SPATIAL ORIENTATION BY THE ENETS
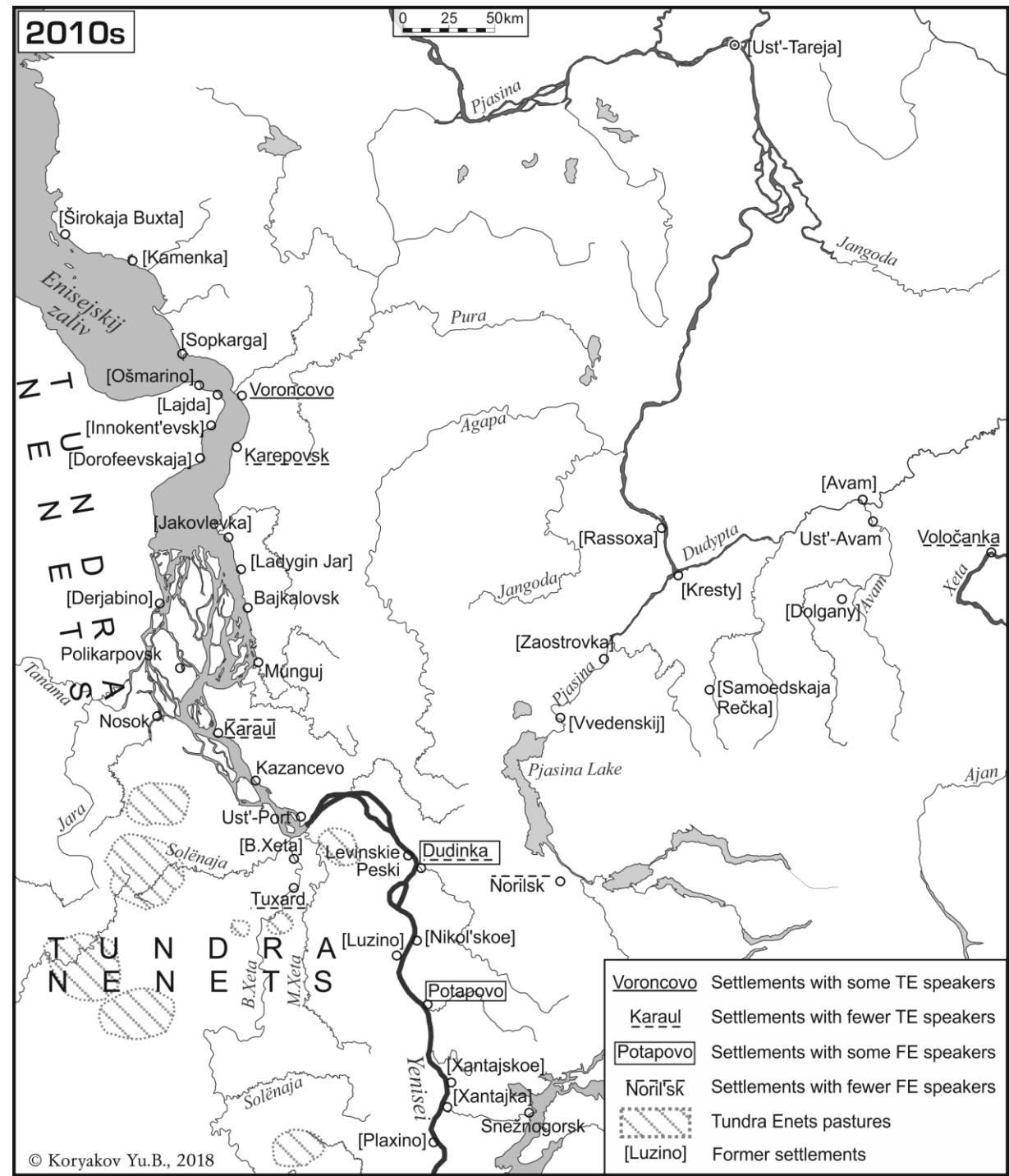
Olesya Khanina

Institute of Linguistics RAS & Finno-Ugrian Society

olesya.khanina@gmail.com

THE ENETS: AN OVERVIEW

- Uralic > Samoyedic > Northern Samoyedic

- Tundra Enets, Forest Enets
  - no shared identity,
  - a split (>separate phonetic, lexical, and grammatical innovations),
  - followed by a contact period of 100-150 years (> morphosyntactic convergence)
  - followed by 100 years of no contacts (> further phonetic divergence)

- Today: ca. 15 speakers for TE, ca. 25 speakers for FE

2nd half of 19th century

0 25 50 km

Legend:
- Tundra Enets
- Forest Enets
- Tundra Nenets
- Nganasan
- Dolgan
- Evenki
- Russian
- Russian settlements
- {Tuxard} Future settlements

Pjasina

TUNDRA ENETS

NGANASAN

Jangoda

Eniseiskij zaliv

Širokaja Buxta
Kamenka
Markovo
Sopkarga
Ošmarino
Zverjovo
Gol'čixa
Voroncovo
Pura
Agapa
Dorofeevskaja
Karepovskoe
Jakovlevka
Ladygin Jar
Sidorovskoe
{Bajkalovsk}
Derjabino
Polikarpovskoe
Münguj
Nosok
Tolstyj Nos
Turkinskoe
Kazancevo
Jangoda
Dudypta
Rassoxa
Kresty
Zaostrovka
Pjasina
Vvedenskij
Pjasina Lake
Avamskoe
Voločanka
Dolgany
Samoedskaja Rečka
Avam
Xeta
DOLGANKI
Ajan

TUNDRA NENETS

Tanama
Jara
Solënaja
B.Xeta
M.Xeta
Dudinka
{Tuxard}
Luzino
Nikol'skoe
{Norilsk}
Časovnja
FOREST ENETS
Potapovskoe
Yenisei
Xantajka
Plaxino
Xantajskoe Lake
EVENKI

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2010s

0 25 50 km

Pjasina

[Ust'-Tareja]

Eniseiskij zaliv

[Širokaja Buxta]
[Kamenka]
[Sopkarga]
[Ošmarino]
Voroncovo
[Lajda]
[Innokent'evsk]
[Dorofeevskaja]
Karepovsk
Pura
Agapa
Jangoda
[Jakovlevka]
[Ladygin Jar]
Bajkalovsk
[Derjabino]
Polikarpovsk
Münguj
Nosok
Karaul
Kazancevo
Ust'-Port
[B.Xeta]
Levinskie Peski
Dudinka
Tuxard
[Luzino] [Nikol'skoe]
Potapovo
Norilsk
[Avam]
[Rassoxa]
Dudypta
Ust'-Avam
[Kresty]
[Dolgany]
Voločanka
Xeta
[Zaostrovka]
[Samoedskaja Rečka]
[Vvedenskij]
Pjasina Lake
Ajan

TUNDRA NENETS

Tanama
Jara
Solënaja
B.Xeta
M.Xeta
Yenisei
[Xantajskoe]
[Xantajka]
Snežnogorsk
[Plaxino]

Legend:
- Voroncovo — Settlements with some TE speakers
- Karaul — Settlements with fewer TE speakers
- Potapovo — Settlements with some FE speakers
- Norilsk — Settlements with fewer FE speakers
- Tundra Enets pastures
- [Luzino] Former settlements

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THE DATA: THE CORPUS

Khanina, Shluinsky, Ovsjannikova, Stoynova, Trubetskoy, 2005-2016

(supported by ELDP, MPI-EVA)

	Time in hours	Number of texts	Number of clauses	Number of tokens	Number of speakers recorded	
					The generation born 1910-1930	The generation born 1940-1960
Forest Enets	25	342	ca. 30 000	ca. 150 000	18	18
Tundra Enets	7.2	99	ca. 9 000	ca. 50 000	8	6
Total	32.2	441	ca. 39 000	ca. 200 000		50

CASE STUDY 1: TUNDRA

FE baduʔ, bɔduʔ

TE kɔɔ

- the space outside the modern village and away from the bank of Yenisei
- translated as 'tundra' into local Russian
- FE baduʔ, bɔduʔ lit. 'tree root', also attested in TE as 'tree root'
- TE kɔɔ lit. 'hill, ridge', also attested in FE as 'hill, ridge' (kɔj)
- WHY?

FOREST ENETS

TUNDRA ENETS

CASE STUDY 1: TUNDRA, EXPLANATION

○ the categorization of the space is the same:
  ○ village/river bank vs. away from the village / river bank
    ○ NB: most probably, before the modern villages, the Enets put up their tents at river banks more often than in plain tundra

○ but its lexical coding diverges
  ○ reflecting the nature of this environment:
  ○ the trees for FE vs. the hills for TE
  ○ A RESERVATION: while the hills-tundra connection is active in modern TE, the root-tundra connection of modern FE is not, it could even be a plain coincidence, a case of homonymy.

CASE STUDY 1: TUNDRA, TUNDRA ENETS

SUT090817_NEV_044

kɔɔ   nʲi-zo   mɔ-xɔne,   dudʲinka-xazo

ridge onto-ABL.SG PLC-LOC.SG Dudinka-ABL.SG

vertalʲɔt-xɔne   tɔ-ɔbi-aʔ

helicopter-LOC.SG   come(pfv)-HAB -1PL.S/SOsg

'Из тундры, из Дудинки на вертолете приезжаем.'

'We come with a helicopter from tundra, from Dudinka'

CASE STUDY 1: TUNDRA, FOREST ENETS

TE kɔɔ: 56 attestations

FE baduʔ, bɔduʔ: 204 attestations

   80 from 204: in the recordings from the previous generation

FE also kɔj: 38 attestations in the tundra meaning (+12 in the hill meaning)

o 10 previous generation, 28 NNB interviewing them

o so even though there is a clear preference for baduʔ, bɔduʔ in the previous generation (80:10), they also use kɔj, <u>unlike the modern generation</u>

o I do not see any semantic/contextual difference

TUNDRA: FE VS. TE FREQUENCY DIFFERENCE

In FE 'tundra' has been attested 4 times more, while the corpus is 3 times bigger only.

A gender bias?

- FE: men > women
- TE: women > men
- Traditionally, a woman stays at home (tent/village), a man goes to tundra.

-> the next section is based mainly on FE, since not enough data for TE

CASE STUDY 2: SPATIAL ANCHORS

- The vertical dimension (up-down)

  anchored at the Yenisei river and lakes

THE YENISEI RIVER

THE YENISEI RIVER

A LAKE

CASE STUDY 2: SPATIAL ANCHORS, UP-DOWN

LD100713_UPR_029-031

tʃike	mu-d,		to	salba-d	**kaʔ-e-zʔ**
this	PLC-DAT.SG		lake	ice-DAT.SG	**come_down(pfv)-M-3SG.M**

He went down, well, to the ice of the lake. / На это самое, спустился на лед озера.

to	salba,	salba,	to-r	aga,	aga	to	tʃiker
lake	ice	ice	lake-NOM.SG.2SG	big	big	lake	this-NOM.SG.2SG

The ice of the lake, the ice, the lake is big./ Лед озера, лед, озеро-то большое.

a	tɛxɛ	nɛk	ubu-xo-da	tou-t-e-zʔ,
and	there(loc)	other	end-DAT.SG-OBL.SG.3SG	reach(pfv)-FUT-M-3SG.M

anʲ	**tɔda-d-e-zʔ**		ɔnɛj	dʲa	nʲiʔ
and	**climb(pfv)-FUT-M-3SG.M**		Enets	place	on(dir)

And there he would get to the opposite side and again go up to the dry land.

А там до другой стороны доедет, опять поднимется на настоящую землю.

CASE STUDY 2: SPATIAL ANCHORS, UP-DOWN

LD080815_PRI2_002-004

kasu	to	to-d	**kaʔ-e-jʔ**		man-ʔ		nʲi-uʔ
shallow	lake	lake-DAT.SG	**come_down(pfv)-M-1SG.M**	say(pfv)-CONN		NEG3SG.S.CONT	

I went down to the Sukhoe (=dry) lake, he said. / На Сухое озеро я спустился, он сказал.

kas		to	edʲju	ke
shallow		lake	opposite	side

on this side of the Suxoe lake / с этой стороны Сухого озера

ubu-xon	**tɔda-ʃ**	tara-ʔ		nʲi-uʔ	ezzu-da
end-LOC.SG	**climb(pfv)-CVB**	necessary(ipfv)-CONN	NEG-3SG.S.CONT		ride(ipfv)-PTCP.SIM

at the end, it is necessary to go up while riding / в конце надо же подняться едучи

CASE STUDY 2: NO SPATIAL WORDS IN A CLAUSE

A downward movement without mentioning of vertical object = to the Yenisei river, to a lake

An upward movement without mentioning of vertical object = to the tundra, from the Yenisei river/a lake

NB1: I do not take word such as river/lake as vertical, but probably they actually are conceptualized this way in this culture.

NB2: when there is not enough geographic context in a story, I do not understand why up/down is meant here, so the knowledge of the local context is vital.

EXAMPLES

VNB9306_KAKZHI_180

baka-d   anʲ   **kaʔ-e-naʔ**

Priluki-DAT.SG   and   **come_down(pfv)-M-1PL.M**

We came down to Priluki again. / Мы опять спустились в Прилуки.

VNB9306_KAKZHI_333

anʲ   te-xon   purzi   **kaʔa-ra-d-e-zuʔ**   tʃike   kare-zuʔ

and   reindeer-LOC.SG   backwards   **come_down(pfv)-CAUS2-FUT-SOpl-3PL.SOnsg**   this   fish-NOM.PL.3PL

They would bring their fish down back again by reindeer. / Опять на оленях обратно спустят эту рыбу. (=bring to the village to sell)

CASE STUDY 2: OTHER SPATIAL ANCHORS

- Yenisei = the village

- the mountains, ρu 'stone' / ρu-ʔ 'stone-PL'

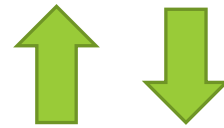- the forest = the tree line
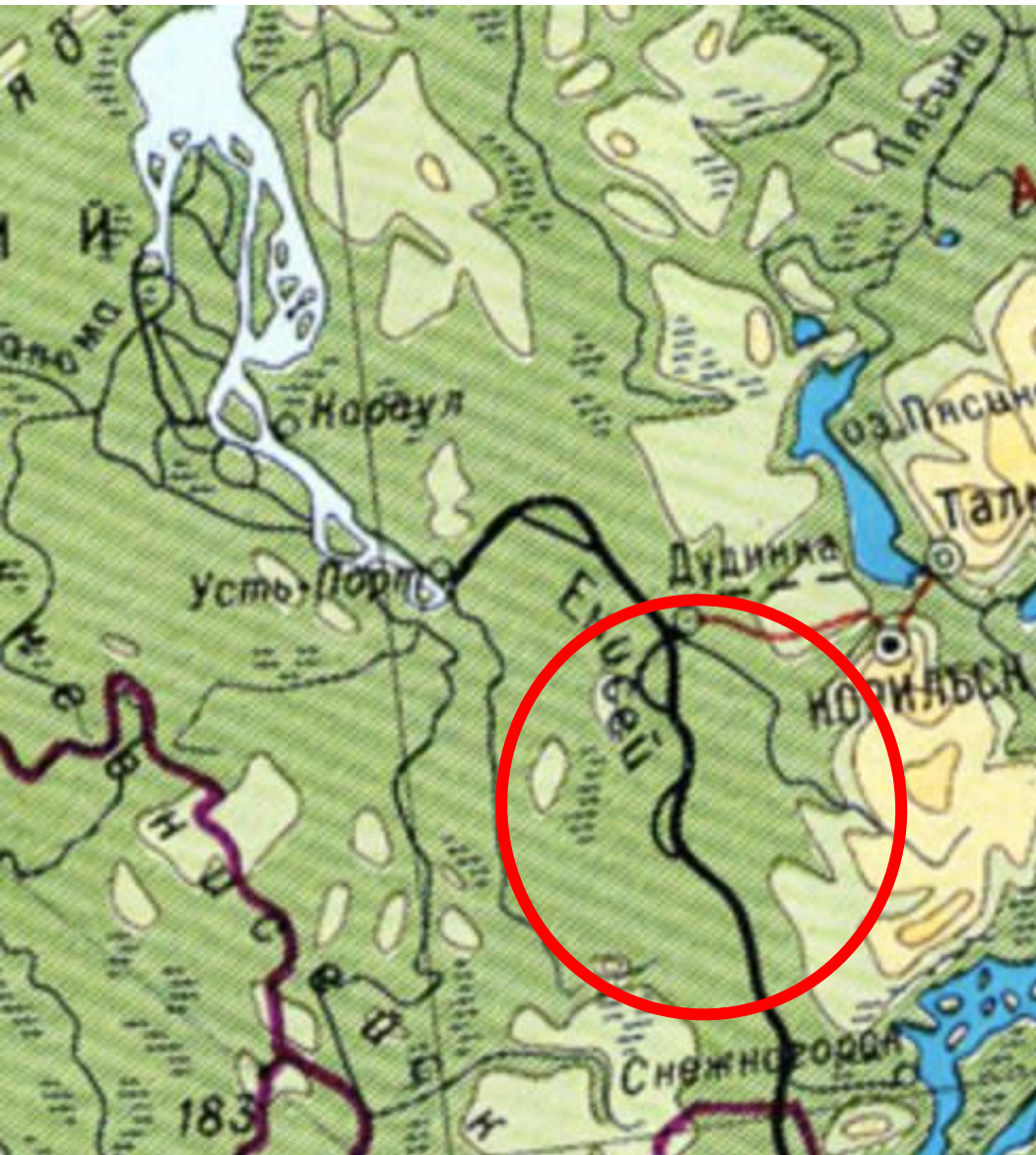
ALL SPATIAL ANCHORS IN ONE VERTICAL DIMENSION

.

At the Yenisei, there are no trees, no tundra.

ALL SPATIAL ANCHORS IN ONE VERTICAL DIMENSION

As one goes away from the Yenisei, one reaches trees = tundra.
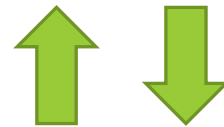
At the Yenisei, there are no trees, no tundra.

ALL SPATIAL ANCHORS IN ONE VERTICAL DIMENSION

If the movement away from the Yenisei is continued, one reaches the mountains.

As one goes away from the Yenisei, one reaches trees = tundra.
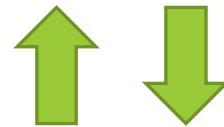
At the Yenisei, there are no trees, no tundra.

ALL SPATIAL ANCHORS IN ONE VERTICAL DIMENSION

If the movement away from the Yenisei is continued, one reaches the mountains.

As one goes away from the Yenisei, one reaches trees = tundra.

At the Yenisei, there are no trees, no tundra.

Local anchors:

trees = tundra

a lake

EXAMPLES

NI100715_SLU_219-220

moga-xit	jeʃɔ	nʲi-natʃ	**kaʔa-ʔ**
forest-ABL.PL	yet	NEG-1PL.M.PST	**come_down(pfv)-CONN**

We still did not come down from the forests. / Из лесов мы еще не спустились.

tɔna	jeʃɔ	**pu-xin**	ŋa-batʃ
still	yet	**stone-LOC.PL**	exist(ipfv)-1PL.S/SOsg.PST

We were still at the stones. / Мы еще были на камнях.

To the trees = up = closer to tundra = onto tundra

VNB9306_KAKZHI_233-236

mɛ-ta	**ɛz**	**noku**	nʲɔxuru-da-za	**pɛ**	**noku**
chum-OBL.SG.3SG	**up**	**towards**	move(pfv)-FUT-3SG.SOsg	**wood**	**towards**

one would move his tent up, to the trees / чум повыше затащит, ближе к деревьям

baka-xan	ɔbu,	pɛ-r	bunʲi	tɔne-ʔ
Priluki-LOC.SG	what	wood-NOM.SG.2SG	NEG.EMPH.3SG.S	there_is(ipfv)-CONN

in Priluki, well, there is no firewood / в Прилуках что, дров ведь нет

bɔdu	**noku**	usa-da-aʔ
tundra	**towards**	camp(pfv)-FUT-1PL.S/SOsg

We would camp nearby with tundra. / Мы расположимся ближе к тундре.

VNB9306_KAKZHI_247-248

kutuj-r	tɔna	**bɔdu**	**noku**	tou-t-e-zʔ	dʲadokoon
some-NOM.SG.2SG	still	**tundra**	**towards**	reach(pfv)-FUT-M-3SG.M	carefully

Someone would come up a bit more. / Кто-то еще выше дойдет тихонько.

kaʃi-naʔ	te-kutʃa-ʔ	perizu-dʲ	**badu-no-ju**	mesi-ga-atʃ	tɔr
man-PL.1PL	reindeer-DIM2-PL	use_one's_help(ipfv)-CVB	**tundra-ADV-RESTR.ADJ**	move_on(ipfv)-DISC1-1PL.S/SOsg.PST	so

So, using our mates' reindeer, we moved on to tundra. / Так, пользуясь олешками товарищей, мы аргишили в тундру.

LOCAL SPATIAL ANCHORS

This general scheme can be complicated by local factors:
e.g. one shore of a lake might be lower than the other

VNB9111_UROD_172

tʃi,	dʲa	tɔse-no-ju
here	place	lower_part-ADV-RESTR.ADJ

so, to the west / вот, на запад (=while rowing on a lake)

ND_NI050923_ROZH_ND_095

kasu	to	tɔse	ubu-xon	ŋa-atʃ
shallow	lake	lower_part	end-LOC.SG	exist(ipfv)-1PL.S/SOsg.PST

We were at the northern side of the Sukhoe lake. Мы были с северной стороны Сухого озера.
(=another lake!)

ANOTHER DIMENSION: THE FLOW OF YENISEI

Since all rivers flow DOWN (to Yenisei),

and Yenisei flows DOWN to the sea,

 the downward movement along the Yenisei river is also DOWN.

ASP_NNB940905_INT_ASP_097

tein	tɔne-ʔ,		i	**tɔse-no-ju**		oka
?in_the_south	there_is(ipfv)-3PL.S		and	**lower_part-ADV-RESTR.ADJ**		many

They are in south, and there are a lot of them in the Lower Yenisei. / Они на юге есть, и в низовьях много.

SPATIAL ANCHORS: THE TUNDRA ENETS VIEW

If the movement away from the Yenisei is continued, one reaches the mountains.

As one goes away from the Yenisei, one reaches trees = tundra.

At the Yenisei, there are no trees, no tundra.
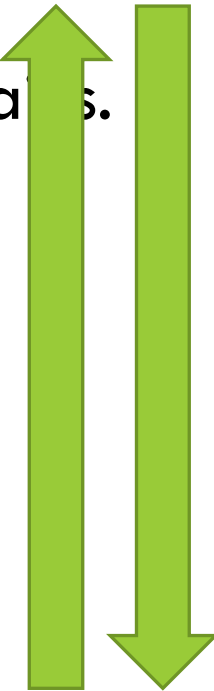
SPATIAL ANCHORS: THE TUNDRA ENETS VIEW

~~If the movement away from the Yenisei is continued, one reaches the mountains.~~

As one goes away from the Yenisei, one reaches ~~trees =~~ tundra.

At the Yenisei, there are no trees, no tundra.

TE EXAMPLE

PLP810508PLP_017

dʲedoʃio-do **kaʔa-bu-xoa-na?** … dʲedoʃio-do dʲeʋʔ texoʔ
Yenisey-DAT.SG **come_down(pfv)-CVB.COND-FOC-OBL.SG.1PL** Yenisey-DAT.SG west? over

mɔta-obi-aʔ sira nɔɔʔ
cut(pfv)-HAB-1PL.S/SOsgsnow on(dir)

When we go down to the Yenisey river, we cross it in winter / Когда мы спускаемся к енисею, переезжаем его зимой.
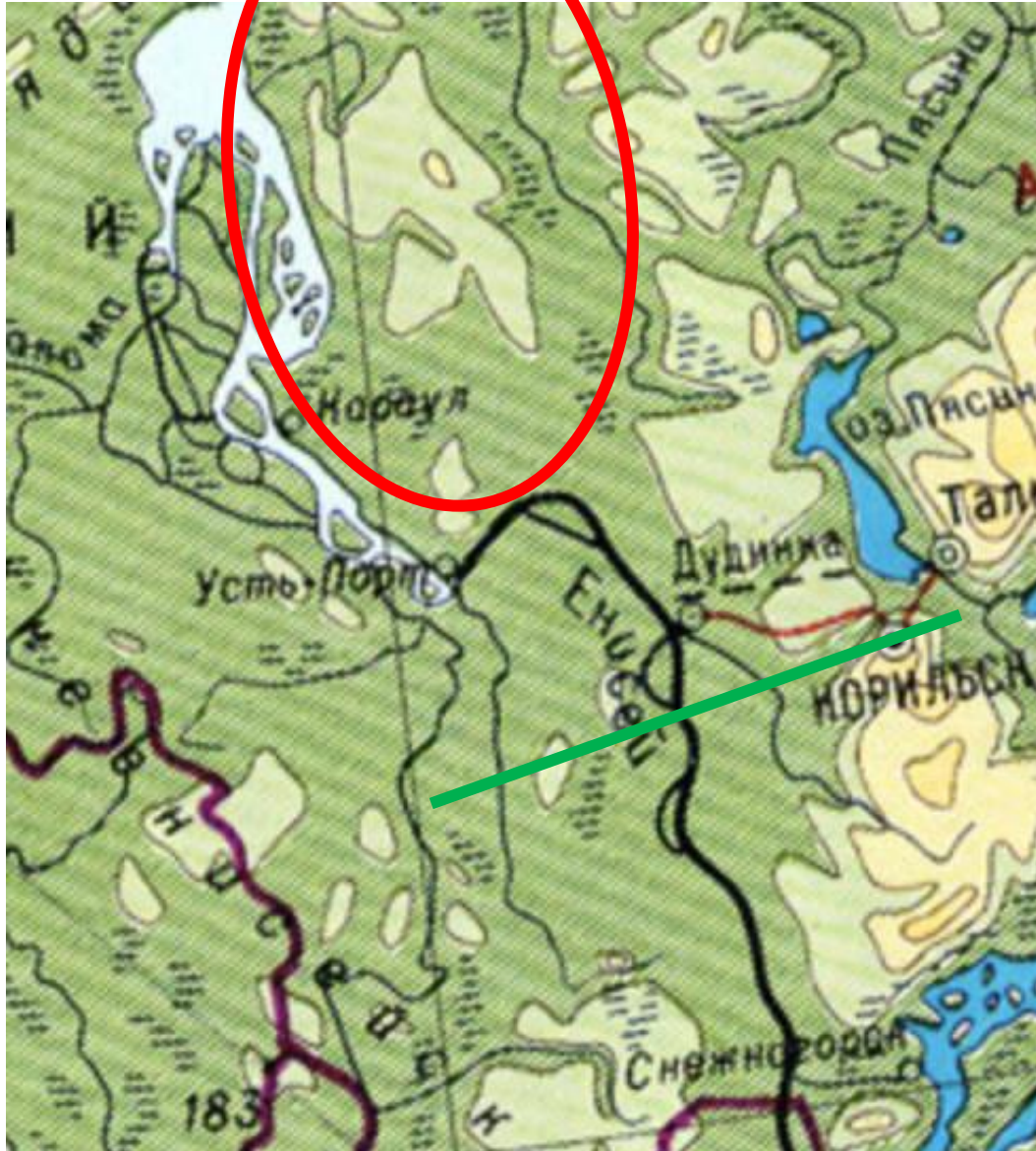
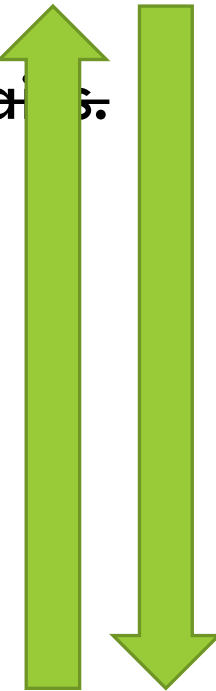# SPATIAL ANCHORS: THE TUNDRA ENETS VIEW

If the movement away from the Yenisei is continued, ~~one reaches the mountains.~~

As one goes away from the Yenisei, one reaches ~~trees =~~ tundra.

At the Yenisei, there are no trees, no tundra.

As one goes along the Yenisei from TE lands to FE lands, the trees appear.

(this is UP the river and UP to the trees)

SPATIAL ANCHORS: THE TUNDRA ENETS VIEW

So for FE downstream along the Yenisei river = DOWN

For TE upstream along the Yenisei river = UP

PLP810508PLP_011-012

tea	pɔne-dʲe	**eko-xozo,**	**eko-xozo**	**teʔinaa**	sira	nɔɔʔ	ire-bune-naʔ
reindeer	make(ipfv)-CVB	**this-ABL.SG**	**this-ABL.SG**	**upwards**	snow	on(dir)	live(ipfv)-CVB.COND-OBL.SG.1PL

When we lived with reindeers, from here upwards in winter ... / Когда мы оленеводили, мы отсюда вверх зимой...

mɔga	**dʲaa-do**	sɔa-a	kane-obi-aʔ
forest	**earth-DAT.SG**	dwell(pfv)-NMLZ1	leave(pfv)-HAB -1PL.S/SOsg

We used to dwell towards the trees ... / То ездили кочевать в сторону деревьев...

CASE STUDY 2: SPATIAL ANCHORS, LAST REMARKS

- not a single word for west or east in the FE corpus

(Helimski, Ms supplies TE words for west and east, but they are not attested in the (small) TE corpus.)

-north and south are present in the FE corpus, but very low frequency (18 for N, 4 for S)

SUMMARY

The upward movement : ⬆️

- (1) Yenisei -> shore/village -> FE trees = tundra -> FE mountains

- (2) Yenisei -> shore/village -> TE hills = tundra

- (3) FE: Downward the Yenisei river to the sea

- (3) TE: Upward the Yenisei river to the trees

The downward movement: in the opposite direction ⬇️

NB: Since Yenisei flows from south to north,

(1)&(2) are actually an east-west dimension (center=down, east&west periphery = up),

(3)&(4) are actually a north-south dimension (north=down, south=up).

Local anchors:

⬆️

trees = tundra

⬆️

a lake
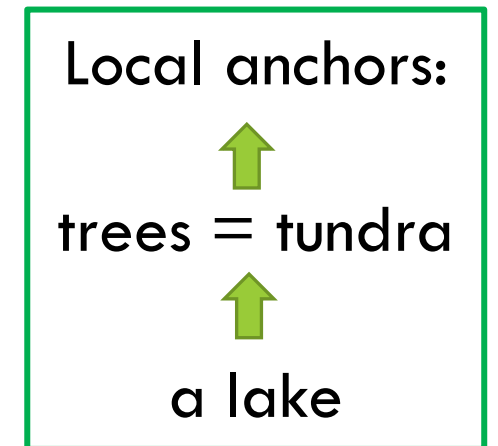
FURTHER RESEARCH

- across the Yenisei, further onto the other shore?

- movement to the other world?

- Tundra Nenets system of spatial orientation: local vs. wider?