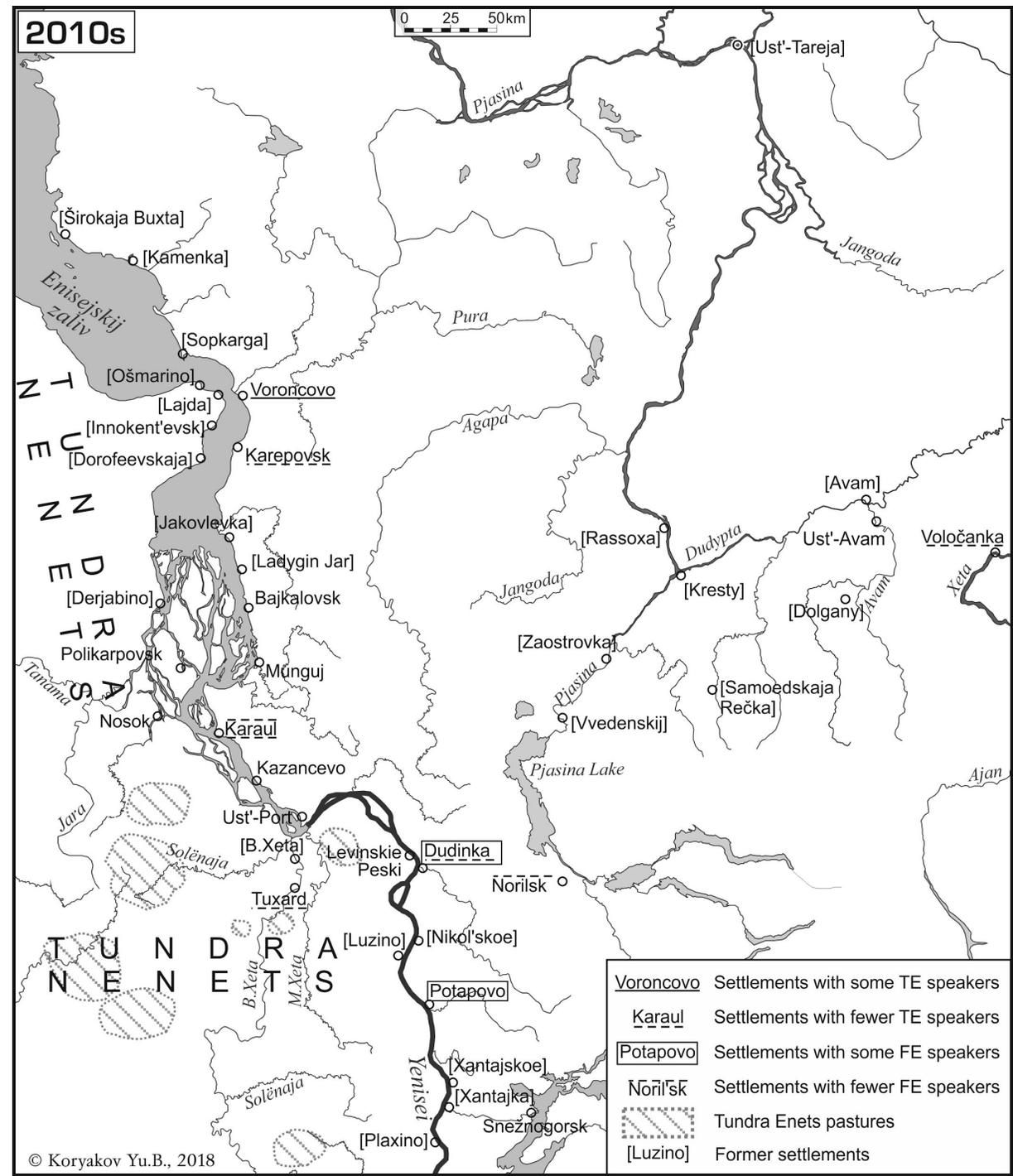
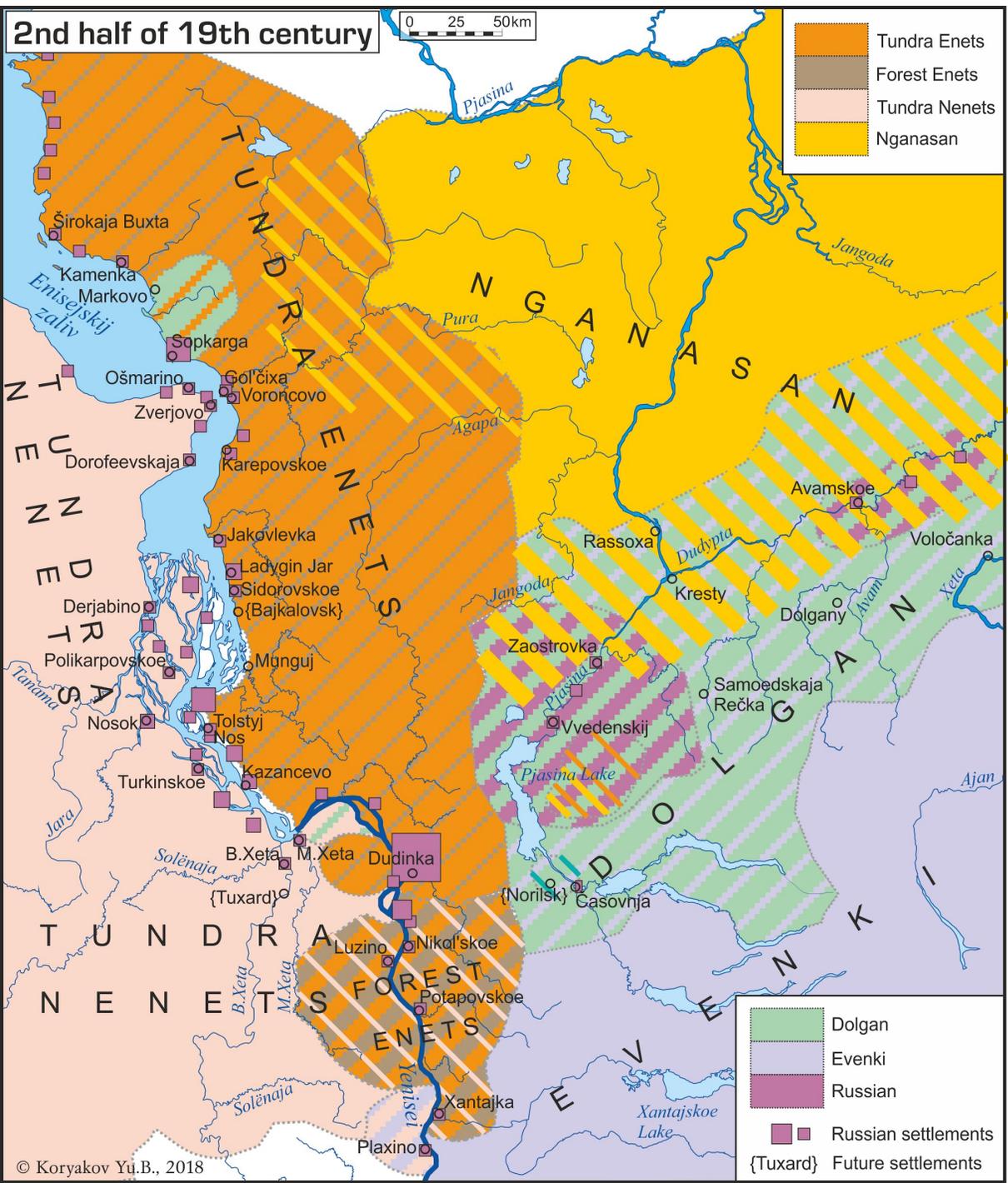


# SPATIAL ORIENTATION BY THE ENETS

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# 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



# 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
<b>Total</b>	32.2	441	ca. 39 000	ca. 200 000	50	

# CASE STUDY 1: TUNDRA

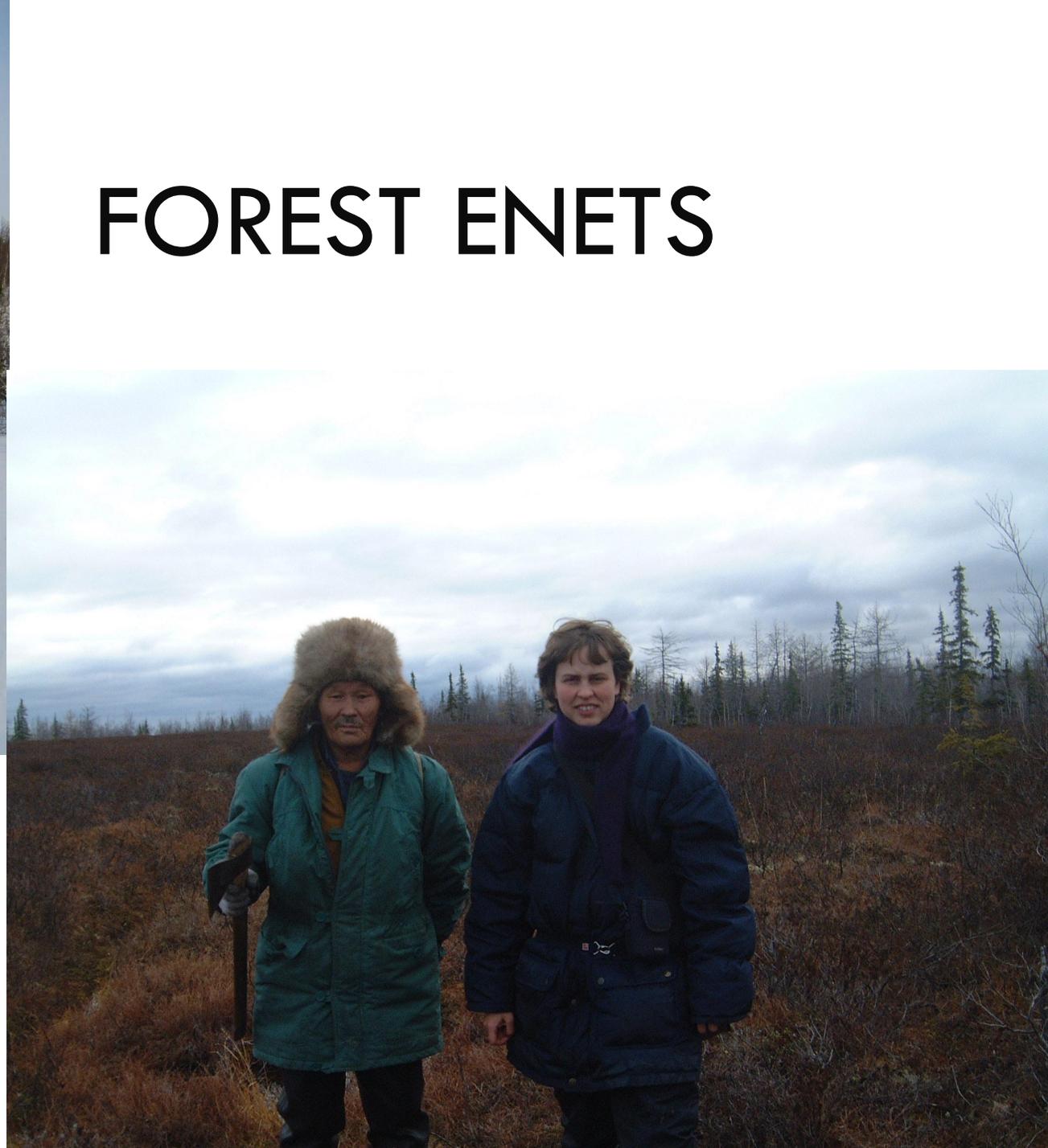
FE baduʔ, bɔduʔ

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, dudinka-xazo

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

vertalɔt-xɔne tɔ-ɔbi-aʔ

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

- 10 previous generation, 28 NNB interviewing them
- so even though there is a clear preference for *baduʔ, bɔduʔ* in the previous generation (80:10), they also use *kɔj*, unlike the modern generation

○ 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 landscape photograph showing a wide, calm lake in the middle ground. The foreground is filled with dense, dark brush and some dry, brownish vegetation. The background features a low, dark ridge of land or hills under a heavy, overcast sky with grey and blue tones. The overall mood is somber and quiet.

# 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

ani tɔda-d-e-zʔ ɔnɛj dia niʔ  
and climb(pfv)-FUT-M-3SG.M Enetsplace 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 **ka?-e-j?** man-? ni-u?

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 ediju ke

shallow lake opposite side

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

ubu-xon **toda-f** tara-? ni-u? ezdu-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, pu 'stone' / pu-ʔ 'stone-PL'
- the forest = the tree line

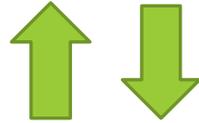


# ALL SPATIAL ANCHORS IN ONE VERTICAL DIMENSION

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

# ALL SPATIAL ANCHORS IN ONE VERTICAL DIMENSION

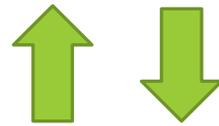
As one goes away from the Yenisei, one reaches trees = tundra.



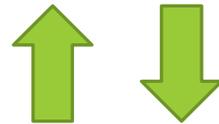
At the Yenisei, there are no trees, no tundra.

# ALL SPATIAL ANCHORS IN ONE VERTICAL DIMENSION

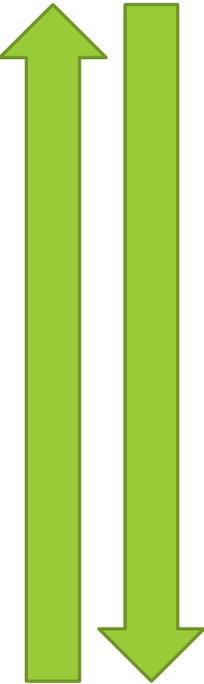
If the movement away from the Yenisei is continued, one reaches the mountains.



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

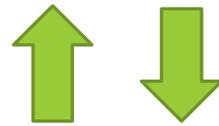


At the Yenisei, there are no trees, no tundra.



# 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 ni-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            niɔxuru-da-zapɛ    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            diadokoon  
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-di **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, dia **tɕse-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 **tɕse** ubu-xon ɲa-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 tʰne-ʔ, i **tʰse-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

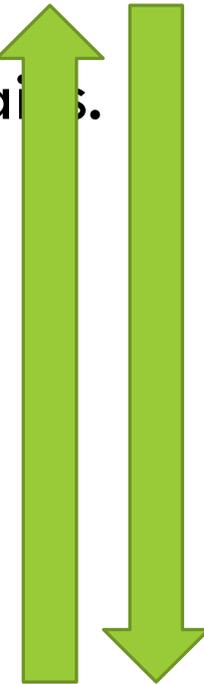
If the movement away from the Yenisei is continued, one reaches the mountains.



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

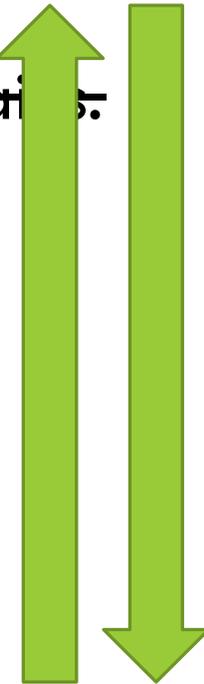
~~If the movement away from the Yenisei is continued, one reaches the mountains.~~



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



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

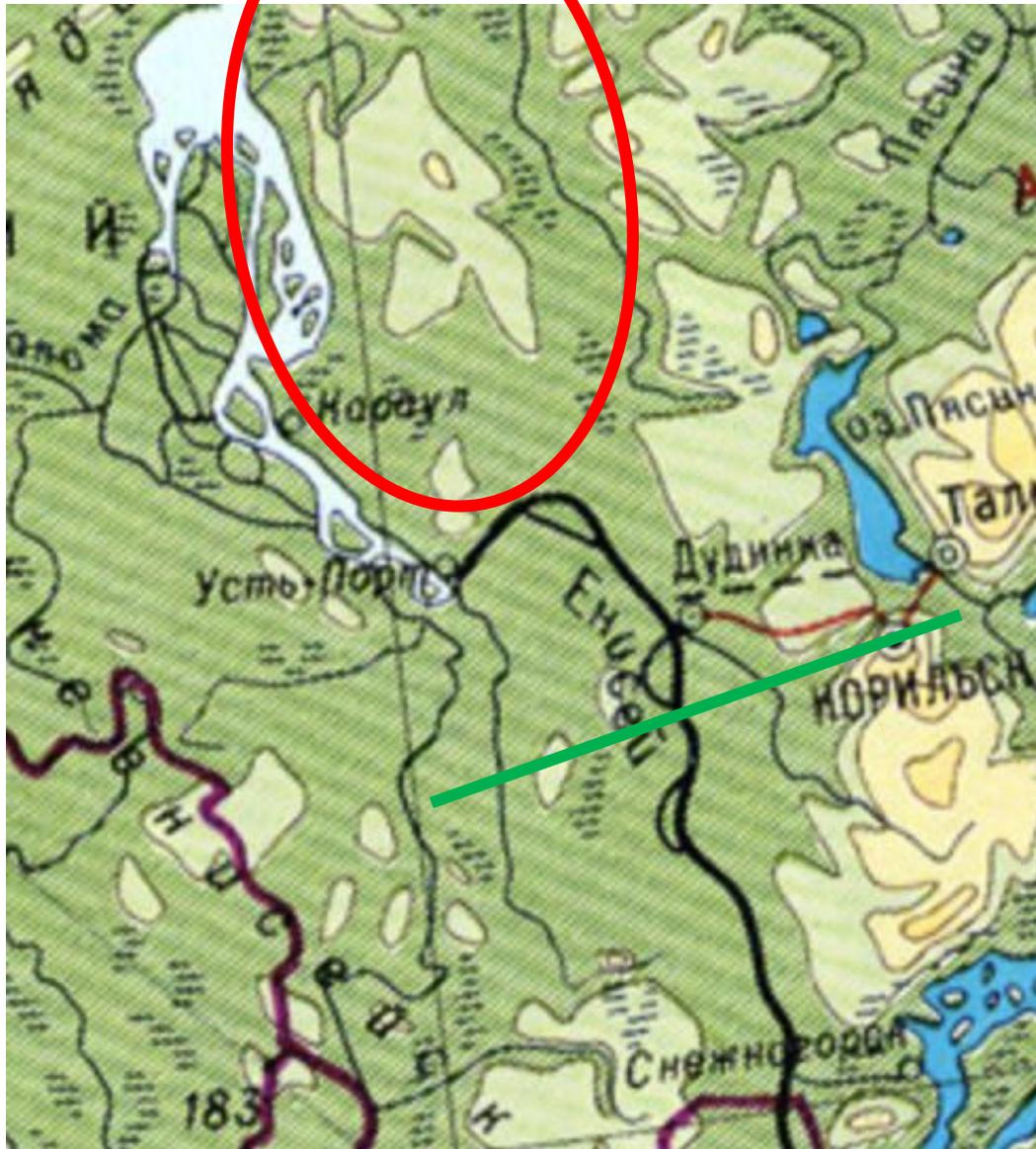


# TE EXAMPLE

PLP810508PLP\_017

djedofio-do **kaʔa-bu-xoa-naʔ** ... djedofio-do djieuʔ texoʔ  
Yenisey-DAT.SG **come\_down(pfv)-CVB.COND-FOC-OBL.SG.1PL** Yenisey-DAT.SG west? over  
mota-obi-aʔ sira noʔʔ  
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

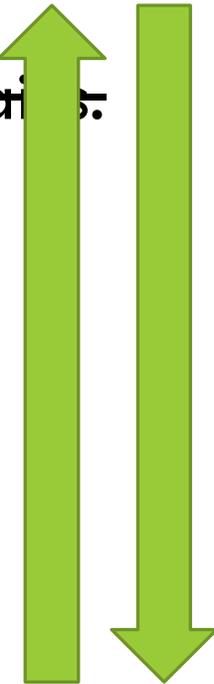
If the movement away from the Yenisei is continued, ~~one reaches the mountains.~~



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

teapɔne-dje **eko-xozo, eko-xozo teʔinaa** sira nɔɔ? ire-bune-na?

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-a?

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

(Helinski, 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 : 

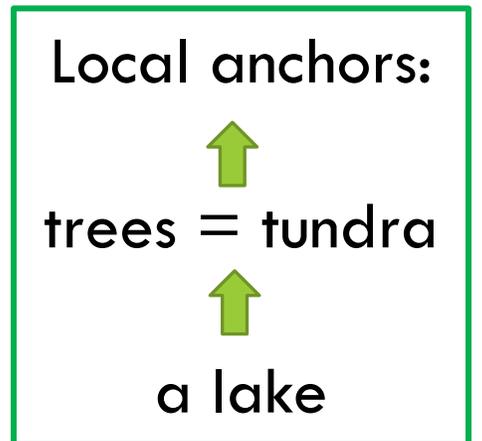
- (1) Yenisei -> shore/village -> FE trees = tundra -> FE mountains
- (2) Yenisei -> shore/village -> TE hills = tundra
- (3) FE: Downward the Yenisei river to the sea
- (3) TE: Upward the Yenisei river to the trees

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).



# FURTHER RESEARCH

- across the Yenisei, further onto the other shore?
- movement to the other world?
- Tundra Nenets system of spatial orientation: local vs. wider?