

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 *uy* and *u* 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) *Ҳоб энче атсо ни ади, дөхарадэ энче.*
ɲob eñçi? atso ni-? 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 dʉdigon nəxu nə eri-ď kañi
 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 Palčina) 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 bedro midiña*’.
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”*.
dáda-ʔ dáda-ʔ dáda-ʔ ersä-d dáda-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 kudahaxan ŋi ŋa-ʔ⁵⁸⁹
 ice.hole-PX.3PL distant NEG.AUX.3SG be_{LOC}-CN
 ‘Their ice hole is not far away.’
- (6) *Дөхарадэ энче сэңиңа*.
dóxora-di eñciʔ säŋi-ŋa
 not.know-PTCP.IPF person look-FREQ.3SG
 ‘The unknown person is watching.’
- (7) *Нэ” помнэду дөриңа”*.
nä-ʔ pomni-duʔ dóri-ŋa-ʔ
 women-_[NOM.PL] among-PX.GEN.3PL speak-FREQ-3PL
 ‘The women are speaking amongst each other.’
- (8) *Ңоб нэ ма” нив: – Ов, модь нехобь кинопута нуль” тэнэ*.
ŋob nä mañiu – ou mod’ ŋe-xo-ǂ
 one woman say.ASS.3SG EXCL 1SG child-INDEF-PX.1SG
kiŋo-pu-ta ŋul’ 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 *d’agaše* [ERRE 37, 259] or *d’aga 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 сэйзида, самакозоре сизимоби. Самакозоре кинуоби.*
kino-pu-ta seiḍi-da samako-ḍore siḍi-mubi
 sing-CON-PX.GEN.3SG be.beautiful-PTCP.IPF bird-? whistle-HAB.3SG
samako-ḍore 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. Һойза езхун эоби. Торе дязумоби.*
naak nă maḥiu modī-xo kasa ḥe-i
 other woman say.ASS.3SG 1SG-INDEF [man child]-PX.1SG
uḍita ḥi-n ḍaḍa
 hand.PX.GEN.PL.3SG on-LOC go_{UNI}.3SG
ḥo-iḍa äḍxun ä-ubi toḥ ḍaḍu-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 моди. Неза базэдь нуль’’ не кома’’, обу тэнэ.*
năxo-de nă modi ḥe-ḍa baḍiä-d’
 three-ORD woman be.silent.3SG child-PX.3SG tell-CON
ḥul ḥi koma-? obu täni
 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 kaḥi-?
 ice.hole-LAT.SG go-3PL
 ‘They went to the ice hole.’
- (13) *Бедройду падтэзу.*
bedro-idu? padt-iḍu?
 bucket-PX.ACC.PL.3PL fill-PL.3PL
 ‘They fill their buckets.’
- (14) *Бичай дяза’’, нурзыче дязад кома’’.*
bi-čai ḍaḍa-? purḍi-či ḍaḍa-d koma-?
 water-COM go_{UNI}-3PL back-? go_{UNLNZ}-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-? ođi-ma-?
 what_[GEN] period.LOC.SG three [man youngster]-_[NOM.PL] appear-RES-3PL
 ‘After a while three boys appeared.’
- (16) *Ҳоб каса эче орзыць дяза.*
ḡob kasa äči orđi-š dāda
 one [man youngster] in.front-TRSL go_{UNI}.3SG
 ‘One boy is walking in front.’
- (17) *Сизиңа, онсэда ңо” сизиңа.*
siđi-ḡa onside ḡo? siđi-ḡa
 whistle-FREQ.3SG of.course one whistle-FREQ.3SG
 ‘He is whistling, of course he is whistling.’
- (18) *Тоз чикохоз самакозоре сизимада җер кинолүбиз.*
tođ čikxođ samako-đore siđi-ma-da šer
 that_[GEN] this.ABL.SG⁵⁹² bird-? whistle-NLZ-PX.GEN.3SG PP
kino-la-biđ?
 sing-INCH-PERF.R.3SG
 ‘Then while whistling like a bird, he started to sing.’
- (19) *Нак каса эче ань дяза, эбаза тоҗьною а, узита нин дязуңа.*
naak kasa äči aḡ? dāda äba-đa tošnuju
 other [man youngster] FOC go_{UNI}.3SG head-PX.3SG up.adv
ḡa uđita ḡi-n dāđu-ḡa
 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.*
ḡođa äđnuju ḡa toʹ dāđu-ḡa
 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 модели 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 *тад тухахад*.

- (22) *Тоз ээда кевход тойз, ээда бедро кадаза, модели кадаза.*
tođ ää-da ke-ud to-iđ? 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 бедроçюз дяза.*
čiki ää-đa to’ bedro-šud đada
 this mother-PX.3SG so bucket-CAR go_{UNI}.3SG
 ‘His mother is going without a bucket.’
- (24) *çизе нэ ань чики нехи, каса эчхи томинди канихи.*
šidī nā aň? čiki he-xi? kasa äči-xi? tomindi
 two woman FOC this child_[NOM.DU] [man youngster]_[NOM.DU] suddenly
kaňi-xi?
 go-3DU
 ‘The two women, these children, the boys suddenly went away.’
- (25) *çизе нэ бедросай дязахи, сэ’иза бедросай дязахи.*
šidī nā bedro-sai đada-xi? sä’i-đa bedro-sai
 two woman bucket-COM go_{UNI}-3DU be.heavy-PTCP.IPF bucket-COM
đada-xi?
 go_{UNI}-3DU
 ‘The two women are going with their buckets; they are going with their heavy buckets.’
- (26) *Дөхарадэ энче атсо нин аде манā: - каса нехузи куна?*
đoxara-di eňči? atso ni-n adi mana
 not.know-PTCP.IPF person bench_[GEN] on-LOC sit.3SG say.3SG
kasa né-xuđi? 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.*
šidī nā-xi? mana-xi? kasa né-xuň sojä kaňi-xi?
 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 манā: - Модихо обухуру незудь модэ’.*
dōxara-di-r mana modī-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) *Ҳоло каса не модэзудь, ээда бедро кадаць.*
hoľu kasa ne modā-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 *Чиқи каса энчику модь тойбь.*
čiki kasa eñči-ku mod’ to-ib’
 this [man person]-DIM 1SG arrive-R.1SG
 ““This little man, I arrive.””
- (31) *Анихузи нехунуць модэс’.*
añi-xuđi? ne-xuñ-uš modi-s
 FOC-PX.ACC.DU.3DU NEG.AUX-DU.1SG-PST see-CN
 ““But the others I did not see.””
- (32) *Чи, сюдобичу мале дюсев.*
či šuđibiču maľe đuse-u
 so fairytale already finish-SG.1SG
 ‘The fairytale, I end it.’

593. (30) and (31) are incomprehensible in their current form.