

# Forest Enets and Tundra Enets: how similar/different are they and why?

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# Outline

1. Similarities/differences in lexicon and historical phonology
2. Similarities/differences in phonology
3. Similarities/differences in morphology
4. Similarities/differences in morphosyntax
5. Similarities/differences in syntax
6. Why is it so? – a sociogeographic explanation
7. Conclusion

# Lexicon and historical phonology (1)

- Similarities:

Many lexemes

- Differences:

1) Regular phonetic correspondences (Helimski 1984/2000):

\**ms*, \**ns*, \**rs*: T *d<sup>j</sup>*, F *z>s* (e.g. T *med<sup>j</sup>e*, F *mese* 'wind')

\**ä* in absolute beginning: T *e-*, F *na-* (T *e?*, F *na?* 'mouth')

\**i* in absolute beginning, not before a nasal: T *i-*, F *ji-* > *d<sup>j</sup>i* (T *isi*, F *d<sup>j</sup>isi* 'grandfather')

etc.

# Lexicon and historical phonology (2)

- Differences:

2) Cognate lexemes used for the same notion with irregular phonetic correspondences:

F *εba*, T *aburi* ‘head’

F *ɔtis-*, T *ɔpteso-* ‘smell (ipfv)’

F *senjir-*, T *ɔɔro-* ‘look at (ipfv)’

F *barimagu-*, T *bariɔxo-* ‘barely, hardly’

F *ɔzaxu-*, T *ɔzeɔxo-* ‘that is why’

F *mense*, T *men<sup>j</sup>εɔ* ‘old woman’

F *d<sup>j</sup>ɔsi-*, T *d<sup>j</sup>ud<sup>j</sup>e-* ‘finish (pfv)’

F *kitfi-*, T *kɔt<sup>j</sup>i-* ‘almost’

F *d<sup>j</sup>ago*, T *d<sup>j</sup>igoa* ‘there\_is\_no(ipfv).3SG.S’

F *kan<sup>j</sup>e-*, T *kane-/kan<sup>j</sup>e-* ‘become (pfv; also means ‘leave’)’

F *ɔɔza* ‘good’ (adj), T *ɔɔu-* ‘be good (ipfv)’ (verb)

etc.

# Lexicon and historical phonology (3)

- Differences:

3) Completely different lexemes used for the same notion:

F *uʔ*, T *tɔdʲi* 'you(sg)'; F *udʲiʔ*, T *tɔdʲidʲiʔ* 'you(du)'; F *udaʔ*, T *tɔdʲidaʔ* 'you(pl)'

F *buʔ*, T *nʲitoda* '(s)he'; F *budʲiʔ*, T *nʲitodʲiʔ* 'they(du)'; F *buduʔ*, T *nʲitoduʔ* 'they(pl)'

F *nɛku*, T *eŋa* 'one of, the second, the other'

F *tezaʔ*, T *tʲinadʲi* 'now'

F *bɔa* 'bad' (predic. adj), T *baa*, *ɔptʲi-* 'be bad (ipfv)' (verb)

F *faru*, T *ɔma* 'tobacco'

F *bii*, T *tenʲi* 'mind'

F *ɔbu*, T *miiʔ* 'what'

F *ade*, T *dʲidu* 'нельма'

F *to*, T *tudʲiɔ* 'lake'

F *baza*, T *nau* 'word, language'

F *buuse*, T *baxoʔɔ* 'old man'

F *mɔdee-*, T *sooro-* 'see, look'

F *kɔzluj*, T *tubo* 'worm'

F *pɔlze-da*, T *logede-de* 'black'

F *nʲami*, T *siʔɔro* 'tongue'

F *sɔse*, T *munoɔi* 'belly' (older people could remember F word *munoɔe*)

4) Many lexemes are present in the both Enets lects, but their usage differs (e.g. in frequency)

# Phonology: set of phonemes

- Similarities:

The same set of consonantal phonemes; almost the same set of vowel phonemes

- Differences [all represent recent sound changes, absent e.g. in Castrén 1854]:

1) In the system of vowel phonemes, F has /ε/, absent from T (F /ε/ corresponds to T /e/, and F /e/ corresponds to T diphthongs /ie/, /iɔ/ (Helimski 2007))

2) F has more consonantal allophones than T: [dʒ] and [tʃ] for /dʲ/, [s] for /z/, and [x] for /k/

3) In some morphemes /o/ > /u/ in F, and more rarely /e/ > /i/, while in T this sound change has not happened.

# Phonology: syllable structure & word prosody

- Similarities:

- 1) Syllable structure of root morphemes at phonological level: no closed syllables
- 2) Syllable structure at phonetic level: closed syllables are possible due to vowel reduction
- 3) Double/long vowels and their phonetic realizations
- 4) Word prosody (i.e. stress)

- Differences [all represent recent sound changes, absent e.g. in Castrén 1854]:

- 1) Syllable structure of affixal morphemes: closed syllables are possible in F, but not in T – final vowel reduction is typical for most F affixes (and so affixes whose form is different in the presence vs. absence of the final vowel only are not listed below as different in F and T)
- 2) In T, consonant clusters in phonology are impossible outside Russian and Nenets loans, and in F they are very rare

# Phonology: variation

- Similarities [all represent recent sound changes, absent e.g. in Castrén 1854]:

Most patterns of phonetic (=allophonic) and phonemic variation (zero realization of glottal stop; /e/~/i/, /ɔ/~/u/ in the 1<sup>st</sup> syllable)

- Differences:

1) The vowel reduction is much more frequent in F than in T [recent]

2) Some patterns of phonemic variation are attested in F only:

- /ɔ/ ~ /a/ in F only (for two dozens of lexemes, e.g. /badu/ ~ /bɔdu/ 'tundra', /malʲe/ ~ /mɔlʲe/ 'already', /dʲaza-/ ~ /dʲɔza-/ 'go (ipfv)', /ɔbu/ ~ /abu/ 'what');

- /s/ ~ /z/ in F only (for two dozens of lexemes, e.g. /ɔsa/ ~ /ɔza/ 'meat', /sɔse/ ~ /sɔze/ 'belly', /mɔsaʔa/ ~ /mɔzaʔa/ 'work');

- /ɔ/ ~ /e/ in F only (for a dozen of lexemes, e.g. /tɔlʲe/ ~ /telʲe/ 'here it is', /pizɔʔɔ/ ~ /pizeʔɔ/ 'scythe', /pɔd/ ~ /ped/ 'always'.



# Morphology: nominal inflection (1)

- Similarities:

- 1) The same set of nominal inflectional categories and the same sets of their values
- 2) The same system of inflectional classes (default vs. alternating, voiced alternating vs. voiceless alternating; default class has basic vs. plural possessive stems) + sets of forms derived from each stem, with 1 exception
- 3) The same system of predicative forms, i.e. the same rules for the presence/absence of a copula
- 4) The same subclass of defective locative nouns with archaic case markers (Dative F, T -*ʔ*, Locative F -*n*, T -*no*, Ablative F -*z*, T -*zo*, Prolative F -*on*, T -*one*. E.g. F *badu* 'tundra', F, T *tʃfe* 'lower part', F *inukú* 'near', T *teʔi* 'upper part')
- 5) The same reflexive, reciprocal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns, and those formed from them

# Morphology: nominal inflection (2)

- Differences:

1) DU: T NOM *-xɔʔ / -kɔʔ / -gɔʔ* (*-xaʔ / -kaʔ / -gaʔ* with /a/-final stems), OBL *-xiʔ / -kiʔ / -giʔ*;

F *-xiʔ / -kiʔ / -giʔ* does not differentiate between the two core cases

2) Optional marker *-ʔ* for Oblique is occasionally used in T and only very rarely in F with nouns of all inflectional classes

3) Ablative PL: T differentiates between possessed and non-possessed Ablative PL forms: non-possessed *-xito / -kito / -gito; -xizo / -kizo / -gizo*, possessed *-xiti / -kiti / -giti; xizo / -kizo / -gizo, xizi / -kizi / -gizi*; F *-xit(i) / -kit(i) / -git(i); -xiz(i) / -kiz(i) / -giz(i)*

4) Translative :

F *-Vʃ* (taking the last vowel of the stem, or rarely *-iʃ*), cf. F *ɔsa-aʃ* 'as meat', *entʃeu-ʔ-uf* person-PL-TRANSL 'as people' + differentiates Sg vs. Pl using 2 different stems

T *-ʔa ~ -ʔaj* (in free variation), rarely *-ʔe, -ʔej* with e-final stems, cf. T *niɔ-ʔa, niɔ-ʔaj* 'as a child, as children', T *enetʃe-ʔa, enetʃe-ʔaj* 'as a person/human, as people' + does not differentiate Sg vs. Pl

# Morphology: nominal inflection (3)

- Differences:

5) 'Past' possessive markers used with nouns in predicate position: 1SG F - *bitʃ / -mitʃ / -mitʃ* vs. T - *jidʒi / -midʒi / -midʒi*

6) Stem used for locative cases of personal pronouns: F *nɔ-/ne-* vs. T *nɔɔ-*

7) Only-series of personal pronouns uses different stems: a truncated one in T, a standard one in F (T: *mo-lʒio-no* 'only me', *mo-lʒio-nʒiʔ* 'only us(du)', *mo-lʒio-naʔ* 'only us (pl)' vs. F *modʒi-ruu-nʔ* 'only me', *modʒi-ruu-nʒiʔ*, 'only us(du)' *modʒi-ruu-nʒaʔ* 'only us(pl)')

8) A series of pronouns formed from the same stem with different affixes:

F *ɛlse* 'such, this', *tɔrse* 'such, this', *kurse* 'what' (<\*-rəjə or \*-rəje)

T *eloe* 'such, this', *tɔroe* 'such, this', *kuroe* 'such, this' (<\*-rsä)

# Morphology: numerals

- Similarities: the same system of simple numerals

- Differences

In F, complex numerals from 11 to 19 are built by one of the models: (i) + (ii) + (iii), or (i) + (ii), or (ii) + (iii).

(i) Ablative of *biuʔ*, *biʔ* 'ten', (ii) numerals from 1 to 9, (iii) adjective *bɔzade* 'surplus'.

<i>biu-koz</i>	<i>fize</i>	<i>bɔzade</i>	<i>biu-koz</i>	<i>fize</i>	<i>fize</i>	<i>bɔzade</i>	F
ten-ABL.SG	two	surplus	ten-ABL.SG	two	two	surplus	
'twelve'			'twelve'		'twelve'		

In T, 11-19 for lesser units follow bigger units:

<i>biuʔ</i>	<i>fize</i>	T
ten	two	
'twelve'		

# Morphology: verbal inflection (1)

- Similarities (1):

1) The same system of Slavic-style aspect (Aorist, Probabilitive, and Suppositional refer to the present with imperfective verbs and to the past with perfective verbs; Perfect can have both present and past reference with imperfective verbs and always has past reference with perfective verbs)

2) The same system of inflectional classes (default vs. alternating, voiced alternating vs. voiceless alternating). Default stems distinguish only 2 stems: basic vs. aorist-imperative.

3) The same system of 16 cross-reference paradigms (S, SOsg, SOnsg, M\* basic, past, imperative, contrastive).

# Morphology: verbal inflection (2)

- Similarities (2):

4) Finite verb forms attested in both Enets lects with the same markers:

Perfect (F, T *-bi-* / *-pi-* / *-bi-*), Future (F, T *-da-* (*-za-*) / *-ta-* / *-da-*), Debitive (F, T *-tfu-* / *-d<sup>j</sup>u-* / *-tfu-*), Probabilitive (F, T *-ta-*), Habitual (F *-ubi-*, T *-obi-*), Suppositional (F, T *-daraxa-* (*-zaraxa-*) / *-taraxa-* / *-daraxa-*), Auditive (F, T *-unu-*).

5) Non-finite verb forms attested in both Enets lects with the same markers:

Supine (F *-od<sup>j</sup>*, T *-od<sup>j</sup>i*), Conditional converb (non-inflecting F, T *-bu?* / *-pu?* / *-bu?*, *-b* / *-p* / *-b*; inflecting F, T *-bu-* / *-pu-* / *-bu-* (voiceless); Negative anterior participle (F *-uzaj*, T *-ozaj*)

6) The same way to form negation; the same negative verb (F, T *n<sup>j</sup>e-* and *i-*; *n<sup>j</sup>e-* functions as the aorist-imperative stem, *i-* as the other stems); the same word order in the negative construction

# Morphology: verbal inflection (3)

- Differences (1):

- 1) Alternating verbs have different number of stems: 4 in T, 6 in F; T does not differentiate between F basic and extended, and between F habitual and nominalization.
- 2) Default stems have different rules for formation of aorist-imperative stem depending on the last vowel of the stem and the number of syllables in the stem.

- 3) Differences in individual cross-reference markers:

1SG.M: F *-jʔ, -biʔ, bʔ* vs. T *-jʔ, boʔ, -oʔ*,

3SG.M: F *-zʔ, -zoʔ* vs. T *-zoʔ, -ʔ*

3DU.S: F *-xiʔ* vs. T *-xaʔ, xoʔ, -xiʔ*

3DU.M: F *-xiʔ* vs. T *-xoʔ*

3SG.S.IMP: F *-j, -bi* vs. T *-aba (-eba)*

3DU.IMP: F *-giʔ* vs. T *-agoʔ, -agiʔ (-egoʔ)*

3PL.IMP: F *-jʔ, -biʔ* vs. T *-abaʔ (-ebaʔ)*

2SG.M.IMP – formed from extended or **reduced** stem in F, but from basic stem in T

# Morphology: verbal inflection (4)

- Differences (2):

4) Finite forms attested in one Enets lect only:

F Hypothetical (-*dokoda-* (-*zokoda-*) / -*tokoda-* / -*dokoda-*) form, absent in T

F Prospective suppositional (-*udaraxa-*), absent in T

T Analytical Debitive V-*tfuzɔ-* / -*tfuzɔ-* / -*dʲuzɔ-* + a 'be' in Probabilitive, absent in F

5) Non-finite forms attested in one Enets lect only:

F Anterior converb -*xajaf* / -*kajaf* / -*gajaf*, absent in T

F Negative jussive converb (can be built from the negative verb only) -*do-*, absent in T

F Passive anterior participle -*duuj* / -*tuuj* / -*duuj*, absent in T

F Posterior participle -*uda*, absent in T

F Irreal converb of the copula only (*ε-bu-za*), absent in T



# Morphology: verbal inflection (5)

- Differences (3):

6) Verb forms attested in both Enets lects, but with different markers:

Subjunctive: F *-n<sup>j</sup>i-* / *-n<sup>j</sup>i-* / *-n<sup>j</sup>i-* vs. T *-i-* / *-i-* / *-i-*

Interrogative: F *-sa-* / *-tfa-* / *-d<sup>j</sup>a-* (+ *-si-* for Interrogative of the negative verb) vs. T *-ba-* / *-pa-* / *-ba-*

Soft imperative: F *-guri-* / *-kuri-* / *-guri-* vs. T *-goa-* / *-koa-* / *-goa-* (unclear how similar are the functions)

General converb / Infinitive: F *-j* / *-tj* / *-d<sup>j</sup>* vs. T *-e* / *-tje* / *-d<sup>j</sup>e*

Simultaneous participle: F, T *-da* (*-za*) / *-ta* / *-da* vs. T *-de* (*-ze*) / *-te* / *-de*

Anterior participle: F *-j* vs. T *-sij* / *-t<sup>j</sup>ij* / *-d<sup>j</sup>ij*, *-si* / *-t<sup>j</sup>i* / *-d<sup>j</sup>i*

Simultaneous converb: T non-inflecting form *-buʔʊʔ* / *-puʔʊʔ* / *-buʔʊʔ* and inflecting form *-buʔʊ-* / *-puʔʊ-* (voiceless alternating) + Oblique possessive markers vs. F *-buʔuj* / *-puʔuj* / *-buʔuj* (default) + 1<sup>st</sup> person Oblique possessive markers, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons Nominative markers

7) Nominalization has the marker F, T *-a*, but in F it has allomorphs conditioned by the last vowel of the stem: *-e* after /e/ and /i/, *-o* after back vowels.

8) Nominalization + Ablative in a converb-like function is formed in F in a different way as compared to standard nominalization vs. T only one way to form nominalization

# Morphology: verbal inflection (6)

- Differences (4):

9) Probabilitive: used in T with basic cross-reference vs. in F with contrastive cross-reference

10) Interrogative expressing a probable event in the past: used in T with Probabilitive and basic cross-reference vs. in F with contrastive cross-reference

11) Copula: in T, *a-* in all forms vs. in F, *ηa-* in Aorist, Imperative, Jussive, Connegative, *ε-* in all other forms

12) F modal-interrogative verb *ɔbujta-* 'what for', absent in T

13) Different intransitive verbal stems may take both S and M markers

# Derivation: nominal

- Similarities:

Diminutive F, T *-ku*, F, T *-gu*, F, T *-kutfa*;

Emotive Diminutive F, T *-kuji*;

Agent nouns F *-xaz / -gaz / -kaz*, T *-xazo / -gazo / -kazo*;

Place nouns F, T *-raa / -laa / -laa*

- Differences:

Derivations attested in both Enets lects, but with different markers:

Pejorative-Augmentative F *-je*, T *-dʲa*

Diminutive F *-tfa*, T *-tfu*

Non-productive action nouns F *-tfu*, T *-tfe*

# Derivations: adjectival

- Similarities:

Diminutive F, T *-ku*;

Nominal adjectivizer F, T *-j*;

Comitative F *-saj / -tʃaj / -dʲaj*, T *-sae / -tʃae / -dʲae*;

Comparative F, T *-raxa / -laxa / -laxa*;

Numeral adjectivizer F, T *-de*

- Differences:

1) Derivations attested in both Enets lects, but with different markers:

Augmentative F *-lee*, T *-leʔɔ*

Comparative: F *-zuru / -turu / -duru*, T *-zoriɔ / -toriɔ / -doriɔ*

2) Derivations attested in F only:

F Attenuative *-jta*: *aga* 'big' > *aga-jta* 'rather big', absent in T

F Attenuative *-rka*: F *buuse* 'old man' > *buuse-rka* 'elderly', absent in T

F Locative adjectivizer *-ne*: *umu* 'North' > *umu-ne* 'Northern', absent in T

# Derivations: adverbial

- Similarities:

Adverbs from adjectives are derived by the Prolocative case marker F *-on (-an)*, T *-one (-ane)*

- Differences:

F: adverbs are derived from nouns and adverbs with *-noju*:

*pεufuma* 'evening' > *pεufuma-noju* 'in the evening', *badu* 'near' > *badu-noju* 'near'; with related to it Adverbial Diminutive *-nokun*, and presumably lexically restricted Adverbial Restrictive *-nori* (*pεufuma* 'evening' > *pεufuma-nokun* 'more or less in the evening', *sira* 'snow' > *sira-nori* 'only in winter')

T: a postposition *ნჯა?* 'on (directive)' is used in this function, with a related Diminutive form (*sira* 'snow' > *sira ნჯა?* 'in winter', *sira ნჯაკუ* 'more or less in winter')

# Derivation: verbal

- Similarities:

Durative (F, T *-go-* / *-ko-* / *-go-*);

Multiplicative (F *-r-*, T *-ro-*);

Inchoative (F *-ru-* / *-lu-* / *-lu-*, T *-ro-* / *-lo-* / *-lo-*);

Inceptive (F *-u-*, T *-o-*);

Attenuative (F *-jtu-*, T *-itu-*);

Passive (F, T *-ra-* / *-la-* / *-la-*);

Causative (F, T *-ra-* / *-la-* / *-la-*, F, T *-za-*, F, T *-ta-*)

- Differences:

1) Derivations attested in both Enets lects, but with different markers: Causative F *-da-*, T *-do-*, *-de-*

2) Derivations attested in F only:

F Discontinuative *-ga-* / *-ka-* / *-ga-*: F *bεε-* ‘throw (pfv)’ > *bεε-ga-* ‘throw from time to time (ipfv)’, absent in T

F Caritive *-fe-*: F *sej* ‘eye’ > *sej-fe-* ‘be blind (ipfv)’, absent in T

F marginal verbalizer *-zi-*: F *sɔbi* ‘path’ > *sɔbi-zi-* ‘use a path (ipfv)’, absent in T

# Transcategorial markers

- Similarities:

Vocative (lengthening of the last vowel); Exclamative (F, T *-ɔu*, F, T *-ej*)

Topical (F *-xoa*, *-xoo* / *-koa*, T *-xoa* / *-koa* / *-goa*)

- Differences:

Derivations attested in both Enets lects, but with different markers:

Restrictive F *-ru* / *-lu* / *-lu* vs. T *-reo* / *-lʲeo* / *-lʲeo*

Insistive F *-xuru* / *-kuru* / *-guru* vs. T *-xoreo* / *-koreo* / *-goreo*

# Morphosyntax: use of verbal forms (1)

- Similarities:

1) Uses of Perfect, both absolute and narrative ones, are the same; uses of Aorist, Future, Debitive, Habitual, Passive, and Imperatives are the same (cf. detailed corpus studies)

2) Aorist of the negative verb is used with the contrastive cross-reference to denote an emphatic positive statement.

- Differences

In T, negative clauses are widely used in positive contexts with an extra modal shade; this is possible, but rare in F



# Morphosyntax: use of verbal forms (2)

EXAMPLE: Perfect

1) Inferential use of Perfect:

(1) *buniki u-ta,* *taxa-no-ju* *biz* *bar-xon*  
F dog footstep-NOM.SG.3SG behind-ADV-RESTR water border-LOC.SG  
*kan<sup>j</sup>e-bi*  
leave(pfv)-PRF.3SG.S

‘A dog's footstep, it went further along the shore.’

(2) *sira-xane* *tea* *oze-zo* *oze-?*, *kan<sup>j</sup>e-bi-?*  
T snow-LOC.SG reindeer be\_visible(ipfv)-NOM.PL.2PL be\_visible(ipfv)-3PL.S leave(pfv)-3PL.S

‘Reindeer footsteps are seen on the snow. They left.’

# Morphosyntax: use of verbal forms (3)

EXAMPLE: Perfect

2) Introducing/Opening use of Perfect at the beginning of traditional narratives:

(3) *tɔnane-da*                      *ɲob*    *nɛ*        ***tɔnie-bi***

F        once-OBL.SG.3SG                      one        woman    there\_is(ipfv)-PRF.3SG.S

‘Once upon a time there was a woman’.

(4)    *ɲu?*    *aga*    *enetfe?*                      ***ire-bi,***                      *ne-saj*

T        one        big        person                      live(ipfv)-PRF-3SG.S                      woman-COM

‘There lived one old man with his wife.’

# Morphosyntax: use of nominal forms

- Similarities:

- 1) The same contexts of uses of core (Nominative vs. Oblique) and locational cases (Dative, Ablative, Locative, Prolative)
- 2) The same contexts of uses of Destinative forms
- 3) The same contexts of uses of Predicative forms
- 4) The same patterns for DOM outside Destinative forms
- 5) Discourse/referential use of possessive markers

- Differences

Patterns for DOM of Destinative NPs are different:

- in F, Oblique is possible regular in other-benefactive (vs. self-benefactive) contexts,
- in T, Oblique is possible regular in specific (vs. non-specific) contexts

# Syntax: NP

- Similarities:

Syntax of NP is the same: word order, presence/absence of agreement between constituents and the head (including NPs with adjectives, NPs headed by numerals)

# Syntax: PP

- Similarities:

Syntax of PP is the same

# Syntax: simple clause

- Similarities:

- 1) Word order is the same, including the position of particles.
- 2) Expression of core arguments is the same, including cross-reference rules for direct objects (only topical objects) and distribution of the two ditransitive constructions by referential properties of their arguments.
- 3) Syntax of agreeing adverbs is the same.
- 4) Syntax of intensifier (F, T *kere-*) is the same.
- 5) Syntax of non-verbal and interrogative clauses is the same.
- 6) Syntax of coordination (including the set of possible coordinators) is the same

# Syntax: clause combining (1)

- Similarities:

- 1) Word order is the same

- 2) All types of complement, relative, and adverbial clauses (except for different-subject purpose clauses) are formed the same way

- 3) The same types of constituents can be relativized; the same rules for possessive marking of participles are followed

- Differences:

- 1) Different-subject purpose clauses are sentence-like with verb in Subjunctive in F; in T, the postposition *нѡѡ?* 'on' with Nominalization is used. In F, negative different-subject purpose clauses can also be marked by Negative jussive converb.

- 2) More limited use of the Nominalization for complementation in F than in T

- 3) F 'pleonastic' participle construction used, not attested in T

# Syntax: clause combining (2)

EXAMPLE: ABL of the NMLZ for adverbial clauses of anteriority

(5) *ɔɔm-a-xazo-nʲiʔ*                      *peɔ-do*                      *ɔzima-zɔu*  
T            eat(ipfv)-NMLZ-ABL.SG-OBL.SG.1SG            outdoors-DAT.SG    be\_visible(ipfv)-INC-1SG.S.EXC  
'Having eaten, I went outside.'

(6) *tʃetaʔ*    *fuzibe-r*                      *oor-o-xozo-da*                      *to-zokoda*  
F            tomorrow    giant-NOM.SG.2SG            eat(ipfv)-NMLZ-ABL.SG-OBL.SG.3SG.    come(pfv)-HYPOT-3SG.S  
'The next day, having eaten, the giant would come.'



# Syntax: clause combining (3)

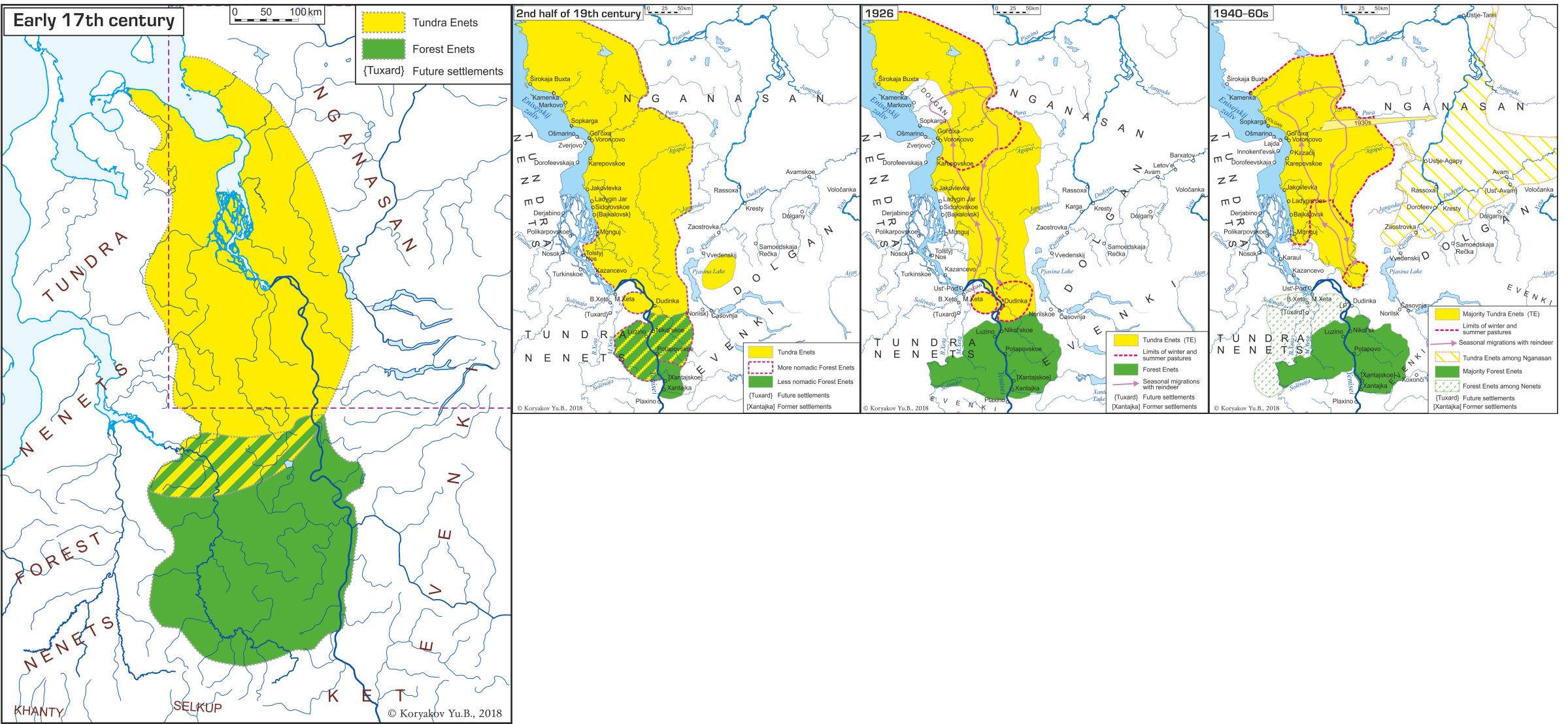
EXAMPLE: Participle as the strategy of relative clause formation

(7) *badu-n d'iri-da entfeu-ʔ tɔrse kamoza-raxa mujʔ-ubi-ʔ*  
F tundra-LOC. live(ipfv)-PTCP.SIM person-PL. Such house-CMP make(ipfv)-HAB-3PL.S  
'People who live in tundra make such a thing like a house.'

(8) *kɔɔ nʲin ire-de ne-ʔ nee-zuʔ name-reɔ-ɔne*  
T ridge in. live(ipfv)-PTCP.SIM woman-PL child-NOM.SG.3P breast-RESTR-PROL.SG  
*ɔta-gɔ-zuʔ*  
feed(pfv)-DUR-3PL.SOsg  
'Women who live in tundra feed their children only with breastmilk.'

# Explanation: geographic facts

Khanina, Olesya, Yuri Koryakov & Andrey Shluinsky. 2018. Enets in space and time: a case study in linguistic geography. *Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen* 42, 1-28.



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# Results

- Massive differences in lexicon, historical phonology, and morphology suggest quite **a significant divergence in the past** (at least several hundreds years ago)
  - Massive similarities in morphosyntax and syntax suggest **a secondary convergence** (that happened afterwards)
  - Some recent phonetic/phonological processes suggest **a secondary divergence** (in the last 100 years, i.e. after Castrén)
- > This development reconstructed from the linguistic data corresponds ideally to the geographic facts:
- different territory in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (divergence),
  - shared territory in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (convergence),
  - different territory in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (divergence)

*This scenario gives some explanation to the puzzle of the two Enets!*