Elaborating Forest Enets orthography: decisions from 2019

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The Enets languages

- Two rather close, but clearly distinct lects – Forest Enets and Tundra Enets
  - (though the closeness exists partially because of secondary convergence, see Khanina et al. 2018)
- No common ethnic identity
- Traditionally classified as a single language
  - (since Tereščenko's work in 1960s)
- De facto bias to significantly better representation of FE

The Enets languages

- Both are on the way to extinction, but the situation is different

- TE has no "linguistic infrastructure" at all, only some published texts in (Labanauskas 1992, 2002; Sorokina & D. Bolina 2005)

- All other community-oriented work has been done only for FE
  - (though named just "Enets", the lect being mentioned only in a foreword or not mentioned at all)

Forest Enets published and written activities

- School dictionary (Sorokina & D. Bolina 2001), picture dictionary (Z. Bolina 2012)
- Gospel of Luke translation (D. Bolina 1995)
- Newspaper page (mainly Z. Bolina), non-fiction book (Z. Bolina 2014)
- School classes (obligatory in 2000s, optional in 1990s and 2010s)
- Language nest in kindergarden (2010s)
- Reading books for school or kindergarden (D. Bolina, G. Bolina, S. Rosljakova)
- Ad hoc writing by some speakers

Writing in FE: history

- Of course, Cyrillic script and using typical features of Cyrillic script, such as using iotated vowel symbols both for *j*+vowel and for marking the palatalization of the preceding consonant

- Published proposals of Tereščenko (1986) never followed in all details
  - E.g. she proposed ӡ for *z* [z, ð], but з was used by everyone; she proposed ȯ for close *o*, but everyone used just o.

- Different options chosen by different writers

- No complete consistency in writings of the author (both different years and in the same text)

Writing in FE: earlier own experience

- In 2008-2010, me and Olesya Khanina proposed a variant of phonology-based orthography
- Yet, the community had poor interest to it
- Those who wrote in Enets continued writing in their own manners
- Attempts to unify and "phonologize" the writing system were not perceived well

Writing in FE: recent story

- In late 2018s, new initiatives took place:
  - An initiative of philosophers from Krasnoyarsk (Kopceva) to "create and Enets script"
  - A primer by Dar'ja Bolina supported by Project Office for Arctic Development
  - Different opinions about the writing system of this primer in the community
  - A "working group on Enets script" created in 2019 in order to achieve a compromise and to take decisions
  - A series of workshops in Dudinka in October 2019 where I represented linguists

Writing in FE: decisions from 2019

- An orthographic compromise between interested speakers
- Orthography is not completely phonological
  - Using different symbols for the same phonemes
  - Underspecifying some phonemic distinctions
- Trying to represent it not as strict rules, but as recommendations
- Completely followed in the primer (Bolina D. 2019)
- Yet, further writings are not always completely consistent with it

Д. С. БОЛИНА

Букварь

1 класс

Учебное пособие на энецком языке
(лесной диалект)
для общеобразовательных
организаций

Под редакцией М. Я. Бармич

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Bolina D. 2019

Казакухун дирибихи"

Казакухун дирибихи"
щизы єдыбиза дётухи".
Ӈôлю — сыляєйгу, наакую —
дялдыда,
щизы єдыбиза дётухи".
«Абэй!» — лэуриз" каза, —
Абэй, дягу", дягу" дётухинь"!

Жили у бабуси
два веселых гуся.
Один серый, другой белый,
два веселых гуся.
Вот кричит бабуся:
«Ой, пропали гуси!

Phonemic system of FE

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i [i, ɨ]		u [u]
Close-mid	e [e, ɛ, i, ɨ, ə]		o [o, u, ɔ, ə]
Mid-open	ɛ [ɛ, æ, a]		ɔ [ɔ]
Open		a [a]	

	Front	Central	Back
Close	ы, и		у, ю
Close-mid	э, е		?
Mid-open	ɛ, э̇, я		о, ё
Open		а, я	

Phonemic system of FE: consonants

	Bilabial	Dental/ Alveolar	Palatalized coronals	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	b [b, bʲ, p] p [p, pʲ]	d [d, t] t [t]	dʲ [dʲ, ɟ, dʒ, tʲ, tʃ] tʃ [tʃ, tʲ]		k [k, kʲ] g [g, gʲ, k]	ʔ [ʔ, Ø, V̠]
Nasal	m [m, mʲ]	n [n]	nʲ [nʲ, ɲ]		ŋ [ŋ, ŋʲ]	
Trill		r [r, rʲ]				
Fricative		z [ð, ðʲ, z, zʲ, s] s [s, sʲ, θ, θʲ]	ʃ [ʃ, ʃʲ, ç]		x [x, xʲ]	
Approximant				j [j]		
Lateral approximant		l [l]	lʲ [lʲ, ʎ]			

Phonemic system of FE: consonants

	Bilabial	Dental/Alveolar	Palatalized coronals	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	б	д	дь, ч, чь		к	', ", -
	п	т	ч, чь, ть		г	
Nasal	м	н	нь		ӈ	
Trill		р				
Fricative		з	ш, щ, ҫ, сь		х	
		с				
Approximant				й		
Lateral approximant		л	ль			

Problems

- Choosing consistent solutions for non-self-evident combinations of a consonant and a vowel
- Choosing symbols or decisions for problematic vowel cells (*o*, *ɛ*) of vowels and for vowels in non-first syllables
- Choosing symbols or decisions for problematic consonant cells (*ʃ*, *ʔ*)
- Dealing with *j*+vowel combinations
- Dealing with ь after *tʃ* and *ʃ*
- Dealing with consonant devoicing
- Dealing with vowel omission
- Dealing with phonemic variation
- Dealing with double vowels

Consonants + vowels
when no phonemic palatalization is there

- Only three pairs of consonant are unanimously perceived as distinguished by palatalization analogously to Russian: $d - d^j, n - n^j, l - l^j$:

  niga ныга 'bush' – *n^jiga* нига 'he picked up'

  - In contrast to Nenets, for Enets Cyrillic script does not make "profit"

- In other cases only one combination is chosen for *e* and *i*:

  - э and ы after т, с, з: *kizi* кизы 'dish'; *seŋiŋa* сэңиңа 'he looks'

  - э and и after glottal stop: *nɔʔira* но"ира 'he catches'

  - е and и elsewhere: *mense* менсы 'old woman'

Close *o*

- Introducing the symbol ô (as it is more prominent than ȯ):

to тô 'lake' in contrast to *tɔ* то 'wing' and *tu* ту 'огонь'

- Taking into account that noone is used to this symbol, allowing to use simply о: *moga* мôга 'forest', but OK мога

- As after *dʲ*, *nʲ*, *lʲ* an overcomplicated symbol ê̈ is expected, using simple ё, thus underspecifying:

dʲodʲiʔ дёди" 'time', but *dʲɔtu* дёту 'goose'

- As in non-first syllables a more close sound is pronounced [o] > [u] or just [u], and everyone is used to write у, it is recommended, thus underspecifying:

kɔdo коду 'sledge', but *ɔdu* оду 'boat'

  - Yet, this corresponds to a kind of reality, as in fact we deal here with ɔ > o > u sound change in progress, and distinguishing between *o*-words and *u*-words is really hard

Reduction e > i

- In non-first syllables containing single *e* a more close sound is pronounced [e] > [i] or just [i], and both phonetic variation between [e] and [i] and graphical variation between е/э and и/ы exists

- Writing always и/ы it is recommended, thus underspecifying:

ɛse есы 'father', but *dʲisi* дисы 'grandfather'
  - Yet, again this corresponds to a kind of reality, as in fact we deal here with *e > i* sound change in progress, and distinguishing between *e*-words and *i*-words is really hard

Open ɛ

- Choosing the symbol ɛ, as is most widespeadly used:

tɛ тɛ 'birch' in contrast to *te* тэ 'reindeer'

- But using я after м, п, б, as here it is pronounced in the most open way and as it is what many writers are used to:

mɛʔ мя'' 'tent'

- As there is no Cyrillic symbol to be used after *dʲ, nʲ, lʲ*, я is used there , thus underspecifying:

nʲɛri няри 'buttocks'; but *nʲaba* няба 'hare'

  - Solutions like ньɛри were strongly rejected by FE speakers

Open ɛ and ɔ
after a vowel or glottal stop + a vowel

- No contrasts between *e* vs. *ɛ* and *o* vs. *ɔ*, pronunciation being usually more open

- Simpler symbols о and э are chosen:

ʃee щеэ 'who'; *miʔɛ* ми(")э 'he gave';

kinuʔɔ кину(")о 'he sings'

- Yet, is used after ɛ and я representing ɛ:

mɛɛ мяɛ 'he made'; *pɛʔɛ* пя(")ɛ 'shoe'; *nɛɛ* нɛɛ 'needle'

Sibilant ʃ

- Only one phonemic postalveolar sibilant ʃ (< s^j) what was also reflected in Tereščenko's orthography and in Sorokina & Bolina's (2001) school dictionary

- But pronounced both palatalized and non-palatalized, the former option being more typical before front vowels

- Following the way the writers are used to, both ш and щ are used, щ being used before *e* and *i* and ш otherwise:

ʃuuti шууты 'beetle'; *ʃe* ще 'hole'

- The symbol ç proposed by Tereščenko and used in a number of publications is excluded

Glottal stop

- Tereščenko's orthography assumed that there are 2 glottal stops in FE

- Yet, no phonetic and phonological evidence for 2 phonemes

- Glottal stop is frequently omitted, especially in the middle of a word

- The symbols ʼ and ʺ are used in existing publications randomly; only the symbol ʺ is left

- Using it obligatorily at the end of a word is recommended:

tɛʔ мяʺ 'tent'; *nʲejʔ* нейʺ 'my child'

- Using it in the middle of a word is treated optional:

kinuʔɔ кинуо 'he sings', OK кинуʺо

j+vowel combinations

- Using я, ё, ю, е in the beginning of a word and after vowels for *ja, jɔ, ju, je* following standard Cyrillic conventions:

aja ая 'body'; *jeʃaru* ешар(у) 'curtains'; *pinojuʔ* пинvю'' 'at night'

- Using combination йи for *ji* and after vowels:

tʃiji чийи 'lung'

- Using ъ + и, я, ё, ю, е after consonants:

mɔrji моръи 'it broke'
  - But this context is rare

Using ь

- Normal Cyrillic-based use of for palatalized consonants d^j, n^j, l^j at the end (or before glottal stop):

pud^j пудь 'put', *n^{j}in^{j}iʔ* нинь" 'my children'

- Writers in FE regularly, but not consistently (or with an idiosyncratic consistency) used after ч and ш at the end, and this is set as a recommendation for always:

d^{j}azoʃ дязушь 'go'; *d^{j}azaʃ* дязашь 'he went';

d^{j}azatʃ дязачь 'they went'

Consonant devoicing

- Voiced obstruents are optionally, but typically devoiced at the end; using symbols for voiced consonants is recommended if voiced pronunciation is possible:
  - Typically, this can be checked morphologically

pɔnʲidʲ [dʲ ~ tʃ] понидь 'use'; *entʃed* [d ~ t] энчид 'to the person'

kinutʃ [tʃ] кинучь 'sing'; *mɛt* [t] мят 'to the tent'

Vowel omission

- In FE, there are many contexts of regular vowel omission where at the same time a vowel still can be pronounced

- At the end of most lexical morphemes instances where the vowel is still pronounced are not so rare; writing with a vowel is recommended, but its omission is also possible:

bemo бему 'chief', OK бем; *lubu* лубу 'глина', OK луб

- In the middle of the word instances where the vowel is still pronounced are rare; writing without a vowel is recommended, but writing with it is also possible:

buniki бунки 'dog', OK бун**ы**ки, (OK бунык);

mɔsaraʃ мосрашь 'to work', OK мос**а**рашь

Vowel omission

- At the end of grammatical morphemes and frequent lexical morphemes instances where the vowel is still pronounced are rare (and archaic); writing without a vowel is recommended, but writing with it is also possible:

mɛzʔ мяз" 'tents', OK мязу"; *dʲazoʔ* дяз" 'go!', OK дязу";

nʲinʲiʔ нинь" 'my children', OK нини"

  - This does not concern grammatical morphemes where the historical final vowel is never attested
  - What morphemes are frequent is based just on intuition

Vowel omission and ь

- Omission of *i* or *e* leads to optional, but typical keeping non-phonological palatalization of *r, b, m*; in such cases using of ь for marking this palatalization is recommended, omitting it being also possible:

tɛmiʔ [*mʲʔ ~ mʲiʔ ~ mʔ*] мям**ь**" 'my tent', OK мями", мям"

tɔri [*rʲ ~ rʲi ~ r*] тор**ь** 'so', OK тори, тор

  - This also concerns optional vowelless spelling of lexical items:

  ʃuzebe шузыби 'giant', OK шузыб**ь**

Phonemic variation: frequent cases

- Frequent variation of *s* and *z*: *s* is chosen for orthography

ɔsa ~ ɔza оса 'meat'; *mɔsaraʃ ~ mɔzaraʃ* мосрашь 'to work'
  - Just because *s*-variants are more usual for most writers

- Frequent variation of *a* and *ɔ*: *a* is chosen for orthography

badun ~ bɔdun бадун 'in tundra'; *pazuʔ ~ pɔzuʔ* пазу'' 'paper'
  - Just because *a*-variants are more usual for most writers, but also reflecting the fact that this variant is more conservative

Phonemic variation: idiosyncratic cases

- No orthographic unification for idiosyncratic of variation:

dʲeʃiʔ ~ dʲetʃiʔ дещи", дечи" 'trap'

kajiʃ ~ kajaʃ кайишь, каяшь 'stay'

nalzeda ~ narzeda налзыда, нарзыда 'red'

lʲeblʲiku ~ lʲeblʲuku леблику, леблюку 'butterfly'

Double vowels

- Double/long vowels are regularly pronounced as single/short, especially in negligent speech, the same applies for a sequence for two close vowels

- The same is true for spontaneous writing

- Writing the two vowels is recommended:

agaan агаан 'greatly'; *dʲaasa* дяаса 'flour';

tɔɔ тôо 'пришел'; *entʃuuʔ* энчуу" 'люди'

  - This point was not disputable in the community, but attracting attention to it was necessary
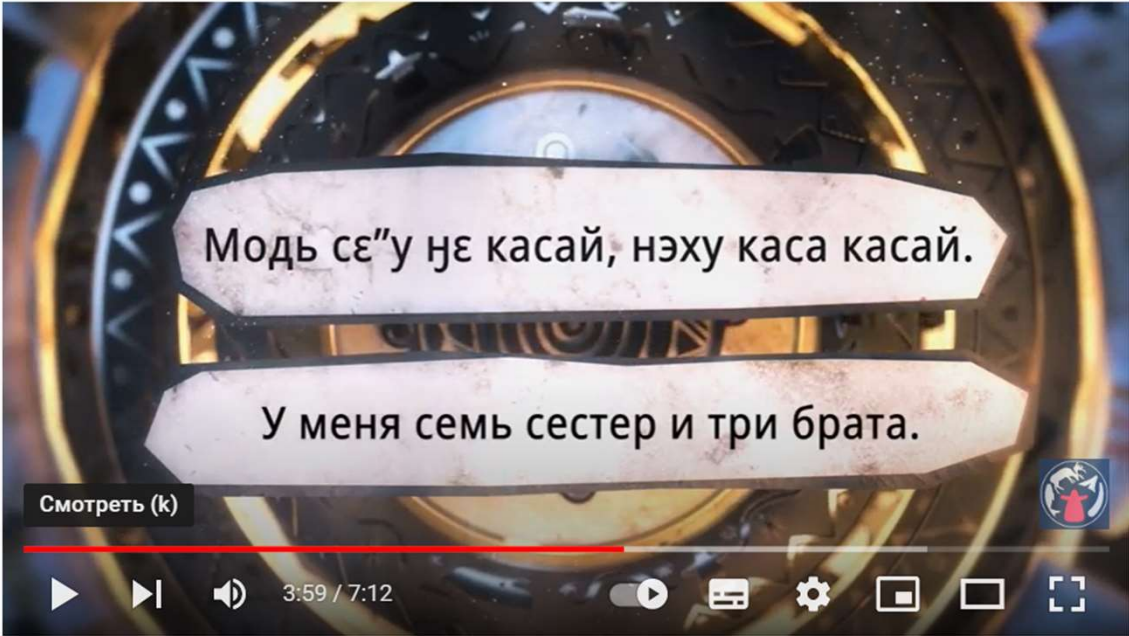
Instead of conclusion

- An attempt to make systematic recommendations of orthography with a background of a various spontaneous habits of writers
- At the same time an attempt to make it allowing some freedom in order that the writers were not discouraged from writing
- In some points choosing a more conservative option, in some points choosing a more innovative one
- Yet, finding a compromise so that printed sources were more systematic that would be presumably helpful for the community

Practice of non-following?

- On practice, the writers still do not write consistently

- E.g. marking the glottal stop in the middle of a word, but not in the end

- Yet, now we have some fixed conventions, working or not

- No new consistent proposals expected

зоя николаевна болина

Модь сε"у ӈε касай, нэху каса касай.

У меня семь сестер и три брата.

Смотреть (k)

3:59 / 7:12

Энецкий язык | Тема 4 | Семья

33 просмотра 2 дек. 2021 г. Очередной выпуск видеокурса по энецкому языку посвящен теме семьи. Зоя Николаевна Болина рассказывает о своих родственниках. Интерактивный урок в конце ролика поможет вам запомнить несколько полезных выражений и закрепить

THANK YOU!