

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 эйбуй 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' täda nəda 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'-da pätru-go*⁵³⁸
 sometimes wood-DIM-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG make.firewood-DUR.3SG
 'Sometimes he made firewood.'
- (4) *biđi-ku-đu-da tođa-la toř điri*
 water-DIM-BEN-PX.ACC.3SG bring-FREQ.3SG such live.3SG
 'He brought water. So he lives.'
- (5) *ou obu đodigun mäđi-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 kuń kańi*
 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) *mā-kuč-uda* *ođi-ma* *ou* *äu-ʔ* *aga*
 chum-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG appear-RES.3SG EXCL here-LAT big
to-dai *busi-je* *đáđa*
 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* *táđa* *oo-da-đʔ*
 old.man-PEJ 1SG.ACC now eat-FUT-1SG
 ‘Old man, I will eat you.’
- (9) *oo* *ši* *iđ* *oo-ʔ* *äkun* *điri-ʔ* *šit*
 EXCL 1SG.ACC NEG.AUX.2SG eat-CN here.LOC live-IMP.2SG 2SG.ACC
oo-ta-gu-da-đʔ *nu* *toʔ*
 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-xiʔ* *toʔ* *điri-xiʔ*
 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-xiʔ* *to-kʷča-đuʔ* *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 // điri-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-đai*
 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 ni-l obu*
 old.man-PEJ name-PX.2SG what
 ‘“Old man, what’s your name?”’
- (17) *busi ma-mbi ni-m mud’ ni-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 ni-l obu*
 old.man FOC say-HAB.3SG name-PX.2SG what
 ‘The old man asked again: “what is your name?”’
- (19) *mud’ ni-m ań? ni-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-ăș kańi*
 fall-TRSL go.3SG
 ‘It became fall.’
- (21) *đoxa-ku-đu? kariđa? ŋul’ tãni-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 bãuđa 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. *đadokoon* ‘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’ řit tãďa oo-da-ď?*
 old.man-PEJ 1SG 2SG.ACC now eat-FUT-1SG
 ‘The giant: ‘‘I will now eat you’’.’
- (26) *busi mana ři iď oo-? mud’ tãďa*
 old.man say.3SG 1SG.ACC NEG.AUX.IMP.2SG eat-CN 1SG now
 ‘The old man said: ‘‘don’t eat me now’’.’
- (27) *ćiri-ďu-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 řuďib ko ćiri-j tonã ćiki-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 ćiki ko řiďi nã 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-ř pã-ďa*
 easily edge-ABL.SG-PX.GEN.3SG drink-DUR-CON begin-SG.3SG
 ‘So just over its edge, he starts drinking it.’
- (31) *toćguď äď-nuju ćiki đira-ďa*
 then above-ADV this lift-SG.3SG
 ‘Then he is lifting it up.’
- (32) *bag’la busi ań? i-ř biitu-r ćiki äď-nuju ań?*
 Ket/Selkup old.man FOC NEG.AUX-CON think-CN this above-ADV FOC
ćiki tuka řub-xun đodã-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 ńa-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-ńa ńul leu-ńa*
 very shout-FREQ.3SG very shout-FREQ.3SG
 ‘He is shouting, he is shouting.’
- (36) *leu-da deđ 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 toʔ 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) *eijub kan-tu-i eńču? täđa modín? 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 níu 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 níu kań-?*
 this-PX.PL.2SG long.ago NEG.AUX.ASS.3SG go-CN
 ““These have already long gone”.’

545. Neither *eijub* and *kantui* can be glossed currently. Whereas in the second case the underlying verb *kańiš* 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 *kańiš*.