š* *mana* *čik-ru* *pi-xun* *mana* *mu*
 1SG.ACC bury-DUR-CON say.3SG this-LIM night-LOC.SG say.3SG so
ma-ńu *not* *to-đa-ď?* *đu-kn-id* *ođi-da-ď*
 say-ASS.3SG 2SG.LAT come-FUT-1SG dream-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.2SG appear-FUT-1SG
 ‘‘If I die, come! If you won’t come,’’ she said, ‘‘I and only so, if you won’t come to bury me,’’ she said, ‘‘on this night,’’ she said, so she must have said, ‘‘I will come to you. I will appear in your dream!’’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

13.3.4 Variation in PX marking

The following list of observations presents data which awaits a more thorough investigation as it is currently not fully understood.

In several examples (all provided by ZNB during elicitation), the *-bu* converb is not followed by PX_{GEN} but PX_{NOM} . The common semantics shared by these constructions is counterfactuality. Note that no temporal co-reference is attested between the non-finite *bu*-clause and the finite main clause:

- (62) *čenuju* *soida* *deri* *e-bu-đa* *modʹ* *morga-ď-iń*
 yesterday.ADV good day be-CON-PX.3SG 1SG cloudberry-BEN-PX.ACC.PL.1SG
noda-ńi-ď-utʹ
 gather-COND-1SG.PST
 ‘If the weather had been good yesterday, I would have picked cloudberryes (but I did not).’ [ZNB III 45]

A similar example provided by LDB reveals the past tense co-marker *-i*, which here resembles the perfective participle marker *-i* on the otherwise rarely attested verb *eš* ‘be’:

- (63) *čenuju* *soida* *ŋa* *e-i* *e-bu-đa* *muga-d*
 yesterday.ADV good sky be-PTCP.PFT be-COND-PX.3SG forest-LAT.SG
kan-ta-đ-uf
 go-FUT-1SG-PST
 ‘If the weather had been good yesterday, I would have gone into the forest (but I did not).’ [LDB II 80]

The following example from a narrative shows a similar realization. In the recording, there is a clear intonation break between *ei* and *ebuđa*:

- (64) *familja-đa* *e-i* *e-bu-đa* *d’oxora* *mud’* *či*
 surname-PX.3SG be-PTCP.PFT be-CON-PX.3SG not.know.SG.1SG 1SG PART
 ‘If this was his surname, I do not know it.’ [LDB Chervo]⁵⁰⁴

There are several more instances of such constructions in which the first component seems to be a perfective participle and the second component is the verb ‘be’ followed by the *-bu* converb and PX_{NOM} .⁵⁰⁵ All examples represent counterfactual conditional clauses:

- (65) *bu* *mosa-đa* *tone-i* *e-bu-đa* *bu* *mosra-ni-š*
 3SG work-PX.3SG exist-PTCP.PFT be-CON-PX.3SG 3SG work-COND-3SG.PST
 ‘If he had had work, he would have worked.’ [ZNB III 44]
- (66) *đogut* *mosa-đa* *đagu-i* *e-bu-đa* *bu* *äki*
 other work-PX.3SG not.exist-PTCP.PFT be-COND-PX.3SG 3SG this
mosa *poŋi-ni-š*
 work_[ACC] hold-COND-3SG.PST
 ‘If he had not had his own work, he would have done this work.’ [ZNB III 45]
- (67) *bu* *čiki* *šer-?* *täni* *e-bu-đa* *bu* *äu*
 3SG this thing-_[ACC.PL] know.PTCP.PFT be-CON-PX.3SG 3SG here.LAT
i-ni-š *to*
 NEG.AUX-COND-3SG.PST come.CN
 ‘If he had known about these things, he would not have come here.’ [ZNB III 45]

Such constructions are also found when the *-bu* converb is negated. In constructions with a counterfactual interpretation, the negative auxiliary takes the form of a perfective participle and the copula marked with *-bu* keeps its *PX*:

504. Very often, the complement of *d’oxoraš* is accompanied with a *bu*-converb.

505. I have not found any examples in ET thus far.

- (68) *bu i-i e-bu-đa liđibi bu*
 3SG NEG.AUX-PTCP.PFT be-CON-PX.3SG hurry.CN 3SG
pe-ń? kasta-ńiđa-š
 boot-PX.ACC.PL.1SG dry-COND.PL.3SG-PST
 ‘If he had not hurried, he would have dried my boots.’ [ZNB IV 45]

- (69) *ńo-đa i-i e-bu-đa đe-?*
 foot-PX.3SG NEG.AUX-PTCP.PFT be-CON-PX.3SG hurt-CN
bu nonid noru-ńi-š
 3SG 2SG.LOC catch-COND-3SG.PST
 ‘If his foot had not hurt, he would have caught reindeer with you.’ [ZNB IV 45]

This sequential order is very unusual as it runs against the usual ordering principle whereby the negative auxiliary receives both the *-bu* suffix and PX, and the negated main verb is in the connegative form. Compare the hypothetical (61) with the counterfactual (69):

- (61) *ka-bu-ńi-ń to-ńi-t i-bu-t to*
 die-CON-COND-PX.GEN.1SG come-COND-2SG NEG.AUX-CON-PX.GEN.2SG come.CN
ań mana mud’ čiku-ru i-bu-t to
 FOC say.3SG 1SG this-LIM NEG.AUX-CON-PX.GEN.2SG come.CN
ši šer-gu-š mana čik-ru pi-xun mana mu
 1SG.ACC bury-DUR-CON say.3SG this-LIM night-LOC.SG say.3SG so
ma-ńu not to-đa-đ? đu-kn-id ođi-da-đ
 say-ASS.3SG 2SG.LAT come-FUT-1SG dream-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.2SG appear-FUT-1SG
 ‘‘If I die, come! If you won’t come,’’ she said, ‘‘I and only so, if you won’t come to bury me,’’ she said, ‘‘on this night,’’ she said, so she must have said, ‘‘I will come to you. I will appear in your dream!’’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

- (69) *ńo-đa i-i e-bu-đa đe-?*
 foot-PX.3SG NEG.AUX-PTCP.PFT be-CON-PX.3SG hurt-CN
bu nonid noru-ńi-š
 3SG 2SG.LOC catch-COND-3SG.PST
 ‘If his foot had not hurt, he would have caught reindeer with you.’ [ZNB IV 45]

As a preliminary observation, it appears that for a counterfactual interpretation, the auxiliary *eš*, which hosts the *-bu* converb, is required; however, more material is needed.

13.3.5 Summary: converb clauses with *-bu/-pu*

Structurally, the *bu*-converb clause is clearly the most complex adverbial clause type in Forest Enets. First, it is semantically ambiguous as it allows both a temporal (simultaneity) and conditional interpretation. Second, due to the existence of a possible co-

tense marker with past tense reference, this adverbial clause type differs from all other adverbial clauses with temporal reference. Third, when expressing counterfactuality, the usual negation strategy in which person marking lies on the negative auxiliary is abandoned, a phenomenon which is not attested elsewhere in the language. Finally, the appearance of different PX encoding the actor is equally unattested elsewhere.

13.4 Control in adverbial clauses

The preceding section showed that adverbial clauses fall into two different types. Adverbial clauses expressing manner, which are formed with the *-š* converb, and purposive clauses formed with *-ud'* do not allow any PX_{GEN} on the nominalized verb. In contrast, the nominalized verb in all temporal adverbial clauses (clauses of posteriority, simultaneity and anteriority) and *bu*-converb clauses are marked with PX_{GEN} . This difference in realization can be explained by control. In adverbial clauses of the manner and purposive type, the argument of the finite verb serves as the argument of the non-finite verb but remains overtly unexpressed.

- (30) *stol ke-xun adi-š minxuda kariḏa sei-gu-š*
 table_[GEN] side-LOC.SG sit-CON at.once fish.PX.ACC.PL.3SG clean-DUR-CON
pā
 begin.3SG
 ‘Sitting at the table, he immediately started cleaning the fish.’ [LDB II 44]

- (37) *mud' pāu-uč kāni-ta-ḏ? pontek piri-?*
 1SG collect.wood-PUROP go-FUT-1SG then cook-IMP.2SG
 ‘I will go collect wood. Then cook (him)!’ [ANP Giant and man]

In other words, as the subject of the main clause must be co-referential with the unexpressed subject of the adverbial clause, the nominalized verb does not need further marking.

In contrast, temporal adverbial clauses as well as *-bu*-converb clauses show PX_{GEN} on the nominalized verb. In all examples, the actor/undergoer of the adverbial clause and the main clause are not co-referential, and the PX_{GEN} on the non-finite verb marks the actor/undergoer in the adverbial clause:

- (9) *Leonid kañe-da oru-n mod' obu-xo toi-ḡa-ḏ-ut'*
 Leonid_[GEN] go_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.3SG before-LOC 1SG what-INDEF_[ACC] ask-FREQ-1SG-PST
 ‘Before Leonid left, I asked him something.’ [VNB IV 143]

→ Agent of adverbial clause ≠ agent of main clause.

- (17) *děšu bar-xun adi-đa-xa-ń odu-ʔ to-č*
 Yenisei_[GEN] shore-LOC.SG sit-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG boat-_[NOM.PL] come-3PL.PST
 ‘While I was sitting on the shore of the Yenisei, boats came.’ [NKB I 130]

→ Agent of adverbial clause ≠ agent of main clause.

- (28) *sensi po dāgu-xad-da mensi dāgu-ma-š*
 several year not.exist_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG old.woman not.exist-RES-3SG.PST
 ‘Some years after his death, the old woman had died.’ [LDB Taboo]

→ Agent of adverbial clause ≠ agent of main clause.

- (53) *bagu-ń mi-ʔ ši pu-bu-tu ań mana lokri*
 hole-PX.GEN.1SG in-LAT 1SG.ACC lay-CON-PX.GEN.3PL FOC say.3SG suddenly
torsi māđi to-đa ma-ńu
 such wind come-FUT.3SG say-ASS.3SG
 ‘‘When laying me into my grave,’’ she said, ‘‘suddenly such a wind will come,’’ so she said.’ [EIB Clairvoyant]

→ Undergoer of adverbial clause ≠ agent of main clause.

In contrast to the general possessive value of PX_{GEN} , all four examples reveal some problems with regard to possession. All adverbial clauses are structurally uniform because no overt subject can be identified. PX_{GEN} on the nominalized verb expresses the agent/undergoer which needs not be co-referential with the agent/undergoer of the finite verb. It shows that the agent/undergoer of the finite verb cannot control the adverbial clause. Therefore PX_{GEN} marking of verbs should be understood as relational marking because the agent/undergoer must be overtly expressed, and the PX_{GEN} serves as the controller of the adverbial clause. Although it seems to resemble a kind of non-canonical subject marking, this is currently only a working hypothesis.

13.5 Complement clauses

Forest Enets has no conjunction that marks constructions as complement clauses, but complement clauses can be classified on the basis of form and syntactic function. Formally, two types can be distinguished: a) complement clauses with finite predicates, and b) complement clauses with non-finite predicates, i.e. converbs and nominalizations with *zero/-ma*.

The syntactic function of complement clauses depends on complement-taking predicates.

1) Complement clauses in S position

Complements in S position are only attested in a special construction (the permissive construction), which is headed by denominally conjugated adjectives in predicative position, which are further preceded by a *-bu* converb.

2) Complement clauses occupying the position of the object of transitive verbs

The following transitive verbs, which are grouped according to their semantics, allow sentential complements in O position. This list is not comprehensive but instead represents verbs for which corpus evidence is currently available.

MENTAL STATE / EVENT	PERCEPTION / UTTERANCE
<i>tāniš</i> ‘know’	<i>nodoš</i> ‘listen, hear’
<i>d’oxoraš</i> ‘not know’	<i>modāč</i> ‘see’
<i>pič</i> ‘be afraid, to fear’	<i>bađiāš</i> ‘tell’
<i>d’urtaš</i> ‘forget’	<i>toiduš</i> ‘ask’

Table 13-2: O complement-taking verbs in Forest Enets

3) Complement clauses in the function of oblique arguments

Complement clauses in the function of oblique arguments are attested only with the verb *komaš* ‘want’.

Several verbs which from a cross-linguistic perspective frequently take clausal complements are lacking in Forest Enets and some comments are needed regarding these. Speech act verbs constitute such a class. Whereas English is abundant in speech-act verbs, this semantic class of verbs is less prominent in Russian (e.g. Wierzbicka 1988: 252–255), and in comparison, Forest Enets has even fewer. Speech-act verbs in Forest Enets are semantically vague and show a wider range of meanings than their Russian counterparts:

English	Russian	Forest Enets
<i>order</i>	<i>веле́ть, приказать</i>	<i>mad</i> ‘say’
<i>demand</i>	<i>требовать</i>	<i>mad</i> ‘say’
<i>ask</i>	<i>просить</i>	<i>toiduš</i> ‘ask’
<i>request</i>	?	<i>toiduš</i> ‘ask’
<i>propose</i>	<i>предлагать</i>	<i>mad</i> ‘say’
<i>suggest</i>	?	<i>mad</i> ‘say’
<i>urge</i>	?	<i>mad</i> ‘say’

Table 13-3: Speech-act verbs in Russian, English and Forest Enets, based on Wierzbicka 1988

In contrast to its English and Russian translation equivalents, *mad'* 'say' is not a complement-taking verb but is followed by direct speech:

- (70) *đuri-ŋa-b* *bu noń* *mana sokoo* *mud' mana*
 speak-FREQ-1DU 3SG 1SG.ACC say.3SG younger.relative.PX.1SG 1SG say.3SG
tāda kadi-ŋa-đ? *peri kadi-mubi-đ* *mana ka-bu-ńi-n*
 now be.sick-FREQ-1SG always be.sick-HAB-1SG say.3SG die-CON-COND-PX.GEN.1SG
uu to-ńi-d *ši* *šeru-go-š* *nod mana bađa-i* *či*
 2SG come-COND-2SG 1SG.ACC bury-DUR-CON 2SG.ACC say.3SG word-PX.1SG so
 'We talked, she said to me: "Young relative, I," she said, "now I'm sick, I have been sick for a while," she said. "When I die please come to bury me". "To you," she said, "so is my word".' [EIB Clairvoyant]

- (71) *no nona* *ma-ńu* *čiki operativnik* *uda?* *ań?* *kańi-ra?*
 so 1PL.ACC say-ASS.3SG this policeman 2PL FOC go-IMP.2SG
ma-ńu *Potabu-d*
 say-ASS.3SG Potapovo-LAT.SG
 'So to us the policeman said: "But you go," he said, "to Potapovo".'
 [NKB Prisoners]

During the initial phase of my fieldwork I documented some examples for conditional *-ńi* complements of *mad'* 'say' in elicitation, which look very similar to indirect speech. But during later stages of my fieldwork, such examples never re-appeared. Therefore I assume that examples such as (72) are artifacts of elicitation, as it resembles a one-to-one translation from Russian. In this type of indirect command, Russian, too, encodes the verb in the complement as conditional:

- (72) *āā-đu* *mana-š* *ńi-xita* *budu*
 mother-PX.SG.3PL say-3SG.PST child-LAT.PL_{POSS}-PX.GEN.PL.3SG 3PL
mosa-idu *mā-ńi-č*
 work-PX.ACC.PL.3PL make-COND-3PL.PST
 'Their mother said to her children that they should do their work.' [ZNB I 79]

Finally, *mad'* cannot be passivized, which underlines its intransitive nature.

Also *biid'* 'think' is an intransitive verb and does not take any complements. What follows *biid'* is considered direct speech in Forest Enets:

- (73) *mod'* *biituŋa-đ?* *otuđnuju* *modiń* *kašin* *modi-t-iń*
 1SG think-1SG fall.ADV 1DU friend.PX.PL.1DU see-FUT-PL.1DU
 'I think: "we will meet each other in fall".' [ZNB II 106]

13.5.1 Complement clauses in S position

Complements in S position are headed by denominally conjugated adjectives in predicative position, which are preceded by a *-bu* converb. The complement consists of a *-bu* converb and a PX_{GEN} referring to the agent. The difference between *soiḏa* ‘good’ or *boo* ‘bad’ lies in the scope of the expected answer in the permissive construction:

- (74) *bud’i?* *äü-?* *adu-bu-d’i?* *boo*
 3DU here-LAT sit-CON-PX.GEN.3PL bad.3SG
 ‘May they not sit down here?’ (Lit. ‘their two here sitting down is bad?’)
 [ZNB 10.02.2006]

- (75) *bu* *äü* *adu-bu-da* *soiḏa*
 3SG here.LAT sit-CON-PX.GEN.3SG good.3SG
 ‘May he sit down here?’ (Lit. ‘his here sitting down is good?’) [ZNB 10.02.2006]

13.5.2 Finite complement clauses in O position

Finite complement clauses are found in o position. For this type of complementation, the language relies on a rather unusual use of conjugation II on the matrix verbs and word order. The following is a typical example of complementation in the contemporary language:

- (76) *mud’* *nodo-b-uš* *uu* *bodu* *kan-ta-d*
 1SG hear-SG.1SG 2SG tundra.LAT go-FUT-2SG
 ‘I heard that you will go into the tundra.’ [LDB I 91]

On the surface, example (76) looks like juxtaposition. Both clauses show finite verbs and each clause is individually marked for tense. Note, however, that the matrix verb is encoded with a v_X belonging to conjugation II:

- (76) [*mud’* *nodo-b-uš*] [*uu* *bodu* *kan-ta-d*]
 1SG hear-SG.1SG 2SG tundra.LAT go-FUT-2SG
 ‘[I heard it] [you will go into the tundra].’

As the following contrastive example shows, the complement in (76) is located in a rather unusual position when compared with the usual SOV word order in simple transitive clauses:

- (77) *bu enči dōri nodu-bi-š*
 3SG person_[GEN] voice_[ACC] hear-PERF.3SG.PST
 ‘He heard a human voice.’ [LDB I 91]

The complement-taking verb of the matrix clause in (76) is marked for object reference (singular object). As another example of a complement shows, it is not incidental:

- (78) *ää-r tāni-đa <kirba-đu-d tit-ta>*
 mother-PX.2SG know-SG.3SG bread-BEN-PX.ACC.2SG buy-FUT.3SG
 ‘Your mother remembered that she will buy bread for you.’ [LDB I 142]

Usually, the vx of conjugation II are used anaphorically, but in examples (76) and (78) the matrix verb refers cataphorically to the complement in o position. As far as I know, complement clause constructions in o position are the only instance where conjugation II is used cataphorically. Furthermore, both example (76) and example (78) were uttered under one intonation curve, which further demonstrates that despite dealing with finite clauses, both units belong firmly together.

Syntactically, both the main clause that hosts the finite matrix verb in conjugation II and the complement clause in o position are finite. The complement clause is bound to the matrix clause only by the valency of the matrix verb and the cataphoric use of conjugation II. In principle, the complement clause could also stand by itself as its internal word order matches the word order of regular clauses. Still, word order is equally important because the position of the complement relative to its matrix verb is the unusual SVO_{COMPL}, instead of the expected SO_{COMPL} V:

- (79) *ää-b mot-pi-đa-š <ne-đa kiđi moriä>*
 mother-PX.1SG see-PERF-SG.3SG-PST child-PX.3SG cup_[ACC] break.3SG
 ‘My mother saw that her child broke a cup.’ [NKB I 142]

Further, finite complement clauses are independent with regard to time reference:

- (78) *ää-r tāni-đa <kirba-đu-d tit-ta>*
 mother-PX.2SG know-SG.3SG bread-BEN-PX.ACC.2SG buy-FUT.3SG
 ‘Your mother remembered that she will buy bread for you.’ [LDB I 142]
- (80) *uu tānä-r <kašida Dudinka-xad äu*
 2SG know-SG.2SG friend.PX.PL.3SG Dudinka-ABL.SG here.LAT
to-bi-?>
 come-PERF-3PL
 ‘Do you know that his friends have come from Dudinka?’ [LDB I 138]

- (81) *Vitalij tän-ta-đa* <*koxun ŋa tuka-i*>
 Vitalij know-FUT-SG.3SG where.LOC be_{LOC}-3SG axe-PX.1SG
 ‘Vitalij will know where my axe is.’ [LDB II 52]⁵⁰⁶

Concerning mood, no examples of mood-marked matrix verbs are currently at my disposal. However, mood and evidentiality-marked verbs are attested in complements:

- (82) *uu täni-r* <*ku kañi-sa*>
 2SG know-SG.2SG where.LAT go-IRG.3SG
 ‘Do you know where he went?’ [LDB I 137]
- (83) *ää-b nodu-bi-đa-š* <*kidi morä-unu-đa-š*>
 mother-PX.1SG hear-PERF-SG.3SG-PST cup_[ACC] break-AUD-3SG-PST
 ‘My mother heard that [the child] broke a cup.’ [NKB I 142]

Negation, too, can be applied independently to both clauses:

- (84) *mod’ nodu-b-uš* <*pogu-d’ i-bi-š kañ-?*>
 1SG hear-SG.1SG-PST fish-CON NEG.AUX-PERF-3SG.PST go-CN
 ‘I heard that he did not go fishing.’ [LDB I 136]
- (85) *mod’ ñe-b-uš* *nodo-?* <*pogu-č kañi-bi-š*>
 1SG NEG.AUX-SG.1SG-PST listen-CN fish-CON go-PERF-3SG.PST
 ‘I did not hear that he went fishing.’ [LDB I 136]

13.5.3 Non-finite complement clauses in o position

Although there is a clear trend toward encoding complement clauses as finite clauses resulting in SVO_{COMPL} word order, occasionally non-finite complements with the infinitival manner converb *-š* are also attested. In such instances, the regular SOV word order tends to be preserved (except for in example 88). Non-finite complement clauses in O position are dependent on the time reference of the matrix verb.

- (86) *kasa äči äsi-da kodu mui-d’ päřčuo*
 [man_[N/G] youngster] father-PX.ACC.3SG sled_[ACC] build-CON help.3SG
 ‘The youngster helped his father build a sled.’ [ZNB I 81]

506. Word order in this example is slightly unusual and reflects some interference with Russian.

- (87) *ää-b* *nä* *kasa-i* *sosoru-č* *toxola-go-đa*
 mother-PX.1SG [woman man]-PX.ACC.1SG sew-CON teach-DUR-SG.3SG
 ‘My mother taught my daughter to sew.’ [LDB I 110]
- (88) *äsi-i* *đurta-bi-đa* *päda* *pu-d’*
 father-PX.1SG forget-PERF-SG.3SG tree.PX.ACC.PL.3SG put-CON
tu-i *koči-bi*
 fire-PX.1SG extinguish-PERF.3SG
 ‘My father forgot to put wood (on the fire). My fire extinguished.’
 [LDB & NKB I 121]

Modal verbs and the impersonal verb *taraš* ‘it is necessary, must’ also belong to this type of complements:

- (89) *täda* *ko-š* *lod-ina?* *šidi* *đeri* *pe-ŋ-ina?* *ma’le*
 now find-CON not.can-PL.1PL two day search-FREQ-PL.1PL already
 ‘Now we cannot find them, we have been looking for them for two days already.’
 [LDB Shaman]
- (90) *mod’* *segmit* *šer* *tasla-š* *piriä-d’*
 1SG all thing_[ACC] explain-CON can-1SG
 ‘I can explain everything (Lit. ‘all things’).’ [ZNB I 71]
- (91) *täda* *añ* *päči* *čuni-š* *tara*
 now FOC oven light-CON must.3SG
 ‘Now, one must light the oven.’ [ANP Oven]
- (92) *mud’* *labka-d* *kani-š* *tara*
 1SG shop-LAT.SG go-CON must.3SG
 ‘I must go to the shop.’ [EIB I 179]

13.5.4 Complement clauses with *komaš* ‘want’ in the function of oblique arguments

The Forest Enets translation equivalent of English ‘want’ is not a transitive verb because it governs lative case and for this reason cannot take a complement clause in o position. Further, as an intransitive, verb *komaš* cannot be passivized:

- (93) *mud’* *osa-d* *koma-d’*
 1SG meat-LAT.SG want-1SG
 ‘I want meat.’ [ZNB I 81]

However, *komaš* as a bivalent intransitive verb can take complement clauses in the function of oblique arguments. Such complements, based on *zero/-ma* nominalizations, are always non-finite and the canonical word order is preserved:

- (94) *mud'* [čiki kiđi tidiä-t] *koma-đ*
 1SG this pot[?] buy_{NLZ-LAT.SG} want-1SG
 'I want to buy this pot.' [VNB IV 143]

Due to the absence of case morphology, the grammatical status of *kiđi* 'pot' within the complement is unsettled. In the following similar example, a PX can be found, but due to homonymy it allows two interpretations, namely PX.GEN.3SG or PX.ACC.3SG:

- (95) *bu* [d'ii-da sosu-ma-t] *koma-š*
 3SG njuk-PX?.3SG sew-NLZ-LAT.SG want-3SG.PST
 'She wants to sew a njuk.' [NKB IV 159]

Although currently not finally provable, I assume that *njuk* is followed by PX_{GEN} because it serves as an adjunct of the nominalized verb. In syntactic terms it must be the head of this nominalization as it receives lative case marking. This means that (94) and (95) should be analyzed as follows:

- (94) *mud'* [čiki kiđi tidiä-t] *koma-đ*
 1SG this pot_[GEN] buy_{NLZ-LAT.SG} want-1SG
 'I want to buy this pot.' [VNB IV 143]

- (95) *bu* [d'ii-da sosu-ma-t] *koma-š*
 3SG njuk-PX.GEN.3SG sew-NLZ-LAT.SG want-3SG.PST
 'She wants to sew a njuk.' [NKB IV 159]

Here, too, the time reference of the nominalized complement is dependent on the time reference expressed by the matrix verb.

13.5.5 Excursus: finite O complements with *komaš*

As already shown above, *komaš* 'want' can take a complement which appears in the position of the oblique argument. Further, a second complementation pattern with a different word order is attested. Compare the following three examples:

- (96) *mud'* *osa-d* *koma-đ?*
 1SG meat-LAT.SG want-1SG
 'I want meat.' [ZNB I 81]

- (97) *bu* [d'ii-da] *sosu-ma-t]* *koma-š*
 3SG njuk-PX.GEN.3SG sew-NLZ-LAT.SG want-3SG.PST
 'She wants to sew a njuk.' [NKB IV 159]
- (98) *Nadja* *koma-š* <Leonid *pä-đ-iđa* *pät-ni-š*>
 Nadja want-3SG.PST Leonid wood-BEN-PX.ACC.PL.3SG cut-COND-3SG.PST
 'Nadja_i wanted Leonid_i to make firewood for them_i.' [VNB IV 143]⁵⁰⁷

In (98), *komaš* is followed by a finite complement clause (SVX_{COMPL}) and not by a nominalized clause in the position of an oblique argument (SX_{COMPL} V) as shown above.

Also, the following example shows another finite complement:

- (99) *äčui* *koma-nim* <ää-da *kirba-đ-da*
 youngster want-ASS.3SG mother-PX.3SG bread-BEN.PX.ACC.3SG
mi-ni-š>
 buy-COND-3SG.PST
 'The boy wants his mother to buy him bread.' [LDB IV 158]

The complement clauses in (98) and (99) are syntactically fully independent, and grammatical relations are encoded as usual. This means that *komaš* seems to take two different kinds of complements. The first type of complement, restricted to phrasal complements, appears in the position where oblique arguments are to be expected, and here *komaš* functions as a bivalent intransitive verb. In examples (98) and (99), *komaš* functions as a bivalent transitive verb and takes a finite complement clause in o position. Although this suggests that *komaš* might have two different argument structures, further research is necessary.

13.5.6 Finite complement clauses and discourse

The fact that all examples of finite complement clauses come from elicitation is not a matter of convenience, as only one example could be detected in transcribed narratives:

- (100) *seji-b* *ań* *Vitalika* *karabin-sai* *nä*
 see-SG.1SG FOC PN rifle-COM stand.3SG
 'I saw that Vitalik stood (there) with his rifle.' [LDB Bear]

As all consultants coherently produced sVO_{COMPL} for complements in o position (similarly to the only corpus example), it is safe to assume that finite complement clauses do exist

507. The occurrence of conditionals in the complement clause is not surprising because of the semantics of 'want', which expresses a potentially emerging situation/event. Further, the semantic potential of *komaš* is much wider and in addition to 'want', it can also mean 'plan', 'intend' and apparently also 'wish'.

in Forest Enets and that we are not dealing with artifacts of elicitation.⁵⁰⁸ As this category has not been described in earlier accounts, it remains to be seen whether a detailed corpus study of older texts (e.g. ET) will produce more examples.

13.5.7 Raising

All attempts to identify raising in Forest Enets have produced no evidence for such operations.

13.5.8 Summary

The previous discussion has shown that complement clauses are structurally clearly distinct. Finite complement clauses in *o* position, which are governed by transitive verbs, are not embedded but follow the matrix clause, which results in the unique word order SV_{CONJUGATIONII} O_{COMPL}. The verb of the matrix clause in conjugation II refers cataphorically to its complement, and agrees with it in the singular. With respect to time reference, all finite complement clauses are independent of the complement-taking verb. By contrast, time reference of non-finite complements (converbs or nominalizations of the *zero/-ma* type) is dependent on the matrix verb. Finally, a short note is required. Although some more research is needed, it appears that cataphoric agreement is syntactic rather than semantic. Although example (80) clearly has more than one participant in the complement clause, the matrix verb agrees only in the singular with its complement:

- (80) *uu tānā-r <kašida Dudinka-xađ äu to-bi-ʔ>*
 2SG know-SG.2SG friend.PX.PL.3SG Dudinka-ABL.SG here.LAT come-PERF-3PL
 ‘Do you know that his friends have come from Dudinka?’ [LDB I 138]

The complement clause in *o* position seems to be considered a singular entity (one arrival) regardless of the fact that the arrival of several men is expressed. If ‘agreement’ were to be expressed semantically, the matrix verb would refer to ‘arriving men’ and show a plural reference, which it does not.

Generally, complements in *o* position show a firmer syntactic connection to the matrix verb due to conjugation II on the verb. When *komaš* governs finite complement clauses in the same position, agreement is absent because the verb is morphosyntactically intransitive. In contrast, when *komaš* is used as a bivalent intransitive verb, complements occupy the slot of oblique arguments where the phrase-final nominalized verb is marked for lative case. This means that the complement clause of transitive *komaš* is syntactically less tightly bound to the matrix verb as complements of transitive verbs require conjugation II on the matrix verb.

508. However, I have to admit that I did not work on complements with all consultants; complex syntactic constructions were studied only with the help of fully fluent speakers.

13.6 Phasal predicates

The last kind of complementation to be discussed comprises phasal complements of verbs, such as ‘begin’, ‘start’, ‘stop’ or ‘finish’. Such verbs have been classified differently in recent literature. Dixon calls such verbs secondary verbs: “Every language has a set of what is convenient to call ‘secondary concepts’, including ‘not’, ‘can’, ‘try’, ‘want’, and ‘make’. They cannot be used by themselves but must be linked to a verb [...], which is either explicitly stated or understood from the context” (Dixon 2006: 11). Noonan uses the label ‘phasal predicates’ (aspectuals): “Phasal predicates refer to the phase of an act or state: its inception, continuation, or termination and are represented in English by forms such as *begin, start, continue, keep on, finish, stop* and *cease*” (Noonan 2007: 139).

The following short description follows the position advocated by Noonan, as there is not enough data available for Dixon’s secondary types A, B, and C. It must, however, be added that Noonan’s classification of phasal predicates (alternatively ‘aspectuals’) is not without problems, because aspect can be expressed morphologically in Forest Enets.⁵⁰⁹

13.6.1 Verbs allowing phasal complements

In Forest Enets, phasal complements are time-dependent as time reference depends on the matrix verb. The phasal complement is encoded by the infinitival converb *-š* and objects can be added if argument structure requires it. The phasal complement is always found in pre-verbal position. We begin the presentation of phasal complements with complements focusing on the end point of an action (the translation equivalents of English ‘stop’, ‘end’, and ‘finish’):

- (101) *äsi kod-da mui-š po-da*
 father sled-PX.ACC.3S make-CON end-SG.3SG
 ‘Father finished making his sled.’ [LDB I 142]

- (102) *pađdu-ŋa-đ? ibléig-on mosa-i pađdu-č tonä-š*
 write-FREQ-1SG little-PROL work-PX.ACC.1SG write-CON exist-3SG.PST
čiki đodä-đ?
 this finish-1SG
 ‘I wrote a little bit. There was some writing, this I finished.’ [ZNB Weekend]

509. Forest Enets has no verb ‘continue’ and this function is taken over by the durative or the habitual aspect. It does not mean that the resulting predicate consists of two verbs.

- (103) *by kodu ředazyřby ðëcuezä*
bu kodu ředa-gu-ř ðosiä-ða
 3SG sled_[ACC] make-DUR-CON finish-SG.3SG
 ‘He stopped making his sled.’ (=stopped working, the sled is not yet ready)
 [ERRE 31]

With the Forest Enets translation equivalent of English ‘begin’, *päř*, a morphosyntactic conflict with the inchoative aspect derivation *-ra/-la* must be mentioned (see also 12.5.1). As the inchoative aspect in *-ra/-la-* alters transitivity, verbs need to be conjugated in conjugation type III and no longer allow objects:

- (104) *kasa-i? mäle mü-tu-l-id?*
 man-PX.1SG already build-DETR-INCH-3SG
 ‘My husband already began building.’ [LDB & NKB I 189]

When an object must be added, a phasal complement with *päř* ‘begin’ must be used to express that the transitive event is beginning:

- (105) *no řeru-gu-ř pä-ba?*
 so bury-DUR-CON begin-1PL
 ‘So we started to bury (her).’ [EIB Clairvoyant]
- (106) *peči müju-č pä-da-đ?*
 oven_[ACC] make-CON begin-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will start to build a (new) oven.’ [ANP Oven]
- (107) *nä äči kasa-da pe-č pä-ða*
 [woman_[N/G] youngster] friend-PX.ACC.3SG search-CON begin-SG.3SG
 ‘The girl started looking for her friend.’ [LDB II 48]

13.7 The relative clause

Clausal modification of heads of NPs which corresponds to relative clauses in English is expressed by two different constructions. The first construction is based on a participle construction (further RC_{PTCP}) and seems to represent an autochthonous Forest Enets strategy. In the second construction, an interrogative pronoun serves as a relative pronoun, which is followed by the relative clause (further RC_{RP}). All examples of type two come from elicitation with one consultant and their grammaticality was not fully approved. Formally, such relative clauses are similar to Russian, and at present it is not possible to say whether this strategy is grammatical or an artifact of elicitation.⁵¹⁰ These two types of relative clauses differ with regard to the following formal characteristics:

	RC_{PTCP}	RC_{RP}
relativization strategy	gapping	pronominalization
relativized constituent	subject, object, recipient	oblique (excl. recipient)

Table 13-4: Relative clauses in Forest Enets

13.7.1 Relative clauses based on participles (RC_{PTCP})

Relative clauses based on participles are used to relativize subjects and direct objects via gapping. In the first type of participle-based relative clauses, the relative clause has an inherent tense value which derives from the underlying participle. Compare the following examples for subject relativization:

- (108) *kati* *ńubuku-xin* *sanuko*
 girl doll-LOC.PL play.3SG
 ‘The girl played with the dolls.’ [ZNB I 61]

- (109)a. *ńubuku-xin* *sanuku-đa* *kati*
 doll-LOC.PL play-PTCP.IPF girl
 ‘A girl who is playing with dolls.’ [ZNB I 61]

- b. *ńubuku-xin* *sanuku-i?* *kati*
 doll-LOC.PL play-PTCP.PFT girl
 ‘A girl who played with dolls.’ [ZNB I 61]

510. Whereas participle-based relatives are attested in recorded speech, finite interrogative-based relative clauses are attested only in elicitation. As the second strategy is identical to Russian, it could be a structural borrowing if it is not the result of typological chance. Generally, the relative clause complex turned out to be one of the most difficult topics, and even fluent consultants occasionally had difficulty in producing such forms. As relative clauses were generally assumed to be troublesome, only ZDB was willing to spend some time working on this topic. As relative clauses in Forest Enets have never been studied in earlier research, no point of reference is available. Because the presented data relies heavily on ZNB’s idiolect, the following survey must clearly be understood as a preliminary classification.

- c. *täxä te-kuča ka-uda te*
 that reindeer-DIM die-PTCP.FUT reindeer
 ‘That reindeer which will be killed.’ (Lit. ‘that reindeer a will-die reindeer’.) [LDB II 62]
- d. *mud’ Tartu-xuđ to-i enči-đ?*
 1SG Tartu-ABL.SG come-PTCP.PFT person-1SG
 ‘I am a person from Tartu.’ [ZNB I 27]
- e. *Evenkija-xađ to-i enči-š*
 Evenkija-ABL.SG come-PTCP.PFT person-3SG.PST
 ‘He was from Evenkija.’ [LDB Clairvoyant]

A head-modifying participle construction functions as the object of a higher clause:

- (110) *mod’ núbuku-xin sanuko-đa kati modä-đ*
 1SG doll-LOC.PL play-PTCP.IPF girl_[ACC] see-1SG
 ‘I see a girl who plays with dolls.’ [ZNB I 62]

Further, the perfective participle *-i(?)* can receive PX marking, but in order for this to occur the verb must be marked with the detransitive suffix *-du/-tu*. In this constellation, the PX_{ACC} on the participle agrees with the modified noun which is the accusative object of the matrix clause. Further, number agreement is possible, too:

- (111) *tít-tu-i-ď koru-i maľe noda*
 buy-DETRS-PTCP.PFT-PX.ACC.1SG knife-PX.ACC.1SG already 3SG.LAT
miä-b-uš
 give-SG.1SG-PST
 ‘The knife which I bought, I have already given it to him.’ [LDB II 66]
- (112) *tidi-du-i-ď koru-da maľe dopi-đa*
 buy-DETRS-PTCP.PFT-PX.ACC.1SG knife-PX.ACC.3SG already loose-SG.3SG
 ‘The knife which I bought for him, he has already lost it.’ [ZNB III 14]
- (113) *tidi-du-i-ď koru-i? kodu ni-n mušči*
 buy-DETRS-PTCP.PFT-PX.1SG knife-PX.1SG sled_[GEN] on-LOC lie.3SG
 ‘The knife which I bought is on the sled.’ [ZNB III 14]
- (114) *tidi-du-i-xiň šiđi meju koru-xi? [...]*
 buy-DETRS-PTCP.PFT-PX.ACC.DU.3SG two new knife-_[NOM,DU]
 ‘The two new knives which I have bought...’ [ZNB III 14]

The revitalization of obliques (ablative, locative, possessor) relies on interrogative pronouns. Further, in examples (118) and (120) the verb in the main clause is marked by a hither-to unknown element for which I have been unable to find an analysis so far:

- (118) *?nä še-xuđ mođin? kari tidi-sai małe mensi*
 woman who-ABL.SG 1DU fish_[ACC] buy-? already old.woman.3SG
 ‘The woman from whom we bought fish is already an old woman.’ [ZNB III 66]

- (119) *?moga kunin ne-? sanuko aga*
 forest where.LOC children-_[NOM.PL] play.3PL big.3SG
 ‘The forest in which the children play is big.’ [ZNB III 66]

- (120) *?bunki-r še mu-d mođna? pirigu-sa? šimi-đ?*
 dog-PX.2SG who_[GEN] food-BEN 1PL cook-? run.away-R.3SG
 ‘Your dog whose food (Lit. food for whom) we prepared ran away.’ [ZNB IV 61]

14. Texts

During all fieldtrips spontaneous narratives were collected, transcribed and translated. During the 2011 fieldtrip some recordings of the parental generation from different personal archives which I have obtained in recent years were also transcribed and translated. A large quantity of texts is already fully annotated in ELAN. The text corpus representing the speech of the last generation of speakers now contains over 110 recordings exceeding 9 hours of narratives, some dialogues and several songs. Additionally, there are 70 minutes of transcribed and translated narratives from the parental generation. The sound files from the DOBES phase are already uploaded to the archive at MPI Nijmegen and can be accessed there.

The following five texts represent the speech of the current generation and with one exception were recorded between 2006 and 2008. I have chosen to represent the speech of four fully fluent speakers and one speaker who has retained good skills but wrote up his stories first and then read them aloud for recording. As the transliteration of these narratives was rechecked separately again, fragments of these texts which appear in the grammatical description might not match entirely in terms of all details. The interested reader is encouraged to consult and compare the following transcript with the original recordings, which are stored at the DOBES Archive and can be accessed online after registration.

The presentation of all narratives is uniform. Numbering of lines is for convenience and not motivated by speech turns or the like. The texts are presented in the practical orthography but in contrast to the conventions in the grammatical description, the transcription is now more normalized and e.g. missing glottal stops are added. Prominent idiosyncratic features are, however, preserved; the sign [...] marks removed disfluencies or instances which were not translatable, the symbols / and // mark shorter and longer pauses in the narrative.

14.1 Nadežda Bolina: Mouse and Fish

This spontaneous narrative was recorded on February 20th 2007 in Potapovo by Florian Siegl. It was transcribed and translated by Zoja Bolina and Florian Siegl in March 2007. This narrative is one of the few traditional narratives in the corpus:

- (1) *tonida kunida tobik-uku điri-bi đoxa bar-xun*
 sometime somewhere mouse-DIM live-PERF.3SG river_[GEN] shore-LOC.SG
điri-bi
 live-PERF.3SG
 ‘Sometime, somewhere a little mouse lived, on the bank of a river it lived.’
- (2) *ou mana*
 so say.3SG
 ‘“oh,” (the little mouse) said.’
- (3) *kari-da enču-ń məd⁵¹² ko-gu-đ?*
 fish-PTCP.IPF person_{PL}-PX.ACC.PL.1SG 1SG find-DUR-1SG
 ‘“I will visit (Lit. find) my fishermen”.’
- (4) *ko tä-xođ odu-ku-đu-da mä*
 birch_[GEN] bark-ABL.SG boat-DIM-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG make.3SG
 ‘Out of birch bark it made a little boat for itself.’
- (5) *odu-ku-da ni-? adi-đ? kəni tobik-uku đoxo me-on*
 boat-DIM-PX.GEN.3SG in-LAT sit-R.3SG go.3SG mouse-DIM river_[GEN] ON-PROL
 ‘(The mouse) sat down in its boat and went on the river.’
- (6) *dada dada đoxa me-on mädä?ä or-da nä-n*
 go_{UDI}.3SG go_{UDI}.3SG river_[GEN] in-PROL see.3SG front-PX.GEN.3SG side-LOC
kori-da enču-? modä?ä
 sweep.net.fish-PTCP.IPF⁵¹³ person_[ACC.PL] see.3SG
 ‘The mouse went and went on the river. Ahead it saw, fishermen with sweep nets, it saw.’

512. The realization of 1P forms e.g. 1SG *mod’/mud’* as *məd’* is typical for NKB.

513. There is some variation in the recording between *koriđada* and *korida*. I have normalized all forms to *korida*.

- (7) *kori-da* *enču-ń* *leu-ŋa-ʔ* *tobik-uko-u*
 sweep.net.fish-PTCP.IPF person_{PL}-PX.PL.1SG shout-FREQ-3PL mouse-DIM-PX.1SG⁵¹⁴
tobik-uko-u *tođnuk* *dađa-ʔ* *kari-ku-đu-d* *oo-ʔ*
 mouse-DIM-PX.1SG close(r) go_{UDI}-IMP.2SG fish-DIM-BEN-PX.ACC.2SG eat-IMP.2G
 ‘The sweep-net fishermen are saying: “hey little mouse, little mouse come closer, eat some little fish!”’
- (8) *tobik-uku-m* *leu-ŋa* *obu* *kareiʔ*⁵¹⁵
 mouse-DIM-PX.1SG⁵¹⁶ shout-FREQ.3SG what fish_[ACC.PL]
 ‘The little mouse is shouting: “what fishes?”’
- (9) *kari-da* *enčuʔ* *ma-ńu-ʔ* *đixa* *kari-ʔ*
 fish-PTCP.IPF person_[NOM.PL] say-ASS-3PL perch_[N/G] fish_[NOM.PL]
 ‘The fishermen say: “perch!”’
- (10) *đixa* *kari-ʔ* *mudʔ* *ńi-đʔ* *o-mubi-ʔ* *liđiđuʔ*
 perch_[N/G] fish_[ACC.PL] 1SG NEG.AUX-1SG eat-HAB-CN bone.PX.ACC.PL.3P
oka-ʔ
 many-3PL
 ‘“Oh I usually don’t eat perch, they have so many bones”.’
- (11) *tobik-uku-r* *toni-ʔ* *taxa-ʔ* *kańi* *đoxa-ku-da*
 mouse-DIM-PX.2SG there-LAT back-LAT go.3SG river-DIM-PX.GEN.3SG
me-on *dađa*
 on-PROL go_{UDI}.3SG
 ‘The mouse went a little further; it went further on the river.’
- (12) *kinsu-tau* *modā-đa* *or-da* *nā-n* *añʔ* *kori-da*
 sing-POT.3SG see-SG.3SG front-PX.GEN.3SG side-LOC FOC sweep.net.fish-PTCP.IPF
enčuʔ
 person_[NOM.PL]
 ‘(The mouse) probably sang; (it) saw again some sweep-net fishermen.’
- (13) *kori-da* *enčuʔ* *tobik-uko-u* *tobik-uko-u*
 sweep.net.fish-PTCP.IPF person_[NOM.PL] mouse-DIM-PX.1SG mouse-DIM-PX.1SG
tolnuk *to-ʔ* *oo-goʔ*
 close(r) come-IMP.2SG eat-HORT.1PL
 ‘The fishermen: “little mouse little mouse, come closer, let us eat”.’

514. Vocative use of PX.1SG

515. One would expect *kariʔ* ‘ibid.’ here but apparently due to emphatic stress it is realized as *kareiʔ*.516. Unusual PX.1SG *-m* here; the diminutive suffix has no suffix-final glottal stop.

- (14) *abu kari-? tobik-uku-r ma-ńu*
 what fish-_[ACC.PL] mouse-DIM-PX.2SG say-ASS.3SG
 ‘‘What kind of fish,’’ so the mouse said.’
- (15) *aa paixa kari-? torsı kari-? ńe-ď? oo-r*
 oh pełjad’_[N/G] fish-_[NOM.PL] such fish-_[ACC.PL] NEG.AUX-1SG eat-FREQ.CN
ńi-? sálu-s
 NEG.AUX-3PL be.fat-CN
 ‘‘Oh pełjad’, such fishes I don’t eat, they are not fat.’’
- (16) *sáli-ďa ďagu*
 fat-PX.3SG not.exist.3SG
 ‘‘It has no fat’’.’
- (17) *nu tona taxa-? ďada*
 so still there-LAT go_{UDI}.3SG
 ‘Still (the little mouse) went further.’
- (18) *tobik-uku-r ďada ďada ďoxa-da me-on*
 mouse-DIM-PX.2SG go_{UDI}.3SG go_{UDI}.3SG river-GEN.PX.3SG on-PROL
 ‘The little mouse went further on the river.’
- (19) *ań? ań? kori-da enču? modä?ä*
 FOC FOC sweep.net.fish-PTCP.IPF person_[ACC.PL] see.3SG
 ‘And again the little mouse sees sweep-net fishermen.’
- (20) *kori-da enču? modä?ä ań?*
 sweep.net.fish-PTCP.IPF person_[ACC.PL] see.3SG FOC
 ‘Again (the little mouse) sees fishermen.’
- (21) *ou oo-da-raxa-? modä-bu-ta*
 oh eat-PTCP.IPF-SIM-3PL see-CON-PX.GEN.3SG
 ‘While looking at them, they seemed to be eating.’
- (22) *kori-da enči-l leu-ńa tobik-uko-u*
 sweep.net.fish-PTCP.IPF person-PX.2SG shout-FREQ.3SG mouse-DIM-PX.1SG
tolnuk to-? uu-go? obu kari-?
 close(r) come-IMP.2SG eat-HORT.1PL what fish-_[ACC.PL]
 ‘The fishermen shouted: ‘‘little mouse, come closer, let’s eat.’’ ‘‘What fish?’’

- (23) *noju mu? beidi muńxo⁵¹⁷ muđ?*
 nalim_[N/G] liver chir_[N/G] belly.fat liver_[NOM.PL]
 ‘Nalim liver, chir belly fat, livers.’
- (24) *no tobik-uku-r ma-ńu oo-da-đou? oo-da-đou?*
 so mouse-DIM-PX.2SG say-ASS.3SG eat-FUT-1SG eat-FUT-1SG
 ‘So the little mouse said: “I’ll eat, I’ll eat”.’
- (25) *odu-ku-da biđ bar-ud bire-đa*
 boat-DIM-PX.ACC.3SG water_[GEN] shore-LAT.SG tie-SG.3SG
 ‘It tied its boat to the river bank.’
- (26) *kańi sǎxǎri-ku-da me-on sǎxǎri-ku-da me-on*
 go.3SG path-DIM-PX.GEN.3SG on-PROL path-DIM-PX.GEN.3SG on-PROL
kańi
 go.3SG
 ‘(The little mouse) walks along its way, along its way it walks.’
- (27) *oo-ŋa*
 eat-FREQ.3SG
 ‘It is eating.’
- (28) *tǎu-đa kuraxan pade?e-đ?*
 stomach-PX.3SG EXCL fill-R.3SG
 ‘Its stomach gets filled.’
- (29) *no tobik-uku ma-ńu=jet čiki-xun-da*
 so mouse-DIM say-ASS.3SG=EMPH this-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.3SG
 ‘So the mouse says: “This is it”.’
- (30) *ǎu-? tobik-uku odu-d kari-da enču?*
 here-LAT mouse-DIM_[GEN] boat-LAT.SG sweep.net.fish-PTCP.IPF person_[NOM.PL]
 ‘To the mouse’s boat, the fishermen...’
čiki kasi lǎxiči-xođ nǎä-đu? ŋoda-bi-? ań?
 this fir_[N/G] twig.brush-ABL.SG needle-PX.ACC.3PL gather-PERF-3PL FOC
 ‘...out of such a fir twig brush, they gather its needles...’
sǎxǎri-ku-da me-on nǎä-? pu-bi mokti-š
 way-DIM-PX.GEN.3SG on-PROL needle-_[ACC.PL] put-PERF.3SG⁵¹⁸ put-3SG.PST
 ‘and along its way, he put them up, he put them.’

517. *muńxo* = lower part around the belly of a fish, usually cut into stripes.

518. As the verb ends in a glottal stop, assimilation would be expected here.

- (31) *no tobik-uku ma-ńu mā-ku-ń kan-ta-đou?*
 so mouse-DIM say-ASS.3SG house-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG go-FUT-1SG
mud' tāđa
 1SG now
 ‘And the little mouse said so: “Now I will go home”.’
- (32) *kań-? kań-?*
 go-IMP.2SG go-IMP.2SG
 ‘Go, go!’
- (33) *tobik-uku sǎxāri-ku-da me-on kańi*
 mouse-DIM path-DIM-PX.GEN.3SG on-PROL go.3SG
 ‘The little mouse is walking along its way.’
- (34) *ań? kexu-da ńi-? sumo-g-iđ? ań? naak kiu-da ńi-?*
 FOC side-PX.GEN.3SG on-LAT fall-DUR-R.3SG FOC other side-PX.GEN.3SG on-LAT
sumo-g-iđ?
 fall-DUR-R.3SG
 ‘It falls on its one side, then on the other side.’
- (35) *toř odu-da đeđ đada-da-xa-da*
 so boat-PX.GEN.3SG toward go_{UDI}-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG
 ‘In such a manner, while walking to its boat...’
tobik-uku-r // tāu-đa kurxat pätbi-iđ?
 mouse-DIM-PX.2SG stomach-PX.3SG EXCL burst-R.3SG
 ‘...the little mouse, its stomach bursts.’
- (36) *tāu-da pāđa-xađ kańi-š tobik-ur ka-ńu*
 stomach-PX.GEN.3SG burst_{NLZ}-ABL.SG go-3SG.PST mouse-PX.2SG die-ASS.3SG
 ‘After its stomach had bursted, the mouse apparently died.’
- (37) *enču? tāđa ma-mbi-ńim? [...]*
 person_[NOM.PL] now say-HAB-ASS.3PL
 ‘People nowadays usually say:’
tobik-ur orte muńxu-da oo-da
 mouse-PX.2SG first belly.fat-PX.ACC.3SG eat-SG.3SG
 ‘The little mouse first ate the fat belly stripes.’
točguđ muđ-da oo-da
 then liver-PX.ACC.3SG eat-SG.3SG
 ‘...then it ate the liver.’

- (38) *kuna tobik ko-i? oo-ma-i? kari-? ko-č ań?*
 when mouse_[GEN] find-PTCP.PFT eat-RES-PTCP.PFT fish_[ACC.PL] find-3PL.PST FOC
 ‘When the fishes eaten by the mouse, when the people found them...’

čiki-ru-đa oo-ma-đa
 this-LIM-PX.3SG eat-RES-SG.3SG
 ‘...only this it had eaten (liver, belly fat).’⁵¹⁹

- (39) *ań? aija-da obu-xuru sän ni oo-r sä-lu*
 FOC body-PX.ACC.3SG what-NEG more NEG.AUX.3SG eat-CN fat-LIM_[ACC]
oo-da-š
 eat-SG.3SG-PST
 ‘Nothing of the fish body (was eaten), only the fat (the little mouse) ate.’

14.2 Zoja Bolina: Living in the Tundra

This story was told by Zoja Bolina on 8.12.2006, some days before I left Dudinka for Potapovo. Therefore it could not be transliterated and translated immediately; this was postponed until Zoja Bolina came to Estonia in December 2007. Several corrections were also incorporated into the transcript, which therefore differs slightly from the original recording. In contrast to her half-brother Leonid and his wife Nadežda, Zoja Bolina has lived most of her life outside the traditional sphere of Enets life in an urban, Russian-dominated environment, but she managed to preserve very good knowledge of her language throughout her life. The following story is based on memories from her childhood in the tundra.

- (1) *kudaxai mudna? bodu-n onai mäd mi-n điriä-ba-č*
 long ago 1PL tundra-LOC real chum_[GEN] in-LOC live-1PL-PST
 ‘Long ago, we lived in a chum in the tundra...’
- to-nuju sirnuju onai mäd mi-n điriä-ba-č*
 summer-ADV winter.ADV real chum_[GEN] in-LOC live-1PL-PST
 ‘...In summer, in winter we lived in a chum.’

519. Meaning not entirely clear at present.

- (2) *točgođ äki äki đeri-xid tolñuk*
 then here here day-ABL.PL closer
 ‘Then, closer to the present...’
- sirnuju // bolok mi-n điri-ubi-ä?*
 winter.ADV balok_[GEN] in-LOC live-HAB-1PL
 ‘...in winter we used to live in a balok.’
- hm bolok mi-n điri-ubi-ä?*
 EXCL balok_[GEN] in-LOC live-HAB-1PL
 ‘...hm, we used to live in a balok?’
- (3) *kuna añ? onai mäd mi-n điri-bu-i-ña? // sirnuju*
 when FOC real chum_[GEN] in-LOC live-CON-PST_{CO}-PX.GEN.1PL winter.ADV
 ‘When we were living in a chum...’
- oo čiki mädđi-š mädđi-š // onai mäd mi-? mu-š*
 EXCL this argish-CON argish-CON real chum_[GEN] in-LAT EXCL-CON
 ‘...oh this, argishing, argishing, into the chum so...’
- // kaara-š*
 take.down-CON
 ‘...taking it down.’
- (4) *točgođ usu-bu-na? // onai mäd mokta-š*
 then move.to.new.place-CON-PX.GEN.1PL real chum_[ACC] put.up-CON
 ‘When moving to a new place, putting up a chum...’
- čiki-r oka mosa-? aga mosa ņa-ñu*
 this-PX.2SG many work-_[NOM.PL] big work be_{LOC}-ASS.3SG
 ‘...this is a lot of work, a huge work.⁵²⁰’
- (5) *mädđi-da-xa-d ņul’ aga-an kodida-d*
 argish-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.2SG very big-PROL freeze-2SG
omuludi-d’
 be.hungry-R.2SG
 ‘While you are argishing, you are freezing, you are hungry.’

520. This equative clause with a mood-marked locational copula is unusual. In the aorist, equative clauses are nominal. What appears to be happening here is similar to what could be observed in the predicative conjugation where the verbal encoding of nominal predicates is blocked when mood is involved and a verb is needed to host the mood marker.

- (6) *točgodđ tāxä usu-bu-d čiči*
 then that move.to.new.place-CON-PX.GEN.2SG so
 ‘Then, that, while moving to a new place...’
- mäd baa-đu-d pe-lda-d*
 chum_[GEN] bed-BEN-PX.ACC.2SG search-FUT-2SG
 ‘...you will look for a place for your chum.’
- (7) *točgodđ čiki mäd ŋa sira-xadđ*
 then this chum_[GEN] location snow-ABL.SG
 ‘Then this location for the chum, out of the snow...’
- sira-xadđ čukčiči sir-da čuu-da-d*
 snow-ABL.SG all snow-PX.ACC.3SG dig.out-FUT-2SG
 ‘...out of the snow, all its snow you will dig out.’ [...]
- (8) *kuñ čiki onai bađa-an ma-d’ đurta čiči*
 how this real word-PROL say-CON forget.SG.1SG this
 ‘How to say this in Forest Enets, I forgot this.’ [...]
- (9) *sira sira čukčiči ču-lda-r onai mäd mokta-š*
 snow snow all dig.out-FUT-SG.2SG real chum_[ACC] put.up-CON
 ‘The snow, you will dig out all the snow to put up the chum.’
- (10) *točgodđ čiči ŋuđu-d mokta-da-d*
 then pole_[ACC]⁵²¹ pole-PX.ACC.PL.2SG⁵²² put.up-FUT-2SG
 ‘Then you will put up your poles.’
- (11) *točgodđ čiči-? ŋuđu-? ŋe-on ŋuđu-? ŋe-on điči*
 then pole_[ACC] pole-_[GEN.PL] on-PROL pole-_[GEN.PL] on-PROL njuk_[ACC]
đeđi-da-d
 cover-FUT-2SG
 ‘Then, over the poles and along/over the poles you will put the njuk.’
- (12) *čiči-r ŋuľ kudaxa eto aga kudaxa poñi-da mosa*
 this-PX.2SG very long this_[RU] big long hold-PTCP.IPF work
 ‘This is a long, a huge and long lasting work.’

521. *čiči* ‘a pole placed over the fireplace’.522. *ŋuđu* ‘generic term for poles in a chum’.

- (13) *modna? to dódigun mud' tonä íe-d? ŋa-ñeđu? ań?*
 1PL that period.LOC.SG 1SG still child-1SG be_{LOC-ASS.1SG}⁵²³ FOC
 ‘We, in those days I still, I was a child, so...’
ŋul' kodida-d' ŋul' omuludi-d'
 very freeze-CON very be.hungry-CON
 ‘...very freezing and very hungry.’
- (14) *kuna čiki mä-l mokta-ra-d-íd? sirnuju ań? đeri-đa*
 when this chum-PX.2SG put.up-PASS-FUT-R.3SG winter.ADV FOC day-PX.3SG
*kemi ŋa-ńu*⁵²⁴
 short be_{LOC-ASS.3SG}
 ‘When this chum will be put up, in winter, the day is short...’
uže malé päušu-da čiki mäd mokta-ra-?
 already already be.dark-PTCP.IPF this chum_[ACC] put.up-FREQ-3PL
oti-da-xa-d
 wait-PTCP.IPF-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.2SG
 ‘...already being dark, they are putting up the chum, while you are waiting.’
- (15) *mäd mokta-da-? točgod či mu đa-da ní-? kađi*
 chum_[ACC] put.up-FUT-3PL then so EXCL place-PX.GEN.3SG on-LAT fir_[N/G]
läxäči läxta-da-? đa ne-on
 twig_[ACC] spread.out-FUT-3PL ground_[GEN] on-PROL
 ‘They will put up the chum, so on this place they will spread out fir twigs, along the ground.’
- (16) *točgod čiki kađi läxäči ne-on ŋubai pu-da-?*
 then this fir_[N/G] twig_[ACC] on-PROL mat_[ACC]⁵²⁵ lay-FUT-3PL
 ‘Then, they will lay a mat on the fur twigs.’
- (17) *ŋubai ne-on ań? čiki mu koba-? läxta-da-?*
 mat_[GEN] on-PROL FOC this so skin-_[ACC.PL] spread-FUT-3PL
 ‘Over the mat, they will spread out skins.’
- (18) *koba-? íe-on točgod mu pirina-? pu-da-? to' čí*
 skin-_[GEN.PL] on-PROL then so feather.bed-_[ACC.PL] put-FUT-3PL so so
 ‘Over the skins, they will put the feather beds. Yes, so.’

523. Here, the noun in predicative conjugation is followed by a mood-marked locational copula. Again, this is unusual but cannot be explained at the present moment.

524. Again, an unusual clause with a locational copula marked for mood, though now as part of an attributive clause.

525. Mat made out of dried grass.

- (19) *toxo pad ne-on i-de mädi dáda-? mu*
 edge.of.njuk_[N/G] hem_[GEN] on-PROL NEG.AUX-PTCP.IPF wind go-CN so
 ‘Along the hem edge of the njuk, so that the wind is not blowing...’
- mu-xun sira-xan čukči tordi-đu? toxo pad*
 so-LOC.SG snow-LOC.SG all make.even-SG.3PL edge.of.njuk_[N/G] hem_[ACC]
 ‘...so with, with snow, all, they make it even, the hem of the edge of the njuk.’
- (20) *točgod päči-du? mokta-da-?*
 then oven-PX.ACC.SG.3PL put.up-FUT-3PL
 ‘Then they will put up their oven.’
- päči-du? čuñi-ta-đu? či*
 oven-PX.ACC.SG.3PL light-FUT-SG.3PL so
 ‘They will light their oven, yes.’
- (21) *točgod či mäd mi-n đuba-aš kan-ta*
 then so chum_[GEN] in-LOC warm-TRSL go-FUT.3SG
čaj-da-d oo-da-d
 drink.tea-FUT-2SG eat-FUT-2SG
 ‘Then, so, it will become warm in the chum, you will drink tea, you will eat.’
- (22) *ākada-xad-ud koda-d-id*
 be.tired_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.2SG fall.asleep-FUT-R.2SG
 ‘After having become tired, you will fall asleep.’
- (21) *kodí-bu-d mäd mi-n [...] pi-nuju pe-xe-raxa*
 sleep-CON-PX.GEN.2SG chum_[GEN] in-LOC [...] night-ADV street-INDEF-SIM
ä-da
 be-FUT.3SG
 ‘While you are sleeping, in the chum, it will be like outside on the street.’
- (22) *mod’xo-ń=jet peri kodit-umbi-đ?*
 1SG-INDEF-PX.GEN.1SG=EMPH always freeze-HAB.1SG
 ‘I was always freezing.’
- (23) *kodit-umbi-đ-ud’ ibléigu-đ? e-bu-i-ń*
 freeze-HAB-1SG-PST small-1SG be-CON-PST_{CO}-PX.GEN.1SG
 ‘I had been freezing all the time, while being little.’⁵²⁶

526. The order of main and subordinate clause is slightly unusual here. Further, the converb shows co-past reference although formally the main clause is not past tense-marked. As the clause has a clear past tense connotation, this seems to explain the tense marking in the subordinated clause.

- (24) *pi-nuju tatida-ď? čaŋei ŋo-kuč-iň*
 night-ADV wake.up-1SG EXCL⁵²⁷ leg-DIM-PX.PL.1SG
 ‘In the night I woke up, gosh, my little feet...’
- äba-ň ub peri kodt-umbi-š*
 head-PX.GEN.1SG end always freeze-HAB-3SG.PST
 ‘...the top of my head, it was always freezing.’
- (25) *ŋo-ň? kodi-ubi-? täxä tuše kori maga mi-n*
 foot-PX.PL.1SG freeze-HAB-3PL there down blanket sleeping.bag_[GEN] in-LOC
 ‘My feet were usually freezing, there, down in the lower part of the sleeping bag blanket.’
- (26) *čiki pi-nuju pi-nuju-ru čiki tečubi*
 this night-ADV night-ADV-LIM this be.cold.HAB.3SG
 ‘This, in the night, only in the night, it was usually cold.’
- (27) *ďeri-nuju aň? onai mäď mi-n mod-xo noniň tečši*
 day-ADV FOC real chum_[GEN] in-LOC 1SG-INDEF 1SG.LOC⁵²⁸ cold.3SG
ňi-š ŋa-?
 NEG.AUX-3SG.PST be_{LOC}-CN
 ‘But in the daytime, in a chum, to me it seems it was not cold.’
- (28) *nu malča-šud adĭ-ubi-ä?*
 so malitsa-CAR sit-HAB-1PL
 ‘So, we used to sit without a malitsa’
- (29) *päči tor čüni-da-r aň? či mäď mi-n*
 oven so light-FUT-SG.2SG FOC so chum_[GEN] in-LOC
ňul ġuba ä-ďa
 very warm be-FUT.3SG
 ‘The oven, you light it in such a manner yes, it will be warm in the chum.’

527. A special exclamation used when it is very cold.

528. In this compound pronoun, only the first pronoun is marked for *-xo*. In this instance *-xo* behaves as a regular suffix.

- (30) *mod'-xo-na?* *täxä* *moga* *mi-n* *ńebam* *điri-?*
 1PL-INDEF-PX.GEN.1PL there forest_[GEN] in-LOC [NEG.AUX.ASS.1PL live-CN]
 ‘So there, we lived in the forest...⁵²⁹’
- moga* *mi-n* *pä-đa* *oka*
 moga_[GEN] in-LOC wood-PX.3SG much.3SG
 ‘...in the forest, there is much wood...’
- pä-?* *oka-n* *äsi* *pättru-da*
 wood-_[ACC.PL] much-PROL father chop-FUT.3SG
 ‘...much wood father will chop.’
- (31) *či* *đeri* *đabut* *päči* *čuńi-gu-đa-r*
 so day_[GEN] during oven_[ACC] light-DUR-FUT-SG.2SG
 ‘So during the day, you will continuously light the oven.’
- (32) *točgod* *peri* *päči* *ni-n* *obu-xo* *piri-gu-bi*
 then always oven_[GEN] on-LOC what-INDEF cook-DUR-PERF.3SG
 ‘Then, something was always cooking on the oven.’
- (33) *ää-b* *bui* *piri-gu-đa* *točgod* *kirba* *piri-gu-đa*
 mother-PX.1SG soup_[ACC] cook-DUR-SG.3SG then bread_[ACC] cook-DUR-SG.3SG
 ‘My mother cooked soup. Then she baked bread.’
- (34) *päči-ā?* *đeri* *đabut* *mā-na?* *mi-n* *tu-ta*
 oven-PX.1PL day_[GEN] during chum-PX.GEN.1PL in-LOC heat-FUT.3SG
 ‘Our oven, the whole day long, in our chum it will heat.’
- (35) *či* *točgod* *sānuku* *đor* *đeri-nuju* *čaj-mubi-ā?*
 so then several times day-ADV drink.tea-HAB-1PL
 ‘So then, several times during the day we used to drink tea.’
- (36) *onai* *māđ* *mi-n* *đuba-š*
 real chum_[GEN] in-LOC warm-3SG.PST
 ‘In the chum it was warm.’
- (37) *pi-nuju-ru* *pi-nuju-ru* *tečubi-š*
 night-ADV-LIM night-ADV-LIM be.cold.HAB-3SG.PST
 ‘Only during the night, only during the night it used to be cold.’

529. The order of elements in the assertative mood is reversed here and the original word order of negation is preserved.

- (38)⁵³⁰ *äki dëri tolnuk bolok sirnuju onai enču? bolko-xun*
 this days closer balok winter.ADV real person_[NOM.PL] balok-LOC.SG
điri-r-iđ?
 live-INCH-R.3PL
 ‘Later... (Lit. closer to today), a balok, in winter, Enetses started to live in baloks.’
- (39) *bolku-xo čiki soida ŋa-ŋu*
 balok-INDEF this good be_{LOC}-ASS.3SG
 ‘Any balok is good.’⁵³¹
- (40) *kaara-gu-š aň? ŋoda-gu-š ŋi tara-?*
 take.down-DUR-CON FOC gather-DUR-CON NEG.AUX.3SG must-CN
 ‘One does not need to take it down and pack it.’⁵³²
- (41) *oburi-đ bolok mi-đ kodu-? mi-? ođdi-d-iđ*
 thing-PX.PL.2SG bolok_[GEN] in-ABL sledge-_[GEN.PL] in-LAT bring.out-FUT-PL.2SG
 ‘Your things, you will bring them out of the balok on the sledges.’
- (42) *či tiđ pođira-? // i eto mädđi-š kaňi-d*
 so reindeer.PX.PL.2SG harness-IMP.2SG and this_[RU] argish-CON go-2SG
 ‘Harness your reindeer and then, you go argishing.’
- (43) *taxa-n eta usu-bu-d či bolku-r*
 back-LOC this_[RU] move.to.new.place-CON-PX.GEN.2SG so balok-PX.2SG
 ‘While moving to a new place, this balok (is) at the end (of the argish).’
- (44) *päči-da čuňi-r či i mädđ mi-n maľe duba*
 oven-PX.ACC.3SG light-SG.2SG so and chum_[GEM] in-LOC already warm.3SG
 ‘You light the oven, and so, and it is already warm in your home.’

530. Disfluency corrected in this turn.

531. Another unusual appearance of the locational copula.

532. In this example, the function of *aň?* is indeed close to coordination.

14.3 Leonid Bolin: Two Fishermen and a Bear

This spontaneous story was told by Leonid Bolin on 04.07.2008 in Potapovo and is typical for the kind of stories he preferred to tell. As he was among the first in Potapovo to understand that any story which could be told in Forest Enets is a good story, he preferred to tell stories about strange or funny incidents in the tundra involving himself, friends or colleagues. From a linguistic perspective, this story is slightly unusual as it shows more interference with Russian than other stories told by the same consultant. The narrative was transliterated and translated by Zoja Bolina and Florian Siegl in July 2008.

- (1) *onai kudaxai po ni ŋa-ʔ*
 real long.ago year NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC}-CN
 ‘It was not too long ago...’
- kodela to ä-kun tonä d’etši teŋi ke-xun*
 kodela lake here-LOC.SG exist.3SG Yenisei_[GEN] opposite side-LOC.SG
ŋa
 be_{LOC}.3SG
 ‘...there is a lake called kodela to (Lit. transportation sledge lake), on the other side of the Yenisei.’
- (2) *kudaxa-n ni ŋa-ʔ pogu-da enčiʔ tonä-š*
 distant-LOC NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC}-CN fish-PTCP.IPF person exist-3SG.PST
rođa enčiʔ
 Russian person
 ‘Not that far away, there was a fisherman, a Russian.’
- (3) *nar-nuju biidi-đu-da tođa-bi-š // Dudinka-xađ*
 spring-ADV companion-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG bring-PERF-3SG.PST Dudinka-ABL.SG
 ‘In spring, he brought a friend for himself, from Dudinka.’
- (4) *šidi-iš ribzavod enči-gi-č*
 two-TRSL fish.factory person-DU-3SG.PST
 ‘They were both working for the fishing factory (Lit. they were fish-factory people).’
- ribzavod-xan mosara-xi-č*
 fish.factory-LOC.SG work-3DU-PST
 ‘They worked in the fishing factory.’

- (5) *či mu ni-ta Gleb-uš familija Oľekin*
 SO PART name-PX.3SG PN-3SG.PST family.name PN
 ‘His name was Gleb, his family name Oľekin.’
- roda enči-iš*
 Russian person-3SG.PST
 ‘He was a Russian.’
- (6) *soida-an mud’ täna-u*
 good-PROL 1SG know-SG.1SG
 ‘I know him well.’
- (7) *nare karida noodu-ida*
 red fish.PX.ACC.PL.3SG catch-PL.3SG
 ‘He was fishing for red fish.’
- (8) *sirta-bida bočka mi-? // čan-da mi-n kari-? tonä-bi-č*
 salt-PERF.PL.3SG vat_[GEN] in-LAT tub-PX.GEN.3SG in-LOC fish-_[NOM.PL] exist-PERF-3PL.PST
 ‘He salted them in (Lit. into) kegs; and in a tub there was fish...’
- sirta-i? kari-?*
 salt-PTCP.PFT fish-_[NOM.PL]
 ‘...salted fish.’
- (9) *august điri-xun pei-đa pei-đa điri-xun*
 august month-LOC.SG dark-PTCP.IPF dark-PTCP.IPF month-LOC.SG
 ‘In August, a dark month...’⁵³³
- bogľa ko-bida aň? bogľa čukči bär-pida karida*
 bear find-PERF.PL.3SG FOC bear all scatter-PERF.PL.3SG fish.PX.ACC.PL.3SG
bočk.i moru-pi
 vat.PL⁵³⁴ break-PERF.3SG
 ‘...a bear found them (the fishes), a bear scattered everything. He even broke the barrels.’
- (10) *kari-ku-ida aň? ŋoda-bida*
 fish-DIM-PX.ACC.PL.3SG FOC gather-PERF.PL.3SG
 ‘He even gathered those little fishes.’
- (11) *kolta-bida ŋoda-bida aň? // pu-bida*
 clean-PERF.PL.3SG gather-PERF.PL.3SG FOC put-PERF.PL.3SG
 ‘He washed them, he gathered them, and he put them in (into the barrels)’

533. The months after the end of the polar day are already considered dark months.

534. Russian plural *бочка* → *бочки*.

- (12) *kasa no? braška mokta-bi-xi?*
 friend_[GEN] with spirit_[ACC] put.up-PERF-3DU
 ‘With his friend he made braška.’⁵³⁵
- (13) *čiki oka oka aň? ä-sau=jet*
 this much much FOC be-PROB_{PST.}3SG=EMPH
 ‘This was apparently a lot.’
- (14) *oo kasa-xa-da ma-ń ma-ńu mana*
 so friend-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG say-ASS.3SG say-ASS.3SG say.3SG
ma-ń // äki pi kańi-ńi-i? mu oti-ni-i?
 say-ASS.3SG this night go-COND-1DU PART wait-COND-1DU
 ‘So he said to his friend: “This night we should go and we should wait for him!”’
- (15) *to-ďa-ńu aň?*
 come-FUT-ASS.3SG FOC
 ‘(The bear) will come again.’
- (16) *bäsi đuku-je no aga bäsi đuku-je toni-?*
 iron trap-AUG_[ACC] so big iron trap-AUG_[ACC] there-LAT
kaada-bi-xi?
 bring-PERF-3DU
 ‘An iron trap, a big iron trap they brought there.’
- (17) *aa pi-nuju to-bu-ńi-du? bäsi bää-bu-ta*
 EXCL night-ADV come-CON-COND-PX.GEN.3PL iron catch-CON-PX.GEN.3SG
nodu-t ńe-bim?
 [hear-FUT.CN NEG.AUX-ASS.1DU]
 ‘“If they come during the night, when the iron trap closes, this we two should hear.”’
- (18) *bäsi bäsi bočka ńi-? pu-bi-ďi?*
 iron iron vat_[GEN] on-LAT put-PERF-SG.3SG
 ‘They put the iron trap on the vat.’
- (19) *oo pi-nuju pi đabut braška oo-r ńi-xim*
 EXCL night-ADV night_[GEN] during braška_[ACC] [eat-CN NEG.AUX-ASS.3DU]
 ‘Oh, but in the night, during the night, they must have been drinking.’

535. *braška* (Ru: *бражка*) is a low alcoholic yeast-based drink (8–14%).

- (29) *bog'la-r* *ŋo'lu* *raz* *täbada* *obu* *obu* *obu-đu-da*
 bear-PX.2SG one time ? what what what-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG
 ‘The bear, one time he wants something for himself...’
- ni-đ* *ŋara-t* *sän* *dör* *piri* *döđu-da* *toni-?*
 NEG.AUX.R.3SG stop-FUT.CN several time always go_{MUDI}-FUT.3SG there-LAT
 ‘...he will not stop. Several times he will go there.’
- (30) *ne-kuča-raxa* *peri* *toni-?* *oburu-?* *bärti-d-ida*
 child-DIM-SIM always there-LAT thing-[ACC.PL] throw-FUT-PL.3SG
mortu-d-ida [...] *break-FUT-PL.3SG*
 ‘Like a little child, he throws things, he breaks things.’
- (31) *obu* *tonä-bu-ta* *prezent* *tonä-bu-ta* *niditu-d-ida*
 what exist-CON-PX.GEN.3SG tarpaulin exist-CON-PX.GEN.3SG tear.open-FUT-PL.3SG
 ‘If there is tarpaulin, he will tear them open.’
- (32) *bäsi* *dori-xit* *kuñ* *säiju-đa* *i-bi* *kañ-?*
 iron_[N/G] sound-ABL.PL how heart-PX.3SG NEG.AUX-PERF.3SG go-CN
 ‘How could he not be scared of the sound of iron?’⁵³⁶
- (33) *ker-ti?* *döktu-ŋa-xi?* *čiki* *enči-gi?*
 self-PX.GEN.3DU be.surprised-FREQ-3DU this person-[NOM.DU]
 ‘They themselves were surprised, these two men.’
- (37) *čiki* *enču?* *braška* *oo-xađ-di?* *kodu-ra-xi?* *no*
 this person_[NOM.PL] braška_[ACC] eat_{NLZ}-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3DU sleep-INCH-R.3DU so
 ‘After having drunk braško, they fell asleep.’
- (38) *noma-d* *pära-bi-xi?* *kod-ra-bi-xi?*
 sleep-? overwhelm-PERF-3DU sleep-INCH-PERF-R.3DU
 ‘Sleep overwhelmed them, they fell asleep.’⁵³⁷
- (39) *kiuđa* *šer* *to-sau=jet* *sama-đi?*
 morning_[GEN] before come-PROB_{PST}.3SG=EMPH beast-PX.SG.3DU
 ‘But in the morning, their bear apparently came.’
- (40) *či* *bäuđa=jet*
 so enough=EMPH
 ‘This is enough.’

536. Common Northern Samoyedic phraseologism: his heart goes away = he is scared.

537. This phrase remained somehow unclear to ZNB and me. Translation and glossing are preliminary.

14.4 Dar'ja Bolina: Past Summer

The following fairytale was found on a digitized tape from Kazis Labanauskas' private archive (tape 10) and must date back to the early 1990s. It contains a fairy tale told by Dar'ja Bolina. Interestingly, a slightly different version told by EIB (recorded by DSB) was published in ET [text 20 эйбуы то] but the versions do not match. As DSB is bilingual, several Tundra Nenets elements can be found in this narrative and this offers a good chance to see how bilingualism affects the structure of Forest Enets. The narrative was transcribed and translated by Vitalij Bolin and Florian Siegl in September 2011.

- (1) *mud' tāda nāda šuđibiču bađi-ta-đ? kuna-xo pađu-i-b'*
 1SG now 3SG.LAT fairytale_[ACC] tell-FUT-1SG when-INDEF write-PTCP.PFT-PX.1SG
šuđibiču šuđibiču-i // ni-da eibui to
 fairytale fairytale-PX.1SG name-PX.3SG past summer
 'I will now tell him a fairytale, a fairytale which I have recorded once, my fairytale. It is called Last Summer'
- (2) *bag'la busi to-kuča bar-xun điri kari kadu-ŋa*
 Selkup/Ket old.man lake-DIM_[GEN] shore-LOC.SG live.3SG fish_[ACC] kill-FREQ.3SG
 'This Ket/Selkup lived on the shore of a little lake. He fished.'
- (3) *kutuixun pä-k'ča-đ^u-da pätru-go⁵³⁸*
 sometimes wood-DIM-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG make.firewood-DUR.3SG
 'Sometimes he made firewood.'
- (4) *biđi-ku-đu-da tođa-la to' điri*
 water-DIM-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG bring-FREQ.3SG such live.3SG
 'He brought water. So he lives.'
- (5) *ou obu dōđigun māđi-ku-đa soo-š koma-r-iđ?*
 EXCL what_[GEN] period.LOC.SG chum-DIM-PX.3SG jump-CON want-INCH-R.3SG
 'So, one day his little chum started to shake.'⁵³⁹
- (6) *busi [...] mana čiki obu kuň kaňi*
 old.man say.3SG this what how go.3SG
 'The old man says: "what is happening?"'

538. Normalized; in recording *pätugoa*.

539. Syntactically, the appearance of *sooš* without overt lative morphology is unusual as it is governed by 'want'.

- (7) *mä-kuđ-uda* *ođi-ma* *ou* *äu-?* *aga*
 chum-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG appear-RES.3SG EXCL here-LAT big
to-đai *busi-je* *đada*
 feather-COM old.man-PEJ go.3SG
 ‘He came out of his chum, oh, a large old man [=giant] covered with feathers is walking.’
- (8) *busi-je* *šit* *tāda* *oo-da-đ?*
 old.man-PEJ 1SG.ACC now eat-FUT-1SG
 ‘Old man, I will eat you.’
- (9) *oo* *ši* *iđ* *oo-?* *ākun* *điri-?* *šit*
 EXCL 1SG.ACC NEG.AUX.2SG eat-CN here.LOC live-IMP.2SG 2SG.ACC
oo-ta-gu-da-đ? *nu* *to?*
 eat-CAUS-DUR-FUT-1SG EXCL such
 ‘Oh, don’t eat me, live here, I will feed you! So it is.’
- (10) *điri-š* *pä-xi?* *to?* *điri-xi?*
 live-CON begin-3.DU such live-3DU
 ‘They start living here, so they are living.’
- (11) *šudib* *busi-xo* *kuň-xo* *mosra-xo-š* *mosra-ubi*⁵⁴⁰
 large old.man-INDEF how-INDEF work-?-CON work-HAB.3SG
 ‘That giant, somehow he is working, he is usually working.’
- (12) *kutuixun* *pä* *tođa-da* *kutuixun* *biđ* *tođa-da*
 sometimes wood_[ACC] bring-FUT.3SG sometimes water_[ACC] bring-FUT.3SG
 ‘Sometimes he will bring firewood, sometimes he will bring water.’
- (13) *kari-ku* *oo-ŋa-xi?* *to-k“ča-đu?* *kari-ku-đa* *tonä-ňu*
 fish-DIM_[ACC] eat-FREQ-3DU lake-DIM-PX.3PL fish-DIM-PX.3SG exist-ASS.3SG
 ‘They both are eating fish, there is a little lake, and there are little fish.’

540. Normalized, in the original *mosraxoš mosraubi* (in ET *мозрахошь мозрауби*). The interpretation in ET (p. 117) “мозрахошь = работать-то, глагол осложнен ограничительным суффиксом -xo” (the verb is followed by the limitative suffix -xo) is problematic. First, -xo is not the limitative but the indefinite suffix. Second, in my materials the indefinite -xo cannot combine with verbal categories. A homonymous suffix was encountered in two finite verb forms in elicitation, but an interpretation is currently not possible.

- (14) *ibleigu-ko-xo-n oma piro-on // d̄iri-xi?*
 little-DIM-INDEF-PROL food_[ACC] cook-? live-3DU
 ‘They are cooking a little. They are living.’⁵⁴¹
- (15) *kutuixun busi-je ma-mbi aga busi-je to-dai*
 sometimes old.man-PEJ say-HAB.3SG big old.man-PEJ feather-COM
busi-je ma-mbi
 old.man-PEJ speak-HAB.3SG
 ‘Sometimes the giant is saying, the giant covered with feathers usually says.’
- (16) *busi-je ní-l obu*
 old.man-PEJ name-PX.2SG what
 ‘“Old man, what’s your name?”’
- (17) *busi ma-mbi ní-m mud ní-m eibui to*
 old.man say-HAB.3SG name-PX.1SG 1SG name-PX.1SG past⁵⁴² summer
 ‘The old man used to say: “my name, my name is past summer”.’
- (18) *busi ań? ma-mbi ní-l obu*
 old.man FOC say-HAB.3SG name-PX.2SG what
 ‘The old man asked again: “what is your name?”’
- (19) *mud ní-m ań? ní-m eibui to eibui to*
 1SG name-PX.1SG FOC name-PX.1SG past summer past summer
 ‘“My name is last summer, last summer”.’
- (20) *otuđi-äš kańi*
 fall-TRSL go.3SG
 ‘It became fall.’
- (21) *đoxa-ku-đu? kariđa? ŋul’ täni-iš kańi*
 river-DIM-PX.3PL fish.PX.PL.3SG very little-TRSL go.3SG
 ‘Their little river, its fish became little.’
- (22) *ooda-đu? đagu-ma bäüda đagu-da*
 food-PX.3PL not.exist-RES.3SG soon not.exist-FUT.3SG
 ‘Their food was no longer, soon it will be no longer.’

541. This line shows several unsolved problems. First, instead of the manner adverb *ibleiguun* ‘a little’, a slightly different form is found. There are several further examples for this derivational suffix in my database, e.g. *d̄adokoon* ‘peacefully, silently, slowly’; *ibleigukoxon*, which apparently has yet another suffix, is currently not glossable. Second, the verb form *piroon* is currently not glossable either, but it must be connected to the verb *piriš* ‘cook’.

542. Currently not glossable.

- (24) *no pu-ń ä-ďa-d busi-je ma-ńu*
 so end-PX.1DU be-FUT-2SG old.man-PEJ say-ASS.3SG
 ‘‘This will be our end,’’ the giant said.
- (25) *busi-je mud' šit täďa oo-da-ď?*
 old.man-PEJ 1SG 2SG.ACC now eat-FUT-1SG
 ‘The giant: ‘‘I will now eat you’’.’
- (26) *busi mana ši iď oo-? mud' täďa*
 old.man say.3SG 1SG.ACC NEG.AUX.IMP.2SG eat-CN 1SG now
 ‘The old man said: ‘‘don’t eat me now’’.’
- (27) *čiri-đu-d äu-? toora-da-ď?*
 caviar-BEN-PX.ACC.2SG here-LAT bring-FUT-1SG
 ‘‘I will bring caviar here for you’’.’
- (28) *mud' tonin šuďib ko čiri-j tonä čiki-da*
 1SG there.LOC large keg caviar-PX.1SG exist.3SG this-PX.ACC.3SG
toora-ďa
 bring-FUT.3SG
 ‘‘There I have a large keg of caviar.’’ This he will bring.’
- (29) *aga busi-je čiki ko šiďi nä ke-xuď moa-ďa*
 large old.man-PEJ this keg_[ACC] two side_[GEN] side-ABL.SG take-SG.3SG
 ‘The giant is taking it from both sides.’
- (30) *tari bar-xuď-da ixiru-gu-š pä-ďa*
 easily edge-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG drink-DUR-CON begin-SG.3SG
 ‘So just over its edge, he starts drinking it.’
- (31) *točguď äď-nuju čiki đira-ďa*
 then above-ADV this lift-SG.3SG
 ‘Then he is lifting it up.’
- (32) *bađla busi ań? i-š biitu-r čiki äď-nuju ań?*
 Ket/Selkup old.man FOC NEG.AUX-CON think-CN this above-ADV FOC
čiki tuka šub-xun đodä-ďa
 this axe_[GEN] blunt.edge-LOC.SG beat-SG.3SG
 ‘The Selkup/Ket man, not thinking, this, from above with the blunt side of the axe, he beat him.’

- (33) *kerta ań? šimn-idʔ kudaxo-ʔ šimn-idʔ*⁵⁴³
 self-PX.GEN.3SG FOC run.away-R.3SG distant-LAT run.away-R.3SG
 ‘Then he himself ran away, he ran away.’
- (34) *šudibi-r čiki aija to-dai busi-r leu-đa čerńi*
 large-PX.2SG this body feather-COM old.man-PX.2SG shout-PX.3SG terrible
*ńi ņa-ʔ*⁵⁴⁴
 NEG.AUX.3SG be-CN
 ‘The giant, this old man with a body of feathers, his shout, is it not terrible?’
- (35) *ńul leu-ņa ńul leu-ņa*
 very shout-FREQ.3SG very shout-FREQ.3SG
 ‘He is shouting, he is shouting.’
- (36) *leu-da đđđ säu aga šudib busi*
 cry-PX.GEN.3SG towards seven big large old.man
näbi-š ńiu tu-ʔ
 run-CON NEG.AUX.ASS.3SG come-CN
 ‘Because of his shouting seven giants came running.’
- (37) *ań? še šit toř šeda*
 FOC who 2SG.ACC such make.3SG
 ‘“But who did this to you?”’
- (38) *busi ań? mana aija to-dai busi mana*
 old.man FOC say.3SG body feather-COM old.man say.3SG
eibui to eibui to
 past summer past summer
 ‘The giant said, the old man with feathers said, “Last summer, last summer”.’
- (39) *xouk*
 EXCL
 ‘Oh!’

543. In the recording, both verbs were uttered as *šimuidʔ*. VNB, who assisted in transliteration, corrected these forms immediately to the ones found above and did not accept *šimuidʔ*.

544. Emphasis via negation is unusual for FE, but this feature is widely attested in Taimyrian Tundra Nenets and should here be understood as deriving from the latter.

- (40) *ejub' kan-tu-i eńču? täđa modńń? kuniđ ko-da-na?*
 last go-?-PTCP.PFT⁵⁴⁵ person_[NOM.PL] now 1DU where.ABL find-FUT-1PL
 “Where do we find them, the people who have left last year?”
- (41) *čiki-đ kudaxan ńiu kań-?*
 this-PX.PL.2SG long.ago NEG.AUX.ASS.3SG go-CN
 “These have already long gone”.
- (42) *kuń ši mu-da-r ejub' kan-tu-i eńču?*
 how 1SG.ACC take-FUT-SG.2SG last go?-PTCP.PFT person_[NOM.PL]
ńe-r đabu-t
 NEG.AUX-SG.2SG reach-FUT.CN
 “How will you take them, the people who have gone last year? You will not reach them!”
- (43) *čiki-đ kudaxan ńiu kań-?*
 this-PX.PL.2SG long.ago NEG.AUX.ASS.3SG go-CN
 “These have already long gone”.

545. Neither *ejub'* and *kantui* can be glossed currently. Whereas in the second case the underlying verb *kaniš* and the perfective participle marker are underlying the nominalized verb, the *-tu* element cannot be analyzed any further. A homonymous suffix can be found with transitive nominalized verbs serving as equivalents of relative clauses, but this interpretation must be excluded due to the intransitive nature of *kaniš*.

14.5 Anatolij Palčín: My Father

The following story was told by Anatolij Palčín, a speaker who is no longer fully fluent in the language. The story was recorded in Potapovo by me on 13.07.2008 and transliterated and translated with Anatolij's youngest brother Viktor Palčín in Dudinka in August 2011. For almost every meeting Anatolij Palčín prepared a short narrative which he wrote down in his own orthography the previous day and read aloud when we met. As his written Forest Enets shows several influences from Russian⁵⁴⁶ in terms of word order, vocabulary and style, I have decided to add the following narrative to the selection of texts. First, this text is intended to demonstrate the difference between the language of fully fluent speakers and that of speakers who are no longer fully fluent in their own language. Second, the topic of the text is historically interesting as Anatolij's father Nikolaj Palčín was the most central consultant of almost all researchers visiting the Forest Enetses in the second half of the 20th century. Whereas much of our knowledge of the traditional Forest Enets world known today exists due to his willingness to cooperate with various researchers, his private life, which appears to be equally interesting, remained somehow unknown.

- (1) *mud' äsi-j dísiti dévit šot déšati po-xun sojä-š*
 1SG father-PX.1SG 1910th year-LOC.SG be.born-3SG.PST
 'My father was born in 1910...'⁵⁴⁷
- orte sirei điri-xun*
 first winter.ADJ month-LOC.SG
 '...in the first winter month.'
- (2) *kiuđ-nuju sojä-bi pe-xun ŋa-đa keri e-bi*
 morning-ADV be.born-PERF.3SG street-LOC.SG sky-PX.3SG clear be-PERF.3SG
ibléig-un mäđi-sai
 little-PROL wind-COM
 'He was born in the morning; the sky was clear, a little windy.'
- (3) *bu noň bađa-xin-da ibléigu-uš aga-an*
 3SG 1SG.LAT word-LOC.PL-PX.GEN.3SG little-TRSL big-PROL
i-bi kadi-r
 NEG.AUX-PERF.3SG be.ill-CN
 'He (said) to me with his words, while being small, he had never been ill.'

546. Occasionally, he also wrote the story down first in Russian and then translated it into Forest Enets.

547. As the story focuses on deceased close kin, one would await the specialized diminutive *-kuji-px* here. It is however absent throughout the whole narrative.

- (4) *mudna?* *da-xa-na?* *sovieckij vlast to-bu-da*
 1PL land-LAT.SG_[POSS]-PX.GEN.1PL soviet power come-CON-PX.GEN.3SG
komsomol-ud kani
 YCL-LAT.SG go.3SG
 ‘When the Soviet power arrived at our land, he joined the Young Communist League...’
- noľu orte komsomolec Taimyra*
 one first member.of.YCL Taimyr_[GEN.RU]⁵⁴⁸
 ‘...one, the first member of the Taimyrian Young Communist League.’⁵⁴⁹
- (5) *bodu-n dođu-bi soviet vlast deon eñči-gin*⁵⁵⁰
 tundra-LOC go_{MUDI}-PERF.3SG soviet power_[GEN] about.PROL person-LOC.PL
đuri-bi
 talk-PERF.3SG
 ‘He traveled in the tundra for the Soviet Power, he talked with the people.’⁵⁵¹
- (6) *orte rodovoj soviet mui-pi*
 first indigenous soviet_[ACC] build-PERF.3SG
 ‘He created the first indigenous Soviet.’
- (7) *sän-xo po bu Dudinka-xan điri-š*
 some-INDEF year 3SG Dudinka-LOC.SG live-3SG.PST
 ‘Several years he lived in Dudinka.’
- (8) *tonin presedatel*⁵⁵² *integralsojuz mosara-š*
 there.LOC chair cooperative word-3SG.PST
 ‘There he worked as the chair of Integralsojuz.’⁵⁵³
- (9) *čiki organıziacija mudna? da-xan điri-da eñču? oodamu*
 this organization 1PL land-LOC.SG live-PTCP.IPF person_[ACC.PL] food_[ACC]
pagi-? dogat da-xađ tođ-la-go
 cloth-_[ACC.PL] other land-ABL.SG bring-FREQ-DUR.3SG
 ‘This organization brought food and clothes from other parts of the country.’⁵⁵⁴

548. Russian word order and case marking preserved; this violates word order principles in Forest Enets.

549. Whether Nikolaj Pafčın was indeed the first indigenous member of YCL is not clear, as the same has been claimed for Kuperjan Bolin. Beyond doubt, both men were most certainly among the first.

550. Corrected form, ANP uttered *eñčuxun* in the original.

551. One would expect the habitual aspect here instead.

552. Russian *председатель*, though clearly pronounced as *prešedatel* throughout the text

553. Here, for unknown reasons, the expected genitive on *integralsojuz* is absent; the head in this NP is nevertheless ‘chair’

554. For unknown reasons, the recipient ‘people’ is not marked with the lative case.

- (10) *mudna?* *eńču?* *pomnin*⁵⁵⁵ *tidra-gu-idu?*
 1PL person_[GEN.PL]⁵⁵⁶ among sell-DUR-PL.3PL
 ‘They sold them among our people.’
- (11) *ŋulú* *déri-xun* *Krasnojarska-xađ* *aga* *kraijkom* *VKPB* *bem*
 one day-LOC.SG Krasnojarsk-ABL.SG big kraijkom communist.party boss
lokri *to-bi*
 suddenly come-PERF.3SG
 ‘One day, a high official from the communist party suddenly came from Krasnojarsk’⁵⁵⁷
- (12) *okružkom* *muditu-š* *mosa* *to-bi*
 party.committee make-CON work_[ACC] come-PERF.3SG
 ‘He came to do party committee work.’
- (13) *mudna?* *okružkom* *aga* *bem äsi* *mäku-xuđ-da*
 1PL party.committee_[GEN] big boss father_[ACC] chum-ABL.SG⁵⁵⁸
mosa-xa-da *kada-bi-đa*
 work-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3SG take-PERF-SG.3SG
 ‘An official from our party committee came to take father from his house to work.’
- (14) *čiki* *déri-xun* *mosra-dĩ*⁵⁵⁹ *déri* *i-bi* *ŋa-?*
 this day-LOC.SG work-PTCP.IPF day NEG.AUX-PERF.3SG be_[LOC]-CN
 ‘This was not a working day.’
- (15) *mudna?* *aga* *bemoo* *äsi-xu-ń* *mana*
 1PL big boss.PX.1PL father-LAT.SG_{POSS}-PX.GEN.1SG say.3SG
 ‘Our high official said to my father.’
- (16) *sklada-xun* *mosra-di* *eńči?* *uu* *nonid* *mosra* *uu* *bem-ud*
 warehouse-LOC.SG work-PTCP.IPF person 2SG 2SG.LOC work.3SG 2SG boss-2SG
kaata-đ *sklad-du-da* *näta-i*
 invite-IMP.SG.2SG warehouse-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG open-IMP.3SG
 ‘‘The person working in the warehouse is working with you. You are the chairman. Call him, he should open the warehouse for me.’’

555. In the original, *pojın*

556. One would expect a PX here.

557. All local case forms of Russian place names in this narrative are derived from a vowel stem which coincides with the genitive form of Russian. This feature is fairly stable and attested in the speech of other Enetses too.

558. Here, the stem of ‘chum’ (class IIB) is expanded using an unknown element though it is most likely that the assimilation pattern rule which should result in *mä-kuđ-da* was applied wrong.

559. The realization of the vowel /a/ in PTCP.IPF as /i/ is a stable phenomenon in the speech of members from the čor clan.

- (17) *Krasnojarska-xađ bem eñči? to-i uudamu-đ-da mu-da*
 Krasnojarsk-ABL.SG boss person come-PTCP.PFT food-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG take-FUT.3SG
 ‘‘The high official from Krasnojarsk will take food for himself.’’⁵⁶⁰
- (18) *mud’ äsi-j noda mana äki đeri mosra-da đeri*
 1SG father-PX.1SG 3SG.LAT say.3SG this day work-PTCP.IPF day
ñi ŋa-?
 NEG.AUX.3SG be_[LOC]-CN
 ‘My father told him: ‘‘today is not a working day’’.’
- (19) *mud’ kuñ noda ma-da-đ? mosra-š kãn? // sklad-ud*
 1SG how 3SG.LAT say-FUT-1SG work-CON go.IMP.2SG warehouse-PX.ACC.2SG
näti-?
 open-IMP.2SG
 ‘‘How will I tell him go working, open your warehouse?’’
- (20) *torsi lavka ñiu tonä-? // ibleigu-n kouđa-xi?*
 such shop NEG.AUX.ASS.3SG exist-CN little-PROL quarrel-3DU
 ‘But there is a kind of small shop. So they quarreled a little bit.’
- (21) *äsi-j pe-t kãni-ta-š nu lokri toru-đa*
 father-PX.1SG street-LAT.SG go-FUT-3SG.PST⁵⁶¹ door_[ACC] suddenly close-SG.3SG
 ‘Then my father went out on the street and suddenly he closed the door.’
- (22) *sfena-xan Stalin šiduk idi-bi sumu-id?*
 wall-LOC.SG Stalin_[GEN] other.self hang-PERF.3SG fall-R.3SG
lata ñi-? moriä
 floor_[GEN] on-LAT break.3SG
 ‘A portrait of Stalin hung on the wall, it fell down on the floor and broke.’
- (23) *nixu đeri đeon äsi-ñ mä-t milicija*
 three day_[GEN] about.PROL father-PX.GEN.1SG chum-LAT.SG police
to furma-xa-d kada-r-id?
 come.3SG prison-?-LAT.SG⁵⁶² take-PASS-R.3SG
 ‘Three days later, the police came to my father’s house. He was taken to prison.’
- (24) *biu po furma-xan ädi-đa-? furma-đa Noriřska-xan ŋa*
 ten year prison-LOC.SG sit-CAUS-3PL prison-PX.3SG Noriřsk-LOC.SG be_[LOC].3SG
 ‘They imprisoned him for 10 years, the prison is in Noriřsk.’

560. In the current word order, the clause is ungrammatical; it would be grammatical if the word order were switched to ‘‘Krasnojarskaxađ toi bem eñči? uudamuđda muda.’’

561. Semantically, this tense form is unexpected here.

562. Unclear element *-xa*.

- (25) *äsi-j sobrig po-lu ädi-š⁵⁶³ // aga voina⁵⁶⁴ to*
 father-PX.1SG five year-PL.LIM⁵⁶⁵ sit-3SG.PST great war come.3SG
 ‘My father sat (in prison) only for five years. Then, the Great War started.’⁵⁶⁶
- (26) *onai eñču? nubku-š pä-đu?*
 real person_[ACC.PL] release-CON begin-PL.3PL
 ‘They started to release Enetses (perhaps indigenous people) then.’
- (27) *oka-n oka-n kari osa säsur kada-š tara*
 many-PROL many-PROL fish_[ACC] meat_[ACC] fox_[ACC] hunt-CON must.3SG
 ‘One had to provide much fish, meat, foxes.’
- (28) *Baka-xan čiki po-xon kamuđ-? tonä-ť kolhoz Truženik*
 Baka-LOC.SG this year-LOC.SG house-_[NOM.PL] exist-3PL.PST kolhoz name
 ‘On Baka [Ru: *Прилуки*] in these years, there were huts, the kolhoz Truženik.’⁵⁶⁷
- (29) *aga bem mud’ äsi-j presedatel’ kolhoz-uš*
 great boss 1SG father-PX.ACC.1SG chairman kolhoz-TRSL⁵⁶⁸
mosra-š äđta-đu?
 work-CON send-PL.3PL
 ‘The authorities sent my father to work as the chairman of the kolkhoz.’
- (30) *orte presedatel’ Ašlapkin Jegor Nikolaevič voina-xan käni tunin*
 first chairman PN war-LOC.SG⁵⁶⁹ go.3SG there.LOC
kada-ra-biđ? soida-n vojeva-bi
 kill-PASS-PERF.R.3SG good-PROL fight-PERF.3SG
 ‘The first chairman Jegor Ašlapkin went to war; there he was killed, he fought well.’
- (31) *nixur biu po-xon Voločanka-xan boa eñču? iblēig voina*
 30⁵⁷⁰ year-LOC.SG Volochanka-LOC.SG bad person_[NOM.PL] little war_[ACC]
mä-bi-?
 make-PERF-3PL
 ‘In the 30s (1930s), bad people made a little war in Volochanka.’⁵⁷¹

563. Corrected.

564. For war, an Enets word *saiduma* is also attested. In this narrative, only the Russian borrowing is used.

565. The limitative in *-lu* (here *-lu*) points to a glottal stop. As the lexeme belongs to class I, the only possible glottal stop could be a plural marker as glossed here. This plural marker is, however, not anticipated here as numerals do not trigger plural on the noun.

566. ANP’s brother, who assisted me in transliteration and translation, mentioned that he remembered that his father was convicted for ‘mild hooliganism’ to only 5 months.

567. Baka (Ru: *Прилуки*), close to Potapovo on the left bank of the Yenisei, is the homeland of the Enets čor clan.

568. Syntactically, *presedatel’ kolhozuš* preserves Russian word order which again defies Enets word order; indeed, the order of elements should be switched to guarantee grammaticality. On the other hand, the appearance of TRSL phrase-finally is grammatically correct.

569. Incorrect case marking, goal oriented *käniš* governs lative case.

570. The realization of /i/ instead of /ä/ is typical for ANP; the final trill in *nixur* is unexpected, as Forest Enets shows a glottal stop in this position.

571. Reference to the uprising of indigenous people around Volochanka, which is also mentioned in the introduction.

- (32) *mudna? aga okružkom bem Krasnojarska-xađ otrjad nalđi-da*
 1PL great okružkom boss Krasnojarsk-ABL.SG force_[ACC] be.red-PTCP.IPF
armi kata-bi
 army⁵⁷² invite-PERF.3SG
 ‘Our authorities called for the Red Army from Krasnojarsk.’
- (33) *mudna? milicija-ba? nixu-đa ni toři-? eñči-gin*⁵⁷³
 1PL police-PX.1PL force-PX.3SG NEG.AUX.3SG be.enough-CN person-LOC.PL
 ‘Our police force did not have enough people.’⁵⁷⁴
- (34) *mud’ äsi-j aň? eñču? Turuxanska-xađ Dudinka*
 1SG father-PX.1SG FOC person_[ACC.PL] Turuxansk-ABL.SG Dudinka_[GEN]
Voločanka dudi-t te-xan duda-xan toora-bidu?
 Volochanka_[GEN] until-LAT reindeer-LOC.SG horse-LOC.SG bring-PERF.PL.3PL⁵⁷⁵
- (35)⁵⁷⁶ *mud’ äsi-j ää-ň ää-b’ no biu né-đa-š*
 1SG father-PX.1SG mother-PX.GEN.1SG mother-PX.1SG with ten child-PX.3SG-PST
- (35’) *mud’ äsi-j ää-ň no biu né-đa*
 1SG father-PX.GEN.DU.1SG mother-PX.GEN.1SG with ten child-PX.3SG
tonä-š
 exist-3SG.PST
 ‘My father had 10 children with my mother.’
- (36) *tuktı nıda oru-ma-?*
 all child.PX.PL.3SG grow-RES.3SG
 ‘All the children grew up (survived).’
- (37) *aga kasa né-đa aga nā né-đa*
 [big man child]-PX.3SG [big woman child]-PX.3SG
äsi-ň ää-ň dıri-bu-i peňsi-t kani-š
 father-PX.GEN.1SG mother-PX.GEN.1SG⁵⁷⁷ live-CON-? pension-LAT.SG go-3SG.PST
 ‘His oldest son and his oldest daughter retired when my father and my mother were still alive.’

572. Also here, word order in the NP follows the Russian pattern; interestingly, the participle of the stative-intransitive verb ‘be red’ is used but word order still follows the one in Russian NPs. Also on *bem* ‘boss, master’, a *PX* would be expected.

573. Corrected, in the original, *eñcixun*

574. The co-occurrence of two *PX*-marked NP is ungrammatical. The locative-marked argument ‘people’ is also at best an attempt to accommodate the Russian expression *людей не хватает* into Forest Enets.

575. The *vx* does not agree with the subject; *PL.3SG -ida* would be expected here.

576. As this clause would require a lengthy analysis due to several grammatical inconsistencies, a corrected version (35’) shows the expected realization. In the original recording, this example is clearly an instance of disfluency.

577. Here, one would expect coordination with double dual, i.e. *äsixuñ ääxuñ no*. The nominalized verb ‘live’ is currently not analyzable.

Appendix I – Forest Enets as a written language

The creation of a written standard for Forest Enets differed quite fundamentally from the same process for other indigenous languages of the USSR. In contrast to languages such as e.g. Khanty, Tundra Nenets, Chukchi, Asiatic Eskimo or Evenki, which entered the period of literacy via the state programs of the 1930s, the first orthography for Forest Enets was designed in the 1980s (Tereščenko 1986) yet received no application until the early 1990s.⁵⁷⁸ However, Tereščenko's proposed orthography was apparently unknown, as a second local initiative which was endorsed by the local Soviet of People's Deputies of the Taimyr Autonomous Area, instructed a group of seven Enetses to create an orthography and educational materials for (Forest) Enets. This decision was formally made on 13.06.1990, but never caught on.

So far, Forest Enets has been used in written form in a trial translation of the gospel of Luke (1995), Labanauskas' folklore collection (2002), a short conversation guide (Bolina 2003), the school dictionary (Sorokina & Bolina 2001), an expanded Forest Enets-Russian dictionary (Sorokina & Bolina 2009) and the text collection *Энецкие тексты* (Sorokina & Bolina 2005). Further, it is used roughly once a month for the page of (Forest) Enets news published in the local newspaper Таймыр since March 1996. With the exception of Labanauskas' carefully edited folklore reader, all other instances of written Forest Enets are in one or another concern inconsistent.⁵⁷⁹

The Cyrillic script and Forest Enets

As a language spoken within the boundaries of the Russian Federation, Forest Enets is written in the Cyrillic script with four additional letters, *ε*, *Ѓ*, *Ѕ* and *‘*.

The approximate phonetic IPA value of each letter in the Forest Enets orthography is represented in the following chart:

<i>Aa</i>	[a]	<i>Жж</i>	[dʒ]	<i>Нн</i>	[n]	<i>Тт</i>	[t]	<i>Шш</i>	[ʃʃ]
<i>Бб</i>	[b]	<i>Зз</i>	[d̥]	<i>Ѓ</i>	[ŋ]	<i>Уу</i>	[u]	<i>ь, ь</i>	
<i>Гг</i>	[g]	<i>Ии</i>	[i]	<i>Оо</i>	[o]	<i>Фф</i>	[f]	<i>ы</i>	[i]
<i>Дд</i>	[d]	<i>Йй</i>	[j]	<i>Пп</i>	[p]	<i>Хх</i>	[x]	<i>Ээ</i>	[e]
<i>Ее</i>	[je]	<i>Кк</i>	[k]	<i>Рр</i>	[r]	<i>Цц</i>	[ts]	<i>Юю</i>	[ju]
<i>Ёё</i>	[jo]	<i>Лл</i>	[l]	<i>Сс</i>	[s]	<i>Чч</i>	[tʃ]	<i>Яя</i>	[ja]
<i>ε</i>	[ε]	<i>Мм</i>	[m]	<i>Ѕ</i>	[sʲ/f]	<i>Шш</i>	[ʃ]	<i>‘</i>	?

Table Appendix 1: Cyrillic script for Forest Enets

578. An initial study by Siegl (2006) discusses this question from a historical point of view. A detailed follow-up study is in preparation.

579. This argument is also valid for the scientific text collection ET.

As Forest Enets is written with the Cyrillic script, the principles of Russian orthography apply.⁵⁸⁰ The most crucial points which need to be mentioned here belong to the sphere of palatalization, representation of long vowels and diphthongs ending in /i/.

Palatalization

The Cyrillic orthography has no possibility to mark palatalized consonants monographically. In word final position, the so-called soft sign (ь) is used to show that the preceding consonant is palatalized, e.g. Ru: *читать* ‘read_{IMPF}’ or FE: *мотагуць* ‘read_{DUR}’.⁵⁸¹ In other positions, a different solution usually applies. Graphemically, vowels come in pairs in which one grapheme marks the preceding consonant as palatalized and the other as non-palatalized e.g. Ru: *любовь* /lʉboʋ/ ‘love’ vs. *лук* /luk/ ‘onion’:

<i>Ee</i>	[je]	<i>Ěě</i>	[jo]	<i>Aa</i>	[a]	<i>Уу</i>	[u]	<i>Ыы</i>	[i]
<i>Ээ</i>	[e]	<i>Оо</i>	[o]	<i>Яя</i>	[ja]	<i>Юю</i>	[ju]	<i>Ии</i>	[i]

Table Appendix 2: Representation of Palatalization in the Cyrillic

For Forest Enets, this solution is demonstrated by the following two examples:

лызи [liʃi] ‘bone’ *либи* [liʃi] ‘eagle’

няба [nʉba] ‘hare’ *нара* [nara] ‘summer’

Concerning the usage of *Яя*, a further problem exists. With phonologically non-palatalized phonemes such as /m/ or /p/, *я* can be found to express /ä/ too, e.g. *мя* /mäʔ/ ‘chum’ or *ня* /pä/ ‘tree’ instead of *ме* and *не*, and a strict transliteration from Cyrillic would result in *maʔ* and *paʔ*, which is strictly speaking wrong.

Representation of long vowels and diphthongs ending in /i/

Vowels have a quantity opposition, but its functional load is low. Concerning its graphic representation, two different strategies are used and occasionally also mixed. Usually, long vowels are represented by doubling the grapheme. Whereas such forms as *коо* /koo/ ‘ear’ do not produce any problems, the shortcomings of this solution is obvious in forms such as /pääʔ/ ‘boots’ which is represented as *няа*. Occasionally, long vowels

580. See e.g. Timberlake (2004: 17–27) for a general introduction.

581. Although the Forest Enets orthography claims a palatalized *š*, there is no phonemic contrast in this position.

are also represented by a bar on the vowel e.g. /ō/. Further, as Russian orthography does not allow writing two /i/ as a long vowel /ii/ and instead it must be represented with *uij* /ij/, forms such as e.g. *чuij* /čii/ 'teeth' can be found, although there is no evidence for a sequence of vowel+glide.

Another interference from Russian orthography is found with diphthongs ending in /i/. In the vast majority of cases, such diphthongs are written with *-ij* as the second component. A similar convention is found in Russian orthography from which this solution must derive, but phonologically this solution is questionable.

Representation of the glottal stop

The initial orthography proposed by Tereščenko followed the principles of the already established Tundra Nenets orthography. For the representation of the glottal stop, two graphemes, ' and ''', were chosen. From a graphic perspective, the introduction of two different letters should represent the type of underlying glottal stop.⁵⁸² This would allow users to predict correctly which kind of assimilations would be expected, but in practice this solution is not understood by native speakers who are not used to writing in their own language.⁵⁸³ In this respect, the orthography is incomprehensible for those without at least some linguistic training.

In principle, the same representation of the glottal stop is chosen for Forest Enets but its application is highly idiosyncratic. Whereas the Bible translation and RS operate with two graphic glottal stops⁵⁸⁴, ERRE and ES use only one, despite having been co-compiled by the same author. Concerning texts written for the local newspaper, the situation is even more varied. Many glottal stops are not written at all, as some writers are simply not aware of their existence and the necessity to mark them. Others try to use both graphemes but frequently mix them up; further they are used in positions where no glottal stop is found at all. In this respect, Labanauskas' edition of Forest Enets texts (RS) is still the most reliable, but also in this collection not all glottal stops are indeed marked. Concerning the attempts to write Forest Enets, the glottal stop and its graphic representation are surely the most serious problems.

582. Of course, this solution was intended to present further evidence for two distinctive glottal stops. See also Janhunen 1986 (23–24) for more background information.

583. This has been reported frequently and also my own experiences on the Taimyr Peninsula with Nenetses (both school children and adults) confirmed such observations.

584. Also already mentioned several times, the translator Dar'ja Bolina is bilingual in Forest Enets and Tundra Nenets and studied Tundra Nenets in Leningrad with N. Tereščenko.

Alternative graphic representations

Although the orthography designed by Tereščenko has been used fairly consistently in books, (Forest) Enets news in the local newspaper Taimyr shows different graphic representations for a variety of reasons; first, until 2007, the news in Forest Enets was submitted on paper and later typed up by a Russian-speaking secretary, a process which inevitably introduced some more errors that were not part of the original text. Further, the local publishing house could not (and apparently also once a while also did not want to) represent all special letters of local minority orthographies. In the case of Forest Enets, this especially concerned the letter *ε*. Although alternatively *ə* with a dot on the top was used, more often it was simply represented as *ə*. The grapheme *ç* is also usually omitted and therefore ZNB has decided to use *uç* and *uu* in her writings.

Texts published in different orthographies

In the following subsection, two texts representing different orthographies are reproduced. Obvious misprints are corrected in the transliterated practical orthography.

Marija Bolina – Three Women

The following text represents the speech of a speaker of the current generation who passed away before I started my fieldwork. It was published as *нэху нэ* ‘Three Women’ in RS (108–110) and is fully reproduced in the original orthography.⁵⁸⁵ Glossing and transliteration conventions follow the format chosen in this description; several obvious errors in the text are corrected in the glossing:

- (1) *Үоб энче атсо ни ади, дөхарадэ энче.*
ɲob eñçi? atso ni-ʔ adi dɔxara-di⁵⁸⁶ eñçi?
 one person bench_[GEN] on-LAT sit.3SG not.known-PTCP.IPF person
 ‘One person sat on a bench, an unknown person.’⁵⁸⁷
- (2) *Обу дюдигон нэху нэ эридь кани.*
obu dɯdigon nāxu nā eri-ɖ kaɲi
 what_[GEN] period.LOC.SG three woman fetch.water-CON go.3SG
 ‘After some time, three women went fetching water.’

585. According to RS, this story was told by Marija Nikolaeva Bolina in 1994 in Potapovo. The original recording has so far not been found, nor are the other metadata retrievable. In ET (p. 342), some biographic information can be found; MNB (born Paččina) belonged to the *čor* clan and had lived a longer period in the Ust-Jenisej and Xatanga area. Due to this, her speech showed considerable Tundra Nenets and Russian influence. MNB was an older sister of ANP and VNP.

586. The realization of the vowel in PTCP.IPF as /i/ instead of /a/ is typical for Forest Enetses belonging to the *čor* clan.

587. One would expect ‘sit’ to be in conjugation III here.

- (3) *çize uzuda çer çize бедро мидиңа*.
šidi uđuda šer šidi bedro midi-ŋa-ʔ
 two hand.PX.GEN.3SG PP two bucket_[ACC] carry-FREQ-3PL
 ‘In both hands, each woman is carrying a bucket.’
- (4) *Дяза”, дяза”, дяза”, эрсэд дяза”*.
dada-ʔ dāda-ʔ dāda-ʔ ersä-d dada-ʔ
 go_{UDI}-3PL go_{UDI}-3PL go_{UDI}-3PL ice.hole-LAT.SG⁵⁸⁸ go_{UDI}-3PL
 ‘They are going and going, they are going to the ice hole.’
- (5) *Эрсэзу куддаха не а”*.
ersä-đuʔ kudaxan ŋi ŋa-ʔ⁵⁸⁹
 ice.hole-PX.3PL distant NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC}-CN
 ‘Their ice hole is not far away.’
- (6) *Дѣхарадэ энче сэңиңа*.
doxora-di eñciʔ säŋi-ŋa
 not.know-PTCP.IPF person look-FREQ.3SG
 ‘The unknown person is watching.’
- (7) *Нэ ” помнэду дѣриңа”*.
nä-ʔ pomni-duʔ dōri-ŋa-ʔ
 women-_[NOM.PL] among-PX.GEN.3PL speak-FREQ-3PL
 ‘The women are speaking amongst each other.’
- (8) *Җоб нэ ма” нив: – Ов, модь нехобь кинопута ңуль” тэнэ.*
ŋob nä maiiu – ou modʔ ŋe-xo-bʔ
 one woman say.ASS.3SG EXCL 1SG child-INDEF-PX.1SG
kino-pu-ta ŋulʔ täni.
 sing-CON-PX.GEN.3SG very know.3SG
 ‘One woman says: “oh, my child can sing”.’

588. This word for ice hole is not found in ES and ERRE; instead one finds *dāgaše* [ERRE 37, 259] or *dāga še* [ES 129]. In T [73:287] the phrase *эрсэ’ дез’* ‘toward the ice hole’ can be found; I have followed Tereščenko’s phonetic observation here. Apparently, *ersä* is an Enets lexeme and not a borrowing from TN, compare [T 65:302] *нермя* ‘место, откуда берут воду’; *нермя’ си* (нермянзи) ‘прорубь’.

589. The representation of the locative copula *ŋaš* without a velar nasal is very unusual and not attested in my gathered data.

- (9) *Кинопута сэйида, самакозоре сизимоби. Самакозоре кинуби.*
kino-pu-ta seiđi-da samako-đore siđi-mubi
 sing-CON-PX.GEN.3SG be.beautiful-PTCP.IPF bird-? whistle-HAB.3SG
samako-đore kinu-obi
 bird-? sing-HAB.3SG⁵⁹⁰
 ‘‘He sings as beautifully as a bird. He whistles like a bird’’.’
- (10) *Нак нэ ма’’ нив: - модихо касса ней узита нин дяза. Нойза эзхун эоби. Торе дязумоби.*
naak nă mañiu modi-xo kasa ñe-i
 other woman say.ASS.3SG 1SG-INDEF [man child]-PX.1SG
uđita ñi-n đada
 hand.PX.GEN.PL.3SG on-LOC go_{UNI}-3SG
ño-ida äđxun ä-ubi to’ đadu-mubi
 foot-PX.PL.3SG up.LOC.SG be-HAB.3SG so go_{MUDI}-HAB.3SG
 ‘The other woman says: ‘‘my son can walk on his hands. His feet are up, so he usually walks’’.’
- (11) *Нэходэ нэ моду. Неца базэдь нуль’’ не кома’’, обу тэнэ.*
năxo-de nă modi ñe-đa badiä-d
 three-ORD woman be.silent.3SG child-PX.3SG tell-CON
ñul’ ñi koma-? obu tăni
 very NEG.AUX.3SG want-CN what know.3SG
 ‘The third woman is silent. She does not want to tell what her son can do.’⁵⁹¹
- (12) *Эрсэд кани’.*
ersä-d kañi-?
 ice.hole-LAT.SG go-3PL
 ‘They went to the ice hole.’
- (13) *Бедройду падтэзу.*
bedro-idu? padt-idu?
 bucket-PX.ACC.PL.3PL fill-PL.3PL
 ‘They fill their buckets.’
- (14) *Бичай дяза’’, нурзыче дязад кома’.*
bi-čai đada-? purđi-či đada-d koma-?
 water-COM go_{UNI}-3PL back-? go_{UNI,NLZ}-LAT.SG want-3PL
 ‘They are going back with the water. They want to go.’

590. As ‘sing’ is a class IIb verb, one would expect a habitual marker in *-mubi* or *-umbi*.

591. The word order in this clause is unexpected. Further lative marking on the dependent verb is absent.

- (15) *Обу дюдигон нэху каса эче” озима”.*
obu dūdigon nāxu kasa äči-ʔ ođi-ma-ʔ
 what_[GEN] period.LOC.SG three [man youngster]_[NOM.PL] appear-RES-3PL
 ‘After a while three boys appeared.’
- (16) *Ҳоб каса эче орзысь дяза.*
ʎob kasa äči ordi-š dāda
 one [man youngster] in.front-TRSL go_{UNI}.3SG
 ‘One boy is walking in front.’
- (17) *Сизиңа, онсэда җо” сизиңа.*
sidi-ŋa onside ʎoʔ sidi-ŋa
 whistle-FREQ.3SG of.course one whistle-FREQ.3SG
 ‘He is whistling, of course he is whistling.’
- (18) *Тоз чикохоз самакозоре сизимада җер кинолубиз.*
tođ čikoxođ samako-đore sidi-ma-da šer
 that_[GEN] this.ABL.SG⁵⁹² bird-? whistle-NLZ-PX.GEN.3SG PP
kino-la-biđʔ
 sing-INCH-PERF.R.3SG
 ‘Then while whistling like a bird, he started to sing.’
- (19) *Нак каса эче ань дяза, эбаза тосьною а, узита нин дязуңа.*
naak kasa äči aŋʔ dāda äba-đa tošnuju
 other [man youngster] FOC go_{UNI}.3SG head-PX.3SG up.adv
ŋa uđita ni-n dāđu-ŋa
 be_{LOC}.3SG hand.PX.GEN.PL.3SG on-LOC go_{MUDI}-FREQ.3SG
 ‘The other boy is walking, his head is up, and he is walking on his hands.’
- (20) *Ҳоза езною а, торе дязуңа.*
ʎođa äđnuju ŋa toʔ dāđu-ŋa
 foot.PX.PL.3SG up.ADV be_{LOC}.3SG so go_{MUDI}-FREQ.3SG
 ‘His feet are up and so he is walking.’
- (21) *Нэходэ каса эче модили дяза.*
nāxu-de kasa äči modi-li dāda
 three-ORD [man youngster] be.silent-? go_{UNI}.3SG
 ‘The third boy was walking silently.’

592. Forest Enets would use *točgođ* here; this construction is clearly the Tundra Nenets *mađ muxaxađ*.

- (22) *Тоз ээда кевход тойз, ээда бедро кадаза, модили кадаза.*
tođ ää-da ke-ud to-idʔ ää-da
 ? mother-PX.GEN.3SG side-LAT.SG come-R.3SG mother-PX.GEN.3SG
bedro kada-đa modi-li kada-đa
 bucket_[ACC] take-SG.3SG be.silent-? take-SG.3SG
 ‘He came to his mother’s side, he takes her bucket, and silently he takes it.’
- (23) *Чики ээза тари бедросюз дяза.*
čiki ää-đa toʔ bedro-šud dāda
 this mother-PX.3SG so bucket-CAR go_{UNI}.3SG
 ‘His mother is going without a bucket.’
- (24) *çизе нэ ань чики нехи, каса эчи томинди канихи.*
šidi nā aŋʔ čiki he-xiʔ kasa äči-xiʔ tomindi
 two woman FOC this child-_[NOM.DU] [man youngster]-_[NOM.DU] suddenly
kaŋi-xiʔ
 go-3DU
 ‘The two women, these children, the boys suddenly went away.’
- (25) *çизе нэ бедросай дязахи, сэ”иза бедросай дязахи.*
šidi nā bedro-sai dāda-xiʔ säʔi-đa bedro-sai
 two woman bucket-COM go_{UNI}-3DU be.heavy-PTCP.IPF bucket-COM
dāda-xiʔ
 go_{UNI}-3DU
 ‘The two women are going with their buckets; they are going with their heavy buckets.’
- (26) *Дѣхарадэ энче атсо нин аде манā: - каса нехузи куна?*
doxara-di eŋčiʔ atso ŋi-n adi mana
 not.know-PTCP.IPF person bench_[GEN] ON-LOC sit.3SG say.3SG
kasa né-xuđiʔ kunin
 [man child]-PX.DU.2DU where
 ‘The unknown person is sitting on the bench and says: “where are your sons?”’
- (27) *Çизе нэхи маха: - Каса нехунь сое канихи.*
šidi nā-xiʔ mana-xiʔ kasa né-xuŋi sojā kaŋi-xiʔ
 two woman-_[NOM.DU] say-3DU [man boy]-PX.DU.1DU only go-3DU
 ‘The two women are saying: “our sons just went away”.’

- (28) *Дѣхарадэр маня̄: - Модихо обухуру незудь модэ”.*
dóxara-dī-r *mana* *modí-xo* *obu-xuru* *ne-đ-ud’*
 not.know-PTCP.IPF-PX.2SG say.3SG 1SG-INDEF what-NEG_[ACC] NEG.AUX-1SG-PST
modi-s
 see-CN
 ‘This unknown man says: “but I have not seen anything”.’
- (29) *Нолу каса не модэзудь, ээда бедро кадаць.*
noľu *kasa* *ne* *modä-đ-ud’* *ää-da* *bedro*
 one [man child]_[ACC] see-1SG-PST mother-PX.GEN.3SG bucket_[ACC]
kada-š
 carry-CON
 “‘I saw one boy carrying his mother’s bucket.””
- (30)⁵⁹³ *Чики каса энчику модь тойбь.*
čiki *kasa* *eňči-ku* *mod’* *to-ib’*
 this [man person]-DIM 1SG arrive-R.1SG
 “‘This little man, I arrive.””
- (31) *Анихузи нехунуць модэс”.*
aňi-xuđi? *ne-xuň-uš* *modi-s*
 FOC-PX.ACC.DU.3DU NEG.AUX-DU.1SG-PST see-CN
 “‘But the others I did not see.””
- (32) *Чи, сьудобичу мале дюсев.*
či *šudibiču* *maľe* *đuse-u*
 so fairytale already finish-SG.1SG
 ‘The fairytale, I end it.’

593. (30) and (31) are incomprehensible in their current form.

Darja Bolina & Zoja Bolina – Two Reindeer

The following short fairytale *Щиззы тэху* ‘Two Reindeer’ is a translation from Tundra Nenets; this fairytale and its varieties can be found in numerous Tundra Nenets text books. The original translation was once prepared by DSB but was rearranged by ZNB and is reproduced in her chosen form of orthography, which differs from the one as used in RS.⁵⁹⁴

- (1) *Кезар кора дяцегин небимада щер, мякун дирида тэ’ коби.*
keđar kora daše-gin nābi-ma-da šer
 wild.reindeer cow wilderness-LOC.SG run_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.3SG PP
mā-kun điri-da te ko-bi
 chum-LOC.SG live-PTCP.IPF reindeer_[ACC] find-PERF.3SG
 ‘While running in the wilderness, a wild reindeer cow found a domesticated reindeer.’
- (2) *па, па, таханукун нэ’.*
pa pa taxanu-ku-n nā-?
 EXCL EXCL distant-DIM-LOC.SG stand-IMP.2SG
 ‘‘Hey, hey, stand over there!’’
- (3)⁵⁹⁵ *Щий табурыхиныд из дѣната – кезар кора мяз тэд мана – модьхо’ табуринь щит тотрау’ буну каур.*
šij taburixini-d iđ dōpata-?
 1SG.ACC follow-2SG NEG.AUX.IMP.2SG stick-CN
keđar kora māđ te-d mana mod-xo
 wild.reindeer cow chum_[GEN] reindeer-LAT.SG say.3SG 1SG-INDEF
taburi-ń šit totrau buńi kau-r.
 remain_{NLZ}-PX.GEN.2SG 2SG.ACC similar NEG.AUX.EMPH.3SG quarrel-CN⁵⁹⁶
 ‘‘You should follow me. Don’t follow (the reindeer herder)!’’ said the wild reindeer to the domesticated reindeer. ‘‘I think it is better to follow me,’’ so it quarreled.
- (4) *Щехуру щий ни позругу, щехуру ноньнь ни бемби’.*
še-xuru šij ŋi pođru-gu-? še-xuru noniń
 who-NEG 1SG.ACC NEG.AUX.3SG harness-DUR-CN who-NEG 1SG.LOC
ńi be-mbi-?
 NEG.AUX.3SG be.master-HAB-CN
 ‘‘Nobody is harnessing me, nobody is my master’’ (said the wild reindeer).’

594. The use of two different signs for the glottal stop seems to derive from the original translation by DSB.

595. Slightly unclear at the present moment; glossing and translation of this example are preliminary and follow the Russian translation.

596. In the dictionaries, ‘quarrel’ is *kaudud’*.

- (5) *Керинь бинь щер дириз.*
keriñ bi-ñ šer điri-đʔ
 own.PX.GEN.1SG mind-PX.GEN.1SG PP live-1SG
 “‘I am living how it pleases me.’”
- (6) *обуи торь очигоон ноньнь дёринцад – мяз тэ’ маниу’.*
obu-š toʔ ošig-on nonid đori-ŋa-d māđ te
 what-TRSL so bad-PROL 2SG.LOC speak-FREQ-2SG chum_[GEN] reindeer
mañi
 say.ASS.3SG
 “‘Why do you speak so badly to me,’ the domesticated reindeer said.
- (7) *Уу’ ань нарную табуриз каумуби’.*
uu añʔ narnuju taburi-đ kau-mubi-ʔ
 2SG FOC spring.ADV remain-IMP.2SG quarrel-HAB-3PL
 “‘Stay in spring!’ so they quarreled.’”
- (8) *Модь бемуй тонэ, обуза чикихун боо’.*
modʔ bem-ui tonä obu-đa čiki-xun boo
 1SG master-1SG exist.3SG what-PX.3SG this-LOC.SG bad.3SG
 “‘I have a master, how is this bad.’”
- (9) *Бемуй щий самихит’ лытбира.*
bem-ui šij sami-xit litbira
 master-PX.1SG 1SG.ACC beast-ABL.PL guard.3SG
 “‘My master guards me from the beasts.’”
- (10) *Омудь ань нез дязур, бемуй назсай дязуй кода.*
otu-d añʔ ñe-đʔ đadu-r bem-ui
 food-PX.ACC.2SG FOC NEG.AUX-1SG browse.for.food-CN⁵⁹⁷ master-PX.1SG
nađ-sai da-đu-i ko-da
 lichen-COM land-BEN-PX.ACC.1SG find-FUT.3SG
 “‘When I do not find food, my master will find land with lichen for me.’”

597. Generally, *d’adud’* means multidirectional movement by walking. In ES [134] a further translation ‘pasture’ (пастись) is given, which is appropriate here. As reindeer pasturing is a constant process of eating and movement, this semantic extension of a verb of movement is obvious.

- (11) *Тоную ненагихиз, пилухиз пярабунь, бемуй шудузуй чуныда.*
to-nuju nānagi-xiđ pilu-xiđ pära-bu-ń
 summer-ADV mosquito-ABL.PL gadfly-ABL.PL save-CON-PX.GEN.1SG⁵⁹⁸
bet-ui šuđu-đu-i čuńi-da
 boss-PX.1SG fire.with.smoke-BEN-PX.ACC.1SG light-FUT.3SG
 “‘In the summer, my master lights a smoky fire to save me from mosquitoes and gadflies.’”
- (12) *Бемуй щий дери дябуд, ни’ дябуд лытбира.*
bet-ui šij đeri đabud pi đabud litbira
 master-PX.1SG 1SG.ACC day_[GEN] along night_[GEN] along guard.3SG
 “‘My master guards me throughout the day, throughout the night.’”
- (13) *Бу’ кехунынь эбуныда модь обухуру нез пийс.*
bu ke-xun-iń e-bu-ńi-da mod’ obu-xuru
 3SG side-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.1SG be-CON-COND-PX.GEN.3SG 1SG what-NEG_[ACC]
ńi-đ? pi?i-s
 NEG.AUX-1SG fear-CN
 “‘When he is at my side, I don’t have to be afraid of anything.’”
- (14) *Чики деон модь бу’ мосада понингаз.*
čiki đeon mod’ bu mosa-da pońi-ŋa-đ?
 this about.PROL 1SG 3SG work-PX.ACC.3SG hold-FREQ-1SG
 “‘For this (in return), I am doing his work.’”
- (15) *Уу’ ань, кемнэ, диред дябудь њолош небиңад, щехуру щит кунахару ни сер.*
uu ań? kemne đire-d đabud ŋolu-uš nābi-ŋa-d
 2SG FOC short life-PX.GEN.2SG along one-TRSL run-FREQ-2SG
še-xuru šit kuna-xuru ńi sār-?
 who-NEG 2SG.ACC when-NEG NEG.AUX.3SG bind-CN
 “‘But you, during your short life, you are running around. Nobody is ever binding you.’”
- (16) *Торь дѣридахади’ тэныда лэу’ нодаху’: «Ехе-хэ-э-э-эй!»*
toř đori-da-xa-di? tānida leu noda-xi? jexe-xe-ei⁵⁹⁹
 such speak-PTCP.IPF_{POSS}-PX.GEN.3DU know-PTCP.IPF call_[ACC] hear-3DU EXCL
 ‘While speaking so, they heard the known call, jexexej.’

598. This verb is not in the dictionaries. It is apparently related to *pārdiš* ‘help’.

599. Call to summon reindeer.

- (17) *Мяз тэ' бемда лэу' нодашь мята дез небрыз.*
mäd te bet-da leu noda-š
 chum_[GEN] reindeer master-PX.GEN.3SG call_[ACC] hear-CON
mä-ta déđ näb-r-id?
 chum-PX.GEN.3SG toward run-INCH-R.3SG
 'The domesticated reindeer, hearing the call of its master, ran to his chum.'
- (18) *Кезар кора ань, энчи лэу нодашь лумбишь дэгад дяд небрыз.*
keđar kora ań? eńči? leu noda-š
 wild.reindeer cow FOC person_[GEN] call_[ACC] hear-CON
lumbi-š đogod đá-d näb-r-id?
 run.away.in.fear-CON other land-LAT.SG run-INCH-R.3SG
 'The wild reindeer cow, hearing the call of the man, started to run away in fear to another place.'
- (19) *Кезар пери пидашь дири ну.*
keđar piri pida-š dirińiu
 wild.reindeer alway fear-CON live.ASS.3SG
 'A wild reindeer is always living in fear.'

Appendix II – Forest Enets as written by an untrained speaker

As mentioned above, working with ANP differed from working with other speakers as ANP was no longer capable of producing narratives spontaneously. One text, a version of the popular cuckoo fairytale, is reproduced here. As ANP had not been exposed to written Forest Enets or written Tundra Nenets, his personal orthography is interesting because it demonstrates how phonemes for which Russian does not have its own graphemes have been marked. The following story *kuči* ‘cuckoo’ was recorded on 02.02.07 and is reproduced in ANP’s orthography and the standard Forest Enets orthography. A glossed transliterated version is provided in the end.

Кучи

Мудьна дяханына иблейгу самаку дири. Чики самаку нида кучи. Кучи пизызуда ни муте. Моныза нэк самаку пизы ми кодытыза. Обуру самаку пизы кай. То кодыдыза. Самаку дягузат пизыта мудыта чики пизы ми кодыдыза. Кулю моназуда кода нэк пизы то ань моназуда кодата тори чукчи моназы кодатыза. Чики база шуибичу ника торсы энчу тонэвби мосрась ни камавби торсы энчув пишириби. Мудь нонь сэхот энчу тори манать, чики дёрида паза. Торсы энчу, энчув пугун тонэ.

Following the orthographic conventions based on Tereščenko’s initial proposal, the text would look as follows.⁶⁰⁰

Кучи

Модьна’’ дяханына’’ иблейгу самаку дири. Чики самаку нида кучи. Кучи пизызуда ни мута’’. Моныза’’ наак самаку пизы ми’’ кодытыза. Обуру самаку пизы най. То кодыдыза. Самаку дягузачь пизыта модыта чики пизы ми’’ кодыдыза. Ёлю моназуда кода нак пизы ко ань’’ моназуда кодуза торь чукчи монызы кодыдыза. Чики база сюзыбичу’’ ни на’’ торсы энчу’’ тонэуби’’ ~ тонэуби’’ мосрад ни’’ комауби’’ торсы энчу’’ пишириби’’. Модь нонь сэхот энчу’’ торь дюрить маначь дёрида/дюрида база. Торсы энчу’’ энчу’’ погон ~ погун тонэ’’/тонэ’’

- (1) *mudna?* *da-xan-ina?* *ibleigu* *sama-ku* *diri*
 1PL land-LOC.SG-PX.GEN.1PL small bird-DIM live.3SG
 ‘In our lands lives a small bird.’

600. Only one grapheme representing the glottal stop is used here, though.

- (2) *čiki sama-ku ní-ta kuči piđi-đu-da ní*
 this bird-DIM_[GEN] name-PX.3SG cuckoo nest-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG NEG.AUX.3SG
mu-ta-ʔ mon-iđa naak sama-ku piđ mi-ʔ
 make-FUT-CN egg-PX.ACC.PL.3SG other bird-DIM_[N/G] nest_[GEN] in-LAT
*kodi-d-iđa*⁶⁰¹
 lay-FUT-PL.3SG
 ‘The name of this bird is cuckoo. It does not make a nest for itself; it will lay its eggs into the nest of other birds.’
- (3) *oburu sama-ku piđi ŋa-i toʔ kodi-d-iđa*
 any bird-DIM_[N/G] nest_[ACC] be_{LOC}-IMP.3SG there.LAT lay-FUT-PL.3SG
sama-ku-ʔ dągu-đa-č pidita mud-ita
 bird-DIM-_[NOM.PL] not.exist-FUT-3PL.PST nest.PX.ACC.PL.3PL look-PL.3SG
 ‘It may be any bird’s nest. There it lays its eggs. When the little bird is not (there), they look for their nests.’
- (4) *čiki piđi mi-ʔ kodi-d-iđa ŋulu monu-đu-da ko-da*
 this nest_[GEN] in-LAT put-FUT-PL.3SG one egg-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG find-FUT.3SG
naak piđi ko aňʔ monu-đu-da kodu-đa
 other nest_[ACC] find.3SG FOC egg-BEN-PX.GEN.3SG lay-SG.3SG
toʔ čukči mon-iđa ko-d-iđa
 so all egg-PX.ACC.PL.3SG lay-PL.3SG
 ‘In this nest they will put them. She will find an egg for herself. She finds another nest and again she will lay another egg for herself. So they will lay all their eggs.’
- (5) *čiki bađa šudibiču ní ŋa-ʔ torsi enčuʔ tonä-ubi-ʔ*
 this word fairytale NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC}-CN such person_[NOM.PL] exist-HAB-3PL
 ‘This is not a fairytale, such people exist.’
- (6) *mosra-d ní-ʔ koma-ubi-ʔ torsi enčuʔ piširi-bi-ʔ*
 work_{NLZ}-LAT.SG NEG.AUX-3PL like-HAB-CN such person_[NOM.PL] mock-PERF-3PL
 ‘They do not want to work. Such people mocked others.’
- (7) *mud’ noň säxäri enčuʔ đuri-č mana-č đuri-da*
 [1SG 1SG.LAT] ancient person_[NOM.PL] tell-3PL.PST say-3PL.PST speak-PTCP.IPF
bađa torsi enčuʔ enčuʔ pogun tonä-ʔ
 word such person_[NOM.PL] person_[GEN.PL] among.LOC exist-3PL
 ‘The old people told me, they said this, a spoken word. Such people exist among the people.’

601. Unusual verb; *puđ* ‘put’ would be expected here.

Analysis

When analyzing ANP's written texts⁶⁰² one must clearly distinguish idiosyncratic features, e.g. ANP's preference for /u/ instead of /o/, from others. Whereas the missing representation of glottal stops does not come as a surprise, as ANP is not aware of their existence (despite his pronunciation of them), it is quite surprising to see ANP adapt Cyrillic з, which in Russian represents a voiced sibilant [z] for Forest Enets [d] in the same way as the orthography does. Concerning the realization of the velar nasal /ŋ/, ANP writes it as /к/ but in reading he pronounces it correctly as /ŋ/. Occasionally, /u/, which shows some glide characteristics due to secondary articulation, is represented as *в*, e.g. *тонэвби* /tonäubi/. This convention is also standard procedure in Nenets orthography, e.g. *халэв* /xalew/, which ANP however apparently does not know.⁶⁰³ /u/ with secondary articulation is actually also represented once in ANP's writing of *энчув* towards the end.⁶⁰⁴

In one case, the same sound was marked with two different graphemes, namely *mosraš* (ANP *мосрась*, ERRE *мосараць*) vs. *šūḍibičū* (*шубичу*, ERRE *шубичу*). Otherwise ANP writes /š/ with ш, e.g. *пишириби* 'they have mocked'.⁶⁰⁵

The choice to write *ni ŋaʔ* 'is not' (ANP *ника*) together and not separately is understandable, as this construction is frequently uttered quickly and may sound like one phonological word. Standard negation is written separately, e.g. *ni komaubi* (correct *niʔ komaubiʔ*) 'usually do not want' (ANP *ни камавби*).

Finally, one clear grammatical error appears: *komaš* 'want' governs lative case, and ANP's *мосрась ни камавби* was corrected to *mosrad niʔ komaubiʔ*.

602. ANP gave a couple of his writings to me before I left Potapovo after my first trip. He reserved some others for himself.

603. Also in some Russian dialects (though apparently not in Siberian Russian) *в* is pronounced as /uʷ/, and ANP could have relied on this.

604. Also ZNB writes *u* once in a while as *yв*.

605. Note that ZNB writes *š* with *ш* and *ш*, too.

Appendix III – Russian/Siberian vocabulary used in this monograph

Several terms denoting animals, traditional materials, ethnographic artifacts, transport and other concepts which lack English equivalents have been taken from Russian. Many such lexemes are restricted to Siberian Russian and are ultimately of non-Russian origin. A good lexicographic source including etymologies is Аникин, А. Е. 2000: *Этимологический словарь русских диалектов Сибири – заимствования из уральских, алтайских и палеоазиатских языков*. Москва & Новосибирск: Наука.

<i>chir</i>	fish (lat. <i>coregonus nasus</i>)
<i>xorej</i>	long pole used for driving a reindeer sled
<i>nalim</i>	fish (lat. <i>lota lota</i>)
<i>peled'</i>	fish (lat. <i>coregonus peled</i>)
<i>argish</i>	move with a sledge and a reindeer caravan (Ru dial: <i>аргушить</i>)
<i>narta</i>	generic term for traditional sled
<i>chum</i>	traditional conical tent
<i>sig</i>	whitefish (lat. <i>coregonus</i>)
<i>jukola</i>	dried fish, dried meat, trad. technique to create staples in summer and early fall
<i>kamus</i>	reindeer skin from the leg of a reindeer; used as material for traditional boots
<i>malitsa</i>	traditional closed fur coat
<i>auka</i>	pet reindeer for children
<i>balok</i>	a type of cottage usually constructed on a sled which makes it transportable
<i>taimen'</i>	fish (lat. <i>hucho</i>)
<i>njuk</i>	cover of a chum made out of reindeer skins
<i>laida</i>	open space free of trees

References and literature

Abbreviations

CT	Castrenianumin toimitteita. Helsinki.
ÉFOu	Études finno-ougriennes. Paris.
FU	Fenno-Ugristica. Tartu.
FUF	Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen. Helsinki.
FUM	Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen. Hamburg.
JSFOu	Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsinki.
LU	Linguistica Uralica. Tallinn.
MSFOu	Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsinki.
NyK	Nyelvtudományi Közlemények. Budapest.
SFU	Советское финно-угроведение. Tallinn.
SUA	Studia Uralo-Altaica. Szeged.
UH	Uralica Helsingiensia. Helsinki.
СЭ	Советская этнография. Москва.
ЭО	Этнографическое обозрение. Москва.
ERRE	Сорокина, И. П. & Д. С. Болина 2001: <i>Словарь энецко-русский и русско-энецкий</i> . Санкт-Петербург: Просвещение.
ES	Сорокина, И. П. & Д. С. Болина 2009: <i>Энецкий словарь с кратким грамматическим очерком</i> . Институт лингвистических исследований. Российская Академия Наук. Санкт-Петербург: Наука.
ET	Сорокина, И. П. & Д. С. Болина 2005: <i>Энецкие тексты</i> . Институт лингвистических исследований. Российская Академия Наук. Санкт-Петербург: Наука.
GSJ I	<i>Грамматика современного якутского литературного языка</i> 1982. Фонетика и морфология. Ред. колл. Л. Н. Харитонов (et al.). Москва: Наука.
Luka	<i>Лука паздуй едэ база: ноб лоз эза Perez</i> . Стокгольм. 1995.
Materialy 2	<i>Материалы 2-й международной конференции по самодистике 16–18 октября 2008г.</i> Российская Академия Наук. Институт лингвистических исследований. Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-история.
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- SKS Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Helsinki.
- ST *Структурные типы синтетических полипредикативных конструкций в языках разных систем*. Новосибирск: Наука. 1986.
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