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Ago Künnap

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## 0. FOREWORD

In writing this book Natalal'ja Tereščenko's two publications have been used as the main sources (in phonology and morphology - 1966, in syntax - 1972). The main resources were Grigorij Prokof'ev's work (1937) and a book by Tibor Mikola (1995).

### 0.1. Some general remarks about Enets

Enets is one of the Samoyed languages, fairly little investigated but of a considerable interest from the point of view of historical linguistics. The native speakers of Enets live in Siberia, on the eastern bank of the Yenisey River, close to the estuary of the river.

The written records about Enets were first fixed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Now there are about 200 Enetses, from them nearly 100 can yet speak Enets. All the Enetses can speak Russian and/or Nenets, partly also Nganasan. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the number of the Enets population was supposed to have exceeded 3,000. The Enetses have never had their own written language or school instruction in their mother tongue.

From all the other Samoyed languages, Nenets and Nganasan are the closest to Enets. Enets has received most of the outside influence from Nenets, more recently from Russian. Enets has two dialects: Forest (or Bai) and Tundra (or Maddu). The dialects primarily differ phonetically and lexically, partly also morphologically. The present outline has been compiled on the basis of the Forest dialect. Although there is a fairly good survey about the grammar of Enets, very few longer texts have been recorded. Enets is typologically a rather common Uralic language. Agglutination predominates over flection, syntethical features over analytical ones.

The parts of speech in Enets are nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions, interjections and connective particles. The grammatical gender is lacking. The category of case is primarily expressed by means of suffixes, there are seven cases. The nouns are used with possessive suffixes. There are also subject and object conjugations with differences in personal suffixes. The nouns may also be conjugated (nominal conjugation). The Enets moods are indicative, conjunctive, imperative, optative, quotative and interrogative. The tenses can be expressed by a common verbal aspect but in the preterite and future tenses separate suffixes can also be used.

The separate orientation can be expressed by a tri-nominal distribution of local cases: to where?, where?, from where? In case of verbal negation a separate negative auxiliary is used. The verbal forms can indicate the subject person and, in addition to its number, also the number of the object. Enets has no compound sentences: instead

of a subordinate clause gerund, participle and infinitive constructions are used. An attribute precedes its main word.

In Enets there are numerous loan words from Nenets, particularly concerning reindeer rearing, Nganasan loans in connection with reindeer hunting and Russian loans related to more contemporary spheres of activity.

This outline is the first extensive modern survey about Enets.

### 0.2. Enets dialects

Enets has two dialects: Forest (or Bai) and Tundra (or Maddu). This outline is based on the Forest dialect as a predominating one.

The two dialects excel by their phonological, morphological and lexical differences (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DIALECTS

Forest	Tundra
Phonology	
<i>judado</i> 'pike'	<i>judaro</i> id.
<i>kada?a</i> 'grandmother'	<i>kara?a</i> id.
<i>sira</i> 'snow'	<i>silra</i> id.
Morphology	
<i>koddo-j?</i> 'my sledge'	<i>koddo-bo</i> id. (Px1Sg)
Lexis	
<i>abbua</i> 'what?'	<i>mi?</i> id.
<i>ū</i> 'you'	<i>tod'i</i> id.
<i>bu</i> '(s)he'	<i>nītoda</i> id.

### 0.3. Some general remarks about Samoyed peoples and languages

The affinity between Samoyed and Finno-Ugric languages is considered as proved today. The Samoyed family of languages and the Finno-Ugric family of languages together form the Uralic phylum.

Today there are four Samoyed peoples: Nenetses, Enetses, Nganasans and Selkups. In earlier writings Nenetses are referred to as Yuraks or Yurak-Samoyeds, Enetses as Yenisey-Samoyeds, Nganasans as Tavgis or Tavgi-Samoyeds, and Selkups as Ostyak-Samoyeds. Those earlier names are frequently used also today.

There are only about 40,000 of the Samoyed people but they live scattered over a vast area reaching from the eastern coast of the White Sea to the western coast of the Laptev's Sea, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Ket, the tributary of the Ob River. Thus, they can be found living both in Europe and Asia, both to this and that side of the Polar Circle, their dwelling-area embracing tundras, forest tundras, marshes and forests.

Samoyeds may have been mentioned in Chinese historical documents written before our era, but quite distinctly were not referred to before 1096, in the Kiev Chronicle. During the 12th century European Samoyeds were probably subjected to Russia. In the 14th century the conquest of the areas beyond the Ob River began, and in the 17th century all the Samoyeds were subjected to Russia. They paid to Russians certain taxes called "yassak" in kind, in furs. From now on new reports concerning Samoyeds become more frequent. During the 17th century several West-European travellers happened to go to the areas populated by Samoyeds, and they take short records of the language. In the early 18th century Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg was travelling in Siberia. He was the first to bring out the affinity of the Samoyed and the Finno-Ugric languages in literature. The material collected consists largely of word lists. Most of the recorders were no professional linguists. Huge work was done by the great Finnish linguist Matias Aleksanteri Castrén who lived among Samoyeds in 1842–1844 and 1845–1849. He collected the vocabulary, texts and grammatical data from the Nenets, Enets, Nganasan, Selkup and Kamass languages. The material collected and partly worked through by him remains the corner stone of Samoyed linguistics up to our days. Most of that material has been published (Castrén 1854; 1855).

In 1911 the Finno-Ugric Society in Helsinki sent two Finnish scientists, namely Toivo Lehtisalo and Kai Donner, to Siberia to carry on the work begun by Castrén. Most resultatively the former collects the materials on the Nenets, the latter mainly on the Selkup and Kamass languages. In the years of Soviet power, collection work has been much furthered by G. N. Prokof'ev, N. M. Tereščenko, etc.

The speakers of Uralic languages are now dispersed on a vast territory which extends from Hungary to the Baltic Sea in the west, to the Taimyr Peninsula in the east and the Arctic Ocean in the north and up to the middle course of the Danube, the Volga and the Irtysh in the south. Hence, since the time of the discovery of common features in Uralic languages, the problem how to explain their occurrence on such a vast area has remained. It was considered that the common features originated from a certain narrower area and in the course of time began to spread farther and farther apart.

In addition to this Uralic languages were observed to have quite a number of common features with so-called Altaic, i.e. Turkic, Tungusic-Manchu and Mongolian languages, spoken basically in Asia. It was supposed, therefore, that the narrower area of origin of Uralic common features was near there. Based on the interpretation of the data of linguistics, archaeology and other adjacent sciences, a conception was forwarded mainly on the initiative of linguists according to which the Uralic (i.e. Finno-Ugric and Samoyed) ancient home was situated somewhere in the east, on the Volga or around the southern Urals inhabited by ancient Uralic people. They spoke the Proto-Uralic language, enjoyed the Proto-Uralic culture and, possibly, were also of a Proto-Uralic race. After that the emigration started, mainly westward, from their ancient home. Gradually, during thousands of years, the descendants of these ancient

Uralic peoples of the east shifted more and more westwards until they reached the vicinity of the Baltic Sea.

But today it is not the only conceivable explanation, rather incredible altogether. Based on more recent points of view of a number of scientists it is possible to suppose that the spread of man in Europe began at the latest some 50,000 years ago from somewhere in the Middle East and over the Balkans and, as the first wave, the predecessors of Uralic peoples moved in the direction of the north, inhabiting an extensive area from about England to the Uralic Mountains. In the wake of the icecap (beginning some 15,000 years before) they shifted more and more northwards, arriving at last at the coast of the Arctic Ocean. Later, under the pressure by Indo-European languages, the southern boundaries of the area where Uralic languages were spoken, continually shifted northwards. (See also Künnap 1998.)

In accordance with a widely spread idea the languages of various Uralic tribes began to differentiate as much as the distance between them increased both in space and time. The reason was believed to be the fact that languages were changing, and with the loss of internal contacts their mutual synchronization did not take place any longer. Such a process, naturally, was effected.

However, modern linguistics holds the view that the main reason of the language change consists in the influence of other languages. Uralistics is used to pay the main attention to a detailed clarification of mutual common features. The contacts with non-Uralic languages have been first of all considered in the framework of loan words and sound changes accompanying the former. The fact that Uralic languages have intermingled, in particular, with their neighbouring languages (whatever language families they belong to), has been largely ignored. Naturally, the intermingling of languages is subjected to its own rules and limits; mechanical intermingling languages, e.g. fifty-fifty, cannot be the point.

The mixability of Uralic languages is indirectly characterized by the fact that several researchers tend to consider as genuine only these Finno-Ugric languages that are situated in the central part of the Uralic language area, that is, the Volgaic and Permic languages. The westward languages, Finnic and Sami, are regarded as a transition area to various Indo-European languages, Ugric and Samoyed as a transition area to various Siberian languages (Paleo-Siberian, Turkic et al.). Being an investigator of Samoyed languages myself, I have often come across such language unions (Sprachbund), leading into the faraway Siberia, the equivalents of which are few, obscure or lacking altogether in more westward Finno-Ugric languages. (See Künnap 1998.) In accordance with the theory of the Uralic language tree (Sprachbaum), the language phenomena, peculiar to the easternmost Uralic language area (and having Siberian non-Uralic language equivalents), have been regarded as typical of Proto-Uralic, supposing that in the course of time these phenomena have simply disappeared from the more westward languages.

János Pusztay, in particular, has successfully revealed common features between Uralic and Paleo-Siberian languages (Pusztay 1995). Paleo-Siberian languages form a common name for the following Siberian groups of languages, obviously not genetically related among themselves: Yenisey (Ket [extinct Ket, Arin and Assan]), Yukaghir (Yukaghir [extinct Ust-Yarsk Yukaghir, Chuvan and Omoc]), Eskimo-Aleut (Eskimo and Aleut), Chukotic-Kamchatkan (Chukchi, Koryak, Kerek, Alyutor and Itelmen) as well as Gilyak.

Pusztay supposes that in Northern Eurasia the traditionally reconstructed primal languages were preceded by an arctic Eurasian Sprachbund which laid the basis for a typological similarity of the languages there. On the area mentioned Pusztay makes a difference between several groups in morphology and syntax: languages with subjective and objective conjugation (Mordvin, Ugric, Samoyed, Paleo-Siberian); languages with predicative inflection of the noun (Mordvin, Samoyed, all Siberian non-Uralic languages); languages with the sentence object expressed by locative cases (Mordvin, Hungarian, seldom Samoyed); languages with unmarked preterite (Samoyed in part, the majority of Siberian non-Uralic languages). From among Uralic languages the partaking of Samoyed languages in these groups is striking.

We could repeat Pusztay's question whether Siberia was not a smelting furnace for languages (Pusztay 1988). Pusztay shows that the presumptive Proto-Uralic must have been a product of melting where at least two linguistic layers were represented. On the one hand, there is the Siberian layer, characterized by the occurrence of the dual, the discrimination of determinative and indeterminative conjugation, the conjugation of nouns, etc. On the other hand, there is the layer where these features were lacking. Pusztay suggests that (Ob-)Ugric and Samoyed are, strictly speaking, just a connecting link between genuine Finno-Ugric languages and eastward Siberian languages. (Pusztay 1995.)

In case of the mixed origin of languages we need not necessarily speak about the loss of earlier common features of the so-called related languages but rather about the possibility that the respective common feature never even appeared in the given language. If a language has been combined from a number of elements of preceding languages we could claim that some elements of some preceding languages never reached that particular one. We could interpret the situation so that these elements disappeared on their way to the given language, never reaching it. Another question is how deeply we can believe in the traditional Uralic language tree today. (See also Künnap 1998.)

## 1. GRAMMAR

### 1.1. Phonology

In this book the s.-c. Finno-Ugric transcription (FUT) is used which is not too different from the IPA.

#### 1.1.1. Vowel phonemes

There are 8 vowel phonemes in Enets (see Table 2).

TABLE 2: VOWEL SYSTEM

	Front		Middle		Back	
	Non-labial	Labialized	Non-labial	Labialized	Non-labial	Labialized
High	<i>i</i>		<i>ɨ</i>			<i>u</i>
Middle	<i>e</i>		<i>ɛ</i>			<i>o</i>
Low					<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>

#### 1.1.2. Consonant phonemes

There are 25 consonant phonemes in Enets (see Table 3).

TABLE 3: CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

	Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Laryngal
Stops	<i>p, b</i>	<i>t, d</i>	<i>t', d'</i>	<i>k, g</i>	ʔ
Affricates		<i>č</i>	<i>č̣</i>		
Fricatives		<i>s, š, δ</i>	<i>ś, ṣ̌</i>	<i>h</i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ń</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals		<i>l</i>			
Trills		<i>r</i>			
Glides	<i>w</i>		<i>j</i>		

### 1.1.3. Stress

The type of stress is quantitative: stressed vowels are pronounced relatively longer. (The tones are not specially studied but if they occur, they are observed not to form phonologically significant tonal oppositions.) Based on available data, the stress is not, as a rule, used as a feature for distinguishing the meaning. In a word the stress usually falls on the first vowel. The main (primary) stress, falling usually on the first syllable, is accompanied by an adjacent (secondary) stress which falls on the third and fifth syllables. E.g. *u·daʔ* 'you (Pl)', *li·bbe* 'eagle' : Loc *li·bbeho:n*. Sometimes the stress distinguishes the meaning, e.g. *mo·di* 'I' - *modi·* 'shoulder'. (Here the main stress is marked by · and the adjacent stress by :.)

### 1.1.4. Quantity

A stressed vowel is pronounced relatively longer but the quantitative duration is not, as a rule, a feature for distinguishing the meaning. But there are exceptions from this rule, e.g. *toś* 'to come' - *tōś* 'to arrive', *nara* 'spring' - *narā* 'copper'. (Long vowels are marked by a dash in this book.)

### 1.1.5. Vowel harmony

A one-time possibly existing vowel harmony has practically disappeared by now.

### 1.1.6. Phonological rules

In a number of cases the phonemes have allophones.

In the middle of a word and at its end, in particular, there is a partial or complete vowel reduction, but due to the non-phonological character of the phenomenon it remains unmarked in this book.

Before front vowels *i* and *e* consonants are always palatalised to some extent, but it is not phonologically distinctive and therefore remains unmarked in this book.

There are numerous cases of morphological distribution of vowel and consonant phonemes, e.g.

*a/u* *lata* 'a board' : *latunaʔ* 'our boards'

*a/o* *matā* 'I cut off (a thing)' : *motin* 'I cut off (something much, many)'

*a/i* *kasa* 'comrade' : *kasinaʔ* 'our comrades'

*o/e* *neroś* 'to stand up' : *nerejʔ* 'I stood up'

*o/u* *ličo* 'a cradle' : *ličunaʔ* 'our cradles'

ʔ/δ *meʔ* 'tent' : *međonaʔ* 'our tents'

ʔ/n *naʔ* 'mouth' : *nanonaʔ* 'our mouths'

ʔ/r *keđeʔ* 'wild reindeer' : *keđeronaʔ* 'our many wild reindeer'

(In the book the letter V designates several different vowels in the suffixes.)

## 1.2. Morphology

### 1.2.1. Some general remarks

The parts of speech are: noun, adjective, numeral, pronoun, verb, adverb, postposition, conjunction, interjection and connective particles.

The grammatical number is expressed by means of the opposition of the singular, dual and plural forms.

The meaning of the cases is expressed by means of suffixes added to nouns, adjectives, pronouns and substantivized verbs, in their fixed forms they belong also to adverbs and postpositions. There are three declensions: the main (non-possessive), possessive and desiderative ones. There are seven cases: nominative, genitive, accusative, lative, locative, ablative and prolativ (in the desiderative declension only three: nominative, accusative and desiderative). The possession is expressed by means of the genitive case or possessive suffixes which are there for all three persons of all three numbers.

Local orientation is based on the three-member distribution: the suffixes of local cases of nouns, adverbs and postpositions are divided among the lative (to where?), locative (where?) and ablative (from where?). An additional fourth local characteristic is expressed by the prolativ case (along what?, through what?).

The verbal negation is expressed by means of the combination of the main verb with a preceding particular auxiliary negative verb: the auxiliary verb is conjugated according to general rules but the main verb is in a special unconjugated negative form. There are also some verbs of absence - non-possessiveness.

Six moods are contrasted: indicative, conjunctive, imperative, optative (which compensates for the lack of the 1st person of the imperative), quotative and interrogative. There are three tenses: aorist, preterite and future. Tense forms are contrasted practically only in the indicative mood.

The category of person with nouns is expressed by means of possessive suffixes, differing in all three numbers of all three persons and used in nouns, pronouns, substantivized verb, adverbs and postpositions. The category of person with verbs is expressed by means of particular personal suffixes of the verb, differing in all three numbers of all three persons.

There are three conjugations: subjective, objective and reflexive. These conjugations differ from each other by personal suffixes. In addition to this the objective conjugation uses numerical suffixes, referring to all three numbers of the object. In the case of the reflexive conjugation the person of the subject and object is the same and a separate suffix indicates reflexivity.

### 1.2.2. Noun

Depending on the final sounds of the word stem, nouns can be divided into two groups: 1. with a final sound other than a laryngeal plosive stop, e.g. *d'uda* 'horse'; 2. with a final laryngeal plosive stop, e.g. *tau?* 'Nganasan'. Either group uses variants of suffixes with a different initial sound, e.g. Loc *d'uda-han*, *tau-kon*.

#### 1.2.2.1. Main declension

The case suffixes are combined with numeral markers (which could have merged into one another), often in a fairly complex manner (see Table 4).

TABLE 4: CASE ENDINGS COMBINED WITH NUMERAL MARKERS

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	-	-?
Genitive	-?	-?
Accusative	-	-?
Lative	- <i>dl-t</i>	- <i>hiδ/-giδ/-kiδ</i>
Locative	- <i>hVn/-gon/-kon</i>	- <i>hin/-gin/-kin</i>
Ablative	- <i>hVδ/-giδ/-kiδ</i>	- <i>hit/-git/-kit</i>
Prolative	- <i>on/-mon</i>	- <i>in/-on</i>



The dual case forms have been produced on the basis of an uninflected dual form with the suffix *-hiʔ/-giʔ/-kiʔ* by adding respective singular case endings of some postpositions (mainly *nə-*) in local cases, e.g. DuNom-Gen-Acc *d'ogo-hiʔ* 'two traps' : DuLat *d'ogo-hiʔ nə-ʔ* 'to two traps' : DuLoc *d'ogo-hiʔ nə-n* 'at two traps' : DuAbl *d'ogo-hiʔ nə-δ* 'from two traps' : DuProl *d'ogo-hiʔ nə-on* 'alongside two traps'.

Along with the formation of the plural nominative the shift in the word stress usually occurs, e.g. *d'o-tu* 'goose' : PINom *d'otu-ʔ*, *mo-ga* 'forest' : PINom *moga-ʔ*.

In forming the plural genitive and accusative the rise of the stem vowel can be observed, e.g. *d'aha-ʔ aggaʔ* 'rivers are big' : *d'ahu-ʔ gajʔ kudaha* 'the estuaries of the rivers are far', *biomo-ʔ* 'superiors' : *biomi-ʔ wadaʔ* 'the superiors's words'.

The accusative, substantially, has no separate case ending: the definite object is in the nominative (see (1)a, (2)a), the indefinite object - in the genitive (see (1)b, (2)b).

(1) a *meʔ kaarabo*  
tent-Nom strike-Aor1Sg  
'I struck the tent.'

b *meδo-ʔ kaaraδoʔ*  
tent-Gen to strike-Aor1Sg  
'I struck a tent.'

(2) a *d'aha-ʔ motəδa*  
river-PINom cross-Aor3Sg  
'He crossed the rivers.'

b *d'ahu-ʔ motuŋa*  
river-PIGen cross-Aor3Sg  
'He crossed rivers.'

Substantially, the eighth case is a translative with the suffix *-Vδʔ*, one of whose several additional meanings is the essive, e.g. *esə-əsʔ* 'being father (as father)', *tu ibl'ajgu-uš kani* 'the fire became **small**'.

#### 1.2.2.2. Possessive declension

Different possessive suffixes are used with different numbers and cases. Both the singular and the dual and plural have their own possessive suffixes. In the singular

there are possessive suffixes for the nominative, genitive and accusative. In the dual and plural there are possessive suffixes for the nominative-accusative and genitive. (See Table 5.) In all three numbers local cases use possessive suffixes of the genitive, whereas in the lative they are combined not with the common lative ending *-dl-t*, but with the separative co-affix *-hV-/-go-/-ko-* (see (5)).

TABLE 5: POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Singular				
Nominative	1P	<i>-bʔ, -j</i>	<i>-biʔ, -jʔ</i>	<i>-baʔ, -aʔ</i>
	2P	<i>-r</i>	<i>-riʔ</i>	<i>-raʔ</i>
	3P	<i>-δa</i>	<i>-δiʔ</i>	<i>-δuʔ</i>
Genitive	1P	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-niʔ</i>	<i>-naʔ</i>
	2P	<i>-d</i>	<i>-diʔ</i>	<i>-daʔ</i>
	3P	<i>-da</i>	<i>-diʔ</i>	<i>-duʔ</i>
Accusative	1P	<i>-bʔ, -j</i>	<i>-bʔʔ, -jʔʔ</i>	<i>-baʔʔ, -aʔʔ</i>
	2P	<i>-d</i>	<i>-diʔ</i>	<i>-daʔ</i>
	3P	<i>-da</i>	<i>-diʔ</i>	<i>-duʔ</i>
Dual and plural				
Nominative-accusative	1P	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-niʔ</i>	<i>-naʔ</i>
	2P	<i>-δ</i>	<i>-δiʔ</i>	<i>-δaʔ</i>
	3P	<i>-δa</i>	<i>-δiʔ</i>	<i>-δuʔ</i>
Genitive	1P	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-niʔ</i>	<i>-naʔ</i>
	2P	<i>-t</i>	<i>-tiʔ</i>	<i>-taʔ</i>
	3P	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-tiʔ</i>	<i>-tuʔ</i>

In the nouns with the final sounds *a*, *o* and *ʔ* of the stem, the rise of the final vowel can be observed in the nominative, genitive and accusative of the plural, e.g. *loba* 'ski' : *lobi-naʔ* 'our skis', *kasa* 'man' : *kasi-naʔ* 'our men', *d'ogó* 'trap' : *d'ogu-naʔ* 'our traps', *buʔ* 'dog' : *buno-naʔ* 'our dogs', *biʔ* 'water' : *biδó-naʔ* 'our waters'. (Examples see (3)-(5).)

In the same forms of a number of terms denoting family connections, there is an element *-ni-/di-* between the stem and the possessive suffix, e.g. *ē-ni-na?*/*ē-di-na?* 'our mothers', *kaḏa-ni-na?* 'our grandmothers'.

Examples of use:

- (3) *ē-b'                      teḏa?    toḏa*  
 mother-NomPx1Sg now    come-Fut3Sg  
 'My mother will come now.'
- (4) *abaa-ń                      page    serdaḏ?*  
 sister-GenPx1Sg coat    put on-Fut1Sg  
 'I will put on my sister's coat.'
- (5) *me-ko-da?    okka    eńčo                      čua?*  
 tent-LatPx1Pl many people-Acc enter-Aor3Pl  
 'Many people entered our tent.'

### 1.2.2.3. Desiderative declension

This declension expresses something assigned to someone or something and has only three forms - the nominative, genitive and desiderative. The marker of the declension is the *-ḏV-/dV-/tV*, preceding possessive suffixes. (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6: DESIDERATIVE DECLENSION PARADIGM

Nominative	
1Sg	<i>te-ḏo-j (te-ḏo-b') toa</i> 'Reindeer for me came.'
2Sg	<i>te-ḏo-r toa</i> 'Reindeer for you came.'
3Sg	<i>te-ḏo-ḏa toa</i> 'Reindeer for her/him came.'
1Du	<i>te-ḏo-j? (te-ḏo-b') toa</i> 'Reindeer for the two of us came.'
2Du	<i>te-ḏo-ri? toa</i> 'Reindeer for the two of you came.'
3Du	<i>te-ḏo-ḏi? toa</i> 'Reindeer for the two of them came.'

- 1Pl *te-ḏo-? (te-ḏo-ba?) toa* 'Reindeer for us came.'
- 2Pl *te-ḏo-ra? toa* 'Reindeer for you came.'
- 3Pl *te-ḏo-ḏu?* 'Reindeer for them came.'

### Accusative

- 1Sg *te-ḏo-j tīdīaḏ?* 'Reindeer for myself I bought.'
- 2Sg *te-ḏo-d tīdīad* 'Reindeer for yourself you bought.'
- 3Sg *te-ḏo-da tīdīa* 'Reindeer for her/himself s/he bought.'
- 1Du *te-ḏo-j? tīdīaj* 'Reindeer the two of us for ourselves bought.'
- 2Du *te-ḏo-di? tīdīari* 'Reindeer the two of you for yourselves bought.'
- 3Du *te-ḏo-di? tīdīahi?* 'Reindeer the two of them for themselves bought.'
- 1Pl *te-ḏo-? tīdīā?* 'Reindeer we for ourselves bought.'
- 2Pl *te-ḏo-da? tīdīara?* 'Reindeer you for yourselves bought.'
- 3Pl *te-ḏo-du? tīdīa?* 'Reindeer they for themselves bought.'

### Desiderative

- 1Sg *te-ḏo-ń bunek pońḡaḏ?* 'As a reindeer for myself I keep a dog.'
- 2Sg *te-ḏo-d bunek pońḡad* 'As a reindeer for yourself you keep a dog.'
- 3Sg *te-ḏo-da bunek pońḡa* 'As a reindeer for her/himself s/he keeps a dog.'
- 1Du *te-ḏo-ń bunek pońḡaj?* 'As a reindeer for ourselves the two of us keep a dog.'
- 2Du *te-ḏo-di? bunek pońḡari?* 'As a reindeer for yourselves the two of you keep a dog.'
- 3Du *te-ḏo-di? bunek pońḡahi?* 'As a reindeer for themselves the two of them keep a dog.'
- 1Pl *te-ḏo-na? bunek pońḡā?* 'As a reindeer for ourselves we keep a dog.'
- 2Pl *te-ḏo-da? bunek pońḡa?* 'As a reindeer for yourselves you keep a dog.'
- 3Pl *te-ḏo-du? bunek pońḡa?* 'As a reindeer for themselves they keep a dog.'

### 1.2.3. Adjective

#### 1.2.3.1. Some general remarks

There are a number of adjectives that have no specific suffixes, e.g. *utik* 'bad', *sojđa* 'good', *lodo* 'low', *piđe* 'high'.

Alongside of these there are various suffixal adjectives, e.g. *buse-saj ne* 'a married woman' (*buse* 'old man'), *bite-đa* 'waterless' (*bi*? 'water'), *uđa-šiđa* 'handless', *móga-he* 'belonging to the forest' (*móga* 'forest'), *same-raha* 'wolf-like', *narđe-de* 'red' (participle from *narđe-d* 'to be red'), *polđe-de* 'black' (participle from *polđe-d* 'to be black').

An adjective does not agree with the following main word either in number or case, e.g. *agga koja* 'big sterlet' : locative *agga koja-hone* : plural ablative *agga koja-hit*. As an exception, we can refer to the use of the adjective instead of an elliptical noun and as a predicate in the nominal conjugation.

With the aim of strengthening a possessive connection, sometimes a respective possessive suffix may be added to the main word of an attribute, e.g. *keđer? koba-đa ηul?* *miju?* 'the wild reindeer skin is very strong' ("**its-skin of-the-wild-reindeer** ...").

#### 1.2.3.2. Comparison

The comparative degree is formed by means of an adjective in the positive degree (in the nominative form), the word to be compared - in the ablative form, e.g.

(6) a *mod' kasaj*            *abaa-hađon' d'uđe*

I-Gen comrade-Px1Sg older sister-AblPx1Sg young-Nom

'My comrade is younger than my older sister' ("... from-my-older-sister young").

b *nihoj*            *no-đod bođa*

strength-Px1Sg you-Abl more than enough

'I have more strength than you' ("My-strength from-you more-than-enough").

c *diđer*            *diđe-hođna? pađija?*

kettle-Px2Sg kettle-AblPx1Pl full

'Your kettle is more full than our kettle' ("Your-kettle of-our-kettle full").

### 1.2.4. Numeral

#### 1.2.4.1. Cardinals

1. *ηō?*

2. *siđe*

3. *nehu?*

4. *teto*

5. *sobboreggo*

6. *mottu?*

7. *se?o*

8. *sidi?eto*

9. *nēsā*

10. *biw?*

11. *ηo? bodade*

12. *side bodade*

13. *nehu? bodade*

14. *teto bodade*

20. *sidiu?*

21. *sidiu? ηō?*

30. *nehibi?*

40. *tetuj?*

50. *sobboregguj?*

60. *motuj?*

70. *se?uj?*

80. *siđetuj?*

90. *nēsau?*

100. *ju?*

The numerals do not agree in the attributive function with their main word on no account, e.g. *met siđe tea toa* 'two reindeer came up to the tent', *side kateeda ēda koddod podarahuđa, nehuda kerta koddohoda podariđa* 'two reindeer oxen harnessed he to his mother's sledge, two harnessed to his own sledge' ("**two reindeer-ox** ..."), *odi sobreg si? katee noa* 'the young man caught five draught reindeer oxen' ("... **five** ... reindeer-ox"), *mottu? seđor kađa* 'six polar foxes slew he' ("**six polar-fox** ..."). (An exception see 1.3.3.)

### 1.2.4.2. Ordinals

As a rule, the ordinals are formed from cardinals by means of the suffix *-de*.

1. *orðede*
2. *nekujde*
3. *nehode*
4. *tetode*
5. *sobode*
6. *motode*
7. *seʔode*
8. *siðetode*
9. *nesatode*
10. *biwde*
100. *dʻurde*

### 1.2.4.3. Other numerals

**C o l l e c t i v e** numerals are formed, combining a separate word, namely a form *eš* of the auxiliary verb 'to be', with cardinal numerals, e.g. *siðe eš* 'we two, the two of us', *mottuʔ eš* 'we six, the six of us'.

**D i s t r i b u t i v e** numerals are postpositional constructions of cardinals, combined with the postposition *loð*, e.g. *siðeʔ loð* 'by (in) twos', *biðʔ loð* 'by (in) tens'.

**I t e r a t i v e s** are the plural forms of cardinals, e.g. *ʔobuʔ* 'one time, once', *nehuroʔ* 'three times, thrice'.

**F r a c t i o n a l** numerals cardinals are combined with the word *boʔ* 'a half', e.g. *nehuʔ boʔ* 'one-third', *teto boʔ* 'one-fourth'.

The **t e m p o r a l s** are formed from cardinals by means of the suffix *-ʔ*, e.g. *orðedeʔ* 'the first time', *nekujdeʔ* 'the second time'.

### 1.2.5. Pronoun

#### 1.2.5.1. Personal pronouns

In declining personal pronouns two-member constructions are used, the second member of which is either an independent word stem *si-* or a postpositional stem *no-* (see Table 7). The first member may be lacking (see (10)).

TABLE 7: PARADIGM OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	<i>modi, modʻ</i> 'I'	<i>modiniʔ</i> 'we two'	<i>modinaʔ</i> 'we'
Genitive	<i>modʻ siñ</i>	<i>modiñʔ siðiñʔ</i>	<i>modinaʔ siðnaʔ</i>
Accusative	<i>modʻ siʔ</i>	<i>modiñʔ siðiñʔ</i>	<i>modinaʔ siðnaʔ</i>
Lative	<i>modʻ noñ</i>	<i>modiñʔ noñʔ</i>	<i>modinaʔ nonaʔ</i>
Locative	<i>modʻ noneñ</i>	<i>modiñʔ noneñʔ</i>	<i>modinaʔ nonnaʔ</i>
Ablative	<i>modʻ noðoñ</i>	<i>modiñʔ noðoñʔ</i>	<i>modinaʔ noðnaʔ</i>
Prolative	<i>modʻ nooneñ</i>	<i>modiñʔ nooneñʔ</i>	<i>modinaʔ nooneñaʔ</i>
Nominative	<i>ū</i> 'you'	<i>ūdiʔ</i> 'you two'	<i>ūdaʔ</i> 'you'
Genitive	<i>ū sit</i>	<i>ūdiʔ siðtiʔ</i>	<i>ūdaʔ siðtaʔ</i>
Accusative	<i>ū sit</i>	<i>ūdiʔ siððiʔ</i>	<i>ūdaʔ siððaʔ</i>
Lative	<i>ū nod</i>	<i>ūdiʔ nodiʔ</i>	<i>ūdaʔ nodaʔ</i>
Locative	<i>ū noneđ</i>	<i>ūdiʔ nondiʔ</i>	<i>ūdaʔ nondaʔ</i>
Ablative	<i>ū noðod</i>	<i>ūdiʔ noðdiʔ</i>	<i>ūdaʔ noðdaʔ</i>
Prolative	<i>ū nooneđ</i>	<i>ūdiʔ nooneđiʔ</i>	<i>ūdaʔ nooneđaʔ</i>
Nominative	<i>bu</i> 's/he'	<i>budiʔ</i> 'they two'	<i>buduʔ</i> 'they'
Genitive	<i>bu sita</i>	<i>budiʔ sitiʔ</i>	<i>buduʔ siðtuʔ</i>
Accusative	<i>bu sita</i>	<i>budiʔ siððiʔ</i>	<i>buduʔ siððuʔ</i>
Lative	<i>bu noda</i>	<i>budiʔ nodiʔ</i>	<i>buduʔ noduʔ</i>
Locative	<i>bu nonda</i>	<i>budiʔ nondiʔ</i>	<i>buduʔ nonduʔ</i>
Ablative	<i>bu noðda</i>	<i>budiʔ noðdiʔ</i>	<i>buduʔ noðduʔ</i>
Prolative	<i>bu nooneđa</i>	<i>budiʔ nooneđiʔ</i>	<i>buduʔ nooneđuʔ</i>

Examples of use:

(7) *ū kuhōδ tosad?*  
 you from where drive-Int2Sg  
 'Where did you drive from?'

(8) *ū komδor kunne?*  
 you house-Px2Sg where  
 'Where is your house?'

(9) *mod' kamδuj d'oho? barhon ηa*  
 I-Gen house-Px1Sg river-Gen bank-Loc be-Aor3Sg  
 'My house is on the bank of the river.'

(10) *četa? siδda? modiṭaδ?*  
 tomorrow you-PlAcc see-Fut1Sg  
 'I will see you tomorrow.'

### 1.2.5.2. Other pronouns

**R e f l e x i v e** pronouns are pairs of words whose first component consists of personal pronouns, the second is a separate word stem *ker-*, combined with respective possessive suffixes, e.g. *mod' kerin* 'I myself' : *ū kerit* 'you yourself' : *bu kerta* 's/he/her/himself' : *modin kerin* 'we two ourselves'.

**I n t e r r o g a t i v e** pronouns are *kurse* 'which?', *sēa* 'who?' (used only when concerning humans) and *obu* 'what?' (used when animals and lifeless objects are concerned).

By means of the suffix *-hōa* are formed **i n d e f i n i t e** pronouns *kursehōa* 'a kind of', *sēhōa* 'someone' ja *obuhōa* 'something'.

**N e g a t i v e** pronouns are formed from interrogatives by means of the suffix *-hōru*, e.g. *obuhōru* 'nothing'.

Examples of use:

(11) *obuhōru teḍaru neδ? mode?*  
 nothing so far not be-Aor1Sg see-Neg  
 'So far I see nothing.'

(12) *ūda? kerta? noδda? nodabuš*

you-Pl yourselves-Px2Pl PostAblPx2Pl hear-Prt1Sg  
 'I heard it from you yourselves.'

### 1.2.6. Verb

Depending on the final sounds of the word stem the verb can be distributed into two groups in principally the same manner as the noun and either group uses the variants of suffixes with different initial sounds (see 1.2.2).

Seven moods are contrasted : indicative, conjunctive, imperative, optative, quotative and interrogative. There are three tenses (practically only in the indicative mood): aorist, preterite and future. The verb has three conjugations: subjective, objective and reflexive. These conjugations differ from each other by personal suffixes. In addition to this the objective conjugation uses numerical suffixes, referring to all three numbers of the object. In the case of reflexive conjugation a separate suffix indicates reflexivity.

#### 1.2.6.1. Finite forms

The aorist is either unmarked or with the marker *-ηV-/-V-*. The temporal meaning of the aorist depends on the aspect of the verb: a prolonged and/or recurrent action should be understood as taking place in the present, a short-time and/or single action as having taken place in the past whereas the influence of the latter is still felt in the present. A distinctly past action is expressed by the preterite with the marker *-š/-š/-d'/-t'/-č*, whereas the marker is placed after personal suffixes. The future action is expressed by means of the future marker *-d/-dV-/-t/-tV-* before personal suffixes.

The objective conjugation uses one type of personal suffixes when the object is in the singular and another type of them with the object in the dual or plural. In the case of the dual object the dual marker *-hu-/-gu-/-ku-* precedes the dual personal suffixes of the second type and in the case of the plural object the rise of the stem vowel can be observed. The marker of the reflexive mood is *-i-* which is standing before personal suffixes.

In the following personal suffixes have been presented for all the tenses (for the preterite together with preterite marker) in all the moods besides the imperative (see Table 8).

TABLE 8: PERSONAL SUFFIXES

Subjective conjugation	Objective conjugation	Reflexive conjugation
	Singular	Dual and plural
	object	object

Aorist and future	1Sg	-δ?	-a, -b	-n	-j?, -b'?
	2Sg	-d	-r	-δ	-d'
	3Sg	-	-δα	-δα	-δ?
	1Du	-j?, -b'?	-j?, -b'?	-ñ?	-ñ?
	2Du	-ri?	-ri?	-δi?	-δi?
	3Du	-hi?	-δi?	-δi?	-hi?
	3Pl	-?	-δu?	-δu?	-δ?
Preterite	1Sg	-δòd'	-bòs'	-nos'	-nid', -bid'
	2Sg	-dòs'	-ròs'	-δòs'	-dis'
	3Sg	-s'	-δas'	-δas'	-δòd'
	1Du	-bid'	-bid'	-nid'	-nid'
	2Du	-rid'	-rid'	-δid'	-δid'
	3Du	-hid'	-δid'	-δid'	-hid'
	3Pl	-t'	-δòd'	-δòd'	-δòd'

The *imperative* has its own personal suffixes (see Table 9), a distinct mood marker is lacking.

TABLE 9: PERSONAL SUFFIXES OF IMPERATIVE

Subjective conjugation	Objective conjugation		Reflexive conjugation
	Singular object	Dual and plural object	

2Sg	-?	-d, -δ	-n?	-δ?
3Sg	-j, -b'	-da	-da	-d
2Du	-ri?	-ri?	-δi?	-δi?
3Du	-gi?	-di?	-di?	-gi?
2Pl	-ra?	-ra?	-δα?	-δα?
3Pl	-j?, -b'?	-du?	-du?	-d?

TABLE 10: EXAMPLES OF FINITE VERBAL PARADIGMS

INDICATIVE

SUBJECTIVE CONJUGATION

Aorist	Preterite	Future
<i>direδ?</i> 'I live.'	<i>direδod'</i> 'I lived.'	<i>direδαδ?</i> 'I will live.'
<i>dire</i> 'S/he lives.'	<i>direś</i> 'S/he lived.'	<i>direδα</i> 'S/he will live.'
<i>direā?</i> 'We live.'	<i>direbat'</i> 'We lived.'	<i>direδαa?</i> 'We will live.'
<i>pogunad</i> 'You are fishing.'	<i>pogunadòs'</i> 'You were fishing.'	<i>pogudad</i> 'You will be fishing.'
<i>pogunaj?</i> 'The two of us are fishing.'	<i>pogunabid'</i> 'The two of us were fishing.'	<i>pogudaj?</i> 'The two of us will be fishing.'
<i>poguna?</i> 'They are fishing.'	<i>pogunat'</i> 'They were fishing.'	<i>poguda?</i> 'They will be fishing.'

OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION

Singular object	Dual and plural object
-----------------	------------------------



Besides there are verbs indicating the absence or inability, e.g. *ekke d'ahon keđer?* *d'agó?* 'there are no wild reindeer at this place' ('... wild reindeer **are-absent**'), *d'odu?* *sēhōru lōđiađ?* 'no-one is able about swans' ('swans no-one **can-not-they**').

There are also negative particles, e.g. *d'agō*, *sēhōru ni kai?* 'no, no-one went away', (from Russian) *ni, ni, tiker kerhada torse* 'no, no, it is just so'.

#### 1.2.6.4. Aspect

The most common suffixes of the aspect are as follows.

The **in h o a t i v e** *-ro-/lo-*, e.g. *d'ađ-ro-ś* 'to start out on foot' (*d'ađo-ś* 'go on foot'), *d'ađu-lo-ś* 'to start to walk' (*d'ađu-d'* 'to walk'). These inhoatives conjugate according to the reflexive conjugation, e.g. *d'ađulej?* 'I started to walk' : *d'ađuled'* 'you started to walk' : *d'ađuleđ?* 's/he started to walk'.

The **d u r a t i v e** *-gu-/ku-*, e.g. *bađa-gu-ś* 'to be bringing up' (*bađa-ś* 'to bring up'), *d'o-ku-ś* 'to lose' (*d'o-t'* id.).

The **p l u r a l i t i v e** *-?-* or its trace, e.g. *to-d'* 'to keep coming' (*to-ś* 'to come'), *moto-d'* 'to keep cutting' (*mota-ś* 'to cut'), *ođibu-d'* 'to keep exposing oneself' (*ođi-d'* 'to expose oneself'), *toęru-d'* 'to keep asking' (*toę-d'* 'to ask'), *modisu-d'* 'to observe' (*modi-t'* 'to see'). A few pluralitives express an interrupted to-and-from action, e.g. *sobusu-d'* 'to keep taking out and putting in' (*sobu-t'* 'to take out').

The **c u m u l a t i v e** *-do-/to-*, e.g. *souhu-do-ś* 'to keep improving, getting better' (*souhu-d'* 'to improve, to get better'), *sobu-to-ś* 'to keep providing' (*sobu-t'* 'to provide').

The **f a c t i t i v e** *-đa-*, e.g. *olasne ěbi?* *ka-đa-biđa* 'the sorceress **must have killed** my mother' (*ne kã* 'the woman died').

The **f r e q u e n t a t i v e** *-re-*, e.g. *minse met pe ěu-re* 'the old woman **brought** firewood into the tent' (*ođi met ěu-a* 'the young man **entered** the tent').

The **i n t r a n s i t i v e** *-ta-*, e.g. *mod' ěhan perđi-ta-guađ?* 'I **am being helpful** to my mother' (*mod' ěb' perđi-gođ?* 'I help my mother').

The **f i n i t i v e** *-wd'/'-od'*, e.g. *met kani tehi?* *kađa-wd'* 'he entered the tent to **slay** two reindeer'.

#### 1.2.6.5. Peculiarities of verb forms

In the objective conjugation the verb form may, by itself, express both the subject and the object, e.g. *kãsa oddoda d'ad nertađa* 'the man stopped his boat on the bank' ('... **he-stopped-it**').

The other form of the conjunctive, besides the above-described already (see 1.2.6.1), is the one in which the suffix *-ni-* is followed by the personal suffixes of the aorist,

whereby its meaning expresses a wish or an urgent appeal, e.g. *d'oho?* *barhođ međ?* *deđru?* *šimo-ni-đi?* 'from the river bank towards the tent **do run away**'.

The auditive form with the suffix *-munō-/onō-/ōnu-* is very near to an independent mood, expressing an auditive perceived action, e.g. *pehon bunek mađu-munō-đa* 'the dog is heard barking outside' ('the-dog **is-barking-to-hear-it**...'), *međo?* *tahan tja?* *d'ađo-ōnu-đu?* 'the reindeer are heard walking behind the tent' ('... the-reindeer **are-walking-to-hear-them**').

The pairs of verbs in which the first component (an auxiliary verb) does not conjugate but the second (a main verb) does are widely used, e.g. *oęat' pebi* 'he began to eat', *d'agów*, *sēhōru pinóju kaniś lōđiađ?* 'no, at night no-one **can go**'.

#### 1.2.6.6. Noun conjugation

In Enets not only verbs can be conjugated but also nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns and participles from the substantivized verb forms. They can occur in the aorist and preterite, however, in the latter only exceptionally. (See Table 11.)

TABLE 11: EXAMPLES OF THE CONJUGATION PARADIGM OF NOUNS

Singular	Dual	Plural
A o r i s t		
1P <i>mod' eęeđ?</i> 'I am father'	<i>modi? eęej?</i> 'the two of us are fathers'	<i>modina? eęe?</i> 'we are fathers'
2P <i>ũ eęeđ</i> 'you are father'	<i>ũđi? eęeri?</i> 'the two of you are fathers'	<i>ũđa? eęera?</i> 'you are fathers'
3P <i>bu eęe</i> 'he is father'	<i>budi? eęhi?</i> 'the two of them are fathers'	<i>budu? eęe?</i> 'they are fathers'
P r e t e r i t e		
1P <i>mod' eęeđod'</i> 'I was father'	<i>modiñ eęebid'</i> 'the two of us were fathers'	<i>modina? eęebat'</i> 'we were fathers'
2P <i>ũ eęeđođś</i> 'you were father'	<i>ũđi? eęerid'</i> 'the two of you were fathers'	<i>ũđa? eęerat'</i> 'you were fathers'



3P *bu eses* 'he was father      *budi? esbat* 'the two of them were fathers'      *budu? eset* 'they were fathers'

Examples of other parts of speech: *mod' ibl'aguδ* 'I am small' : *ū ibl'ajgud* 's/he is small' : *budu? ibl'ajgut* 'they were small', *mod' seδ??* 'what am I?', *kāšina?* *sōjda kad'ada?* 'our men are good hunters' ("... are-huntings").

### 1.2.7. Particle

#### 1.2.7.1. Adverbs

The adverbs of place often have four local case forms, e.g. *kuo?* 'to where?' : *kunne* 'where?' : *kuhoδ* 'from where?' : *ku?on* 'by which way?', *tosi?* 'to down, below' : *tosin* 'down, below,' : *tosiδ* 'from below' : *tosion* 'by below'.

A suffix of the adverbs of time is *-nōju*, e.g. *nara-nōju* 'in spring', *otuδ-nōju* 'in autumn', *pi-nōju* 'at night'.

The form of the adverbs of manner is often the prolate of adjectives, e.g. *piδe-on* 'high', *d'ore-on* 'deep', *d'abu-on* 'at length'.

Examples of several other forms of the adverbs: *teδa?* 'now', *ηokaδ* 'always', *purδi?* 'back', *pone* 'after'.

#### 1.2.7.2. Postpositions

The main word of postpositions is usually in the genitive, e.g. *pe-? ir?* '(to) under the tree' : *pe-? iron* 'under the tree' : *pe-? iroδ* 'from under the tree' : *pe-? iroon* 'through under the tree', *mōga-? taha?* 'to the back of the forest' : *mōga-? tahan* 'at the back of the forest' : *mōga-? tahaδ* 'from the back of the forest' : *mōga-? tahamon* 'through the back of the forest'. The postposition *diun* 'about; owing to, because of' is of a very broad meaning. Furnished with possessive suffixes the postpositions form a category of postpositional pronouns, e.g. *ū diunad d'adularij?* 'I came late because of you'.

Examples of use: *kamoδ? mi? toš* 'to come into the house', *kamoδ? kewod toš* 'to come to the house', *kamoδ? taha? toš* 'to come behind the house', *kamoδ? ir? tekaras* 'to go hiding under the house', *kamoδ? ni? todaš* 'to climb on top of the house', *kamoδ? min adiš* 'to sit inside the house', *kamoδ? kewhon adiš* 'to sit by the house', *kamoδ? tahan adiš* 'to sit behind the house', *kamoδ? iron adiš* 'to sit under the house', *kamoδ? nin adiš* 'to sit on top of the house'.

#### 1.2.7.3. Interjections and connective particles

Common interjections expressing surprise are *ow?* and *how*, expressing regret *odej?*, expressing unpleasant feelings *naa*, and unpleasant surprise *amij*, when it is too hot *nee*, e.g. *ow?*, *ekke derehon bujr esse!* 'oh, your soup is delicious today!', *amij*, *amij*, *ekkon oteow!* 'oof, oof, it is stinking here!', *amij*, *nibijo*, *merku? iduj toδa?!* 'oho, Nibi, give me my arrow fast!', *how*, *d'otu? toa?!* 'oho, the swans have flown back!', *ē*, *ē*, *matčmad komad!* 'well, well, you want to wool!'

When using an interjection, the direct address may be provided with a separate connective particle of addresses *-jo*, e.g. *disi-jo*, *kaδa-jo*, *siδiñ? kosaj?!* 'grandpa, granny, come and take us!' (*dise* 'grandpa', *kaδa* 'granny').

In exclamatory sentences at the end of verb forms we can find the same connective particle *-ōw/-ōw-* as in interrogative sentences (see 1.3.4.4), e.g. *kuo? d'aδad-ōw?* *d'ad nerταδ-ōw*, *or-ōw-?!* *odaδ-ōw*, *odaδ-ōw!* "'Where are you driving? Make a stop near the bank, eat!' - 'I'll eat, I'll eat!'".

## 1.3. Syntax

### 1.3.1. Word order

Enets is essentially a typical SOV language. Consequently, the finite verb form - the predicate - is at the end of a sentence, as a rule, e.g. *kāšina? kad'as d'aδuηa?*

'our men go hunting'. The negative auxiliary verb immediately precedes the main verb, e.g. *d'od kamer kebon id? d'adur?! 'don't walk* near Dyo's grave!.

The object has a way of keeping to the word it belongs to, e.g. *pe d'ogohon seđor kađada 'with a wooden trap s/he will catch a polar fox', ne međ? mosa ponina 'the woman does household chores', agga kāsahi? biđ? ir? d'uđe kāsadi? nobđadi? 'Two older brothers lowered their younger brother under the water'.*

The role of a logical stress is significant: when the logical stress falls on the object, it immediately precedes the verb, e.g. *ne ečehi? meti? kewhođ sudl'a? kanako nōho 'two girls caught near their tent a fledgling'.* When the object is without a logical stress, it may be placed away from the verb, e.g. *siđe kateđa ēđa adie koddod odi pođaraahuđa 'the young man harnessed two reindeer oxen to the sledge where his mother was sitting'.*

The place of an adverbial depends on the context of a sentence. The adverbial modifying only the verb immediately precedes the verb, e.g. *lojđa eđnōju todagujđ? 'the flame was raising high up'.* Sometimes and particularly when the adverbial modifies the whole sentence, it may be placed away from the verb, e.g. *piđeon mōga? nion d'otu? tiņa? 'the geese are flying high above the forest', međ? kewhon kuraj koddō modia 'off the tent he saw packed sledges'.* The adverbial follows the verb in the case of inversion, caused by a necessity to once more emphasize what was expressed by the verb, e.g. *kertu? kani? erse? deđ? 'they themselves went to the hole in the ice', pi? d'odan bunek dinimūnuđa međ? no? kewhon 'at midnight the dog yelped at the door to the tent'.*

The adverbial of time is usually at the beginning of a sentence, e.g. *sīranōju niđa? seđorođaš d'adūna? 'in winter his sons go hunting polar foxes'.* The common principle states that the modifier is trying to immediately precede the word it modifies, as often the position of the modifier is the only indication about the mutual relationship between the modifier and the word modified, e.g. *ekke derehon d'otu? piđeon čina? 'today the geese are flying high', ortę sōjđaan direbihi?, točiguđ pojđi? bobi? 'In the beginning two of them lived well, later their relationship got worse', ekke kiđe torut' tara 'this cup needs cleaning', diđe tu? niđ kaarabu? sōjđa? 'can the kettle be taken off?' ("... taking-off good?").*

The regiminal word is usually placed immediately before the verb dictating the regimen, e.g. *notę d'oor koddohoneđa kantađ? 'it's last time I go driving on his sledge', seđor pe d'ogod derema 'the polar fox stumbled upon a wooden trap', ū mudōd penaku piredađ? 'I'll prepare your meal later', buser oddođoda me 'the old man made for himself a boat'.*

The object is usually placed nearer to the verb than the adverbial, e.g. *t u d a n i ? kami diđeđa iđe 'above the fire the girl hung a kettle'.*

The attribute is placed immediately before its main word, e.g. *pe kamođ 'wooden house'.* This position guarantees its differentiation from the predicate (the predicative, substantially), cf. on the one hand the preposition of the attribute in the sentence *tečiđa pi 'a frosty night'* and the postposition of the predicate (predicative), on the other, in the sentence *pi tečiđa 'the night (is) frosty'.* Immediately before its main word is the one of the attributes that describes the main word qualitatively, *ekke*

*pe d'ogō mokatabat' 'this wooden trap was set up by us'.* From among several qualitative attributes the one which indicates the material an object (the main word) is made of is placed in the immediate vicinity of the main word, e.g. *d'oho? barhone piđe pe kamođ ođi 'on the bank of the river a tall wooden house can be seen'.*

Quantitative attributes are mostly placed before the qualitative ones, e.g. *d'ahone η o ? posa pe mokati 's i n g l e rotten tree is lying about on the ground'.* The attribute expressed by demonstrative, interrogative and determinative pronouns is placed before the other ones, e.g. *ekke nehu? sōjđa kad'ada ηo? mekonę direbi? 'these tree good hunters live in one tent'.* In the foremost position, i.e. the farthest away from the main word is the possessive attribute, e.g. *ηo? ne? siđe sōiđa ne neđa tonnebi 'a woman has two good daughters' ("one woman's two good her-daughter ...").* The processual attribute may be placed before the possessive attribute, e.g. *ku? pirkon pe? ubhone adiđa kur i k kami modipi 'once he saw a raven girl who was sitting at the top of the tree' ("... tree's at-the-top sitting r a v e n girl ...").*

In fixed pairs of words the adjectival attribute may be placed after its main word, e.g. *se? lata 'broad-faced' ("the-face broad"), sej salaba 'bright-eyed' ("the-eye bright"), pajđe narđeđa 'red-cheeked' ("the-cheek red").*

The above described material reveals also a more concrete position of the subject in the sentence. The subject can be expressed by the nominative of a noun, adjective, pronoun and substantivized verbal form, e.g. *tubikor kajako? deđ? kodeđ? 'a little mouse lay down to sleep in the sun', keđer kora kučisaj tubik omađa 'a wild reindeer ox ate up the little mouse with the grass', ekker inak niw ηa 'that must be Inak'.*

### 1.3.2. Constructions with non-finite verbal forms

These constructions substantially replace subordinate clauses which are practically lacking in Enets.

#### Attributive constructions

- (13) *kare tįdesuuj? nej? badun kaniš*  
fish-Nom buying-Px1Du woman-Px1Du tundra-Lat drive-Pr3Sg  
'The woman from whom we bought fish was driving to the tundra' ("fish buying woman ...").

- (14) *keđer? korahi? behana no? d'ađotačudi? d'adi? ni?*  
wild reindeer ox-Du sturgeon Post meeting-PartPx3Du place-Gen name  
*teđa? čerwinskij nuj*

now Chervinsky lake

'The name of the place the wild reindeer ox met the sturgeon is now the island of Chervinsky.'

(15) *tonóju direer baðec?*

in summer living-Px2Sg retell-Imp2Sg

'Retell how you lived in summer!' ('In-summer your-living retell!')

(16) *nōń ni? soab' new bīs?*

foot-GenPx1Sg on jumping-Px1Sg not be-Aor1Sg remember-Neg

'I do not remember my jumping on foot.'

#### Objective constructions

(17) *pinóju tatebu?neń tehin eb' durtabi*

at night waiking up-GenPx1Sg reindeer-Loc being forget-Aor1Sg

'When I woke up at night, I had forgotten my being among the reindeer.'

#### Adverbial-attributive constructions

(18) *bið? ir? tōahaðoda bineða bikaða*

water-Gen under getting down-Px3Sg string-Px3Sg untie-Aor3Sg

'When he got down under the water he untied the string.'

(19) *ēdi? no? d'orirohaðdi? odi koddoda ań*

mother-GenPx3Du with talking-AblPx3Du young man sledge-Px3Sg again

*kuraða*

tie-up-Aor3Sg  
'After the two of them had talked to their mother, the young man tied his sledge up.'

(20) *neń kadema dion kareða neðod' kani?*

wife-GenPx1Sg being sick because of fishing not be-Prtl1Sg drive-Neg

'I did not drive fishing because my wife was sick.'

(21) *sira? niń kodiahaðoń ñoń desuma?*

snow-Gen on sleeping-AblPx1Sg leg-Px1Sg get sick-Aor3Sg

'Since I was sleeping on the snow, my legs got sick.'

(22) *pe? iron derenóju kodij kāsa to? barod*

tree-Gen under in the day-time slept man lake-Gen coast-Lat

*oðima*

appear-Aor3Sg

'The man who had slept in the day-time under the tree appeared on the coast of the lake.'

(23) *tike mekon direda? kaðaad' kani?*

this tent-Loc living-Pl hunt-Ger go-Aor3Pl

'Those living in this tent went hunting.'

The temporal limits are sometimes conveyed as follows.

(24) *sew dere? d'abðan kāsada d'agoðad ne? d'aðoj*

seven day-Gen during man-Px3Sg miss-Aor3Sg woman-Gen footprint-

*olasne kobiða*

PlAcc sorceress find-Aor3Sg

'While her husband was missing seven days, the sorceress found the wife's foot-prints.'

(25) *pehon ponidahada olasne kāad komereð?*

stick-Loc beating-LocPx3Sg sorceress die-Ger intend-Aor3Sg

'While he was beating her with his stick, the sorceress intended to die.'

(26) *tike mōga mótórodad ečēhi? ań kudahan kanihi?*

this forest passing-Px3Sg child-Du again far go-Aor3Du

'While he was passing the forest, the two of the children went far again.'

(27) *uda? tohta? modina? ekkon mole d'aguðā?*

you-Pl coming we here already miss-Fut1Pl  
 'On your coming we'll not be here any more.'

Often the circumstances of what is going on are to be forwarded: the form or resort, reason, condition etc., e.g.

(28) *četa? sòjda nā egbuda morogađas̄ kaniniđod'*  
 tomorrow fine weather being-GerPx3Sg cloudberry pick-Ger go-Conj1Sg  
 'If the weather is fine tomorrow, I'll go to pick cloudberryes.'

(29) *sīraas̄ kanibuta te? beniđuda*  
 autumn-Tr coming reindeer-Pl come closer-Fut3Sg  
 'When autumn comes, the reindeer will come closer'

(30) *toos̄ kanibuta ań kudahad kanta?*  
 summer-Tr coming again far go-Fut3Pl  
 'When summer comes, they'll go far again.'

### 1.3.3. Congruence

Congruence occurs seldom in Enets and only in the case of the following constructions.

The subject and predicate agree in the number and person (see also 1.2.2), e.g. *sodl'a lodoon čina* 'the swallow is flying low' : *sodl'a-? lodoon čina-?* 'the swallows are flying low', *baahon buse, minse adi-hi?* 'on the bed the old man and the old woman are sitting two together' ("... the-old-man, the-old-woman are-sitting-two"), *ne-?, buse ped ođibi-?* 'the women and the old man went out' ("the-women, the-old-man out went").

After the numeral *side* 'two' the word may occur in the dual form, e.g. *agga koj? side d'adohon side keđer? kora-hi? banohi?* 'on either side of the big mound two wild reindeer oxen are lying' ("... two ... ox-two ..."), *side agga nio-hu-đa sīreo kad'adōdi?, tojo kad'adōdi? soče katađi?* 'his two older sons slay many winter birds, summer birds' ("two ... sun-two-his ...").

Two homogeneous parts of the sentence of the same kind can both be furnished with the marker of the dual, e.g. *kaja? pokutōkon agga kađa-ha-đi?, disē-hu-đi? direhi?* 'towards the sun-setting your old granny and grandpa live' ("... granny-two-your-two, grandpa-two-your-two ...").

The modifier and the modified can both have the same possessive suffix, e.g. *side-r te-r nūl' sòjda* 'two of your reindeer are very good' ("two-your reindeer-your ..."), *toa-j d'a-j kudaha niv na?* 'I have far to go' ("going-my distance-my far is").

The person and number of a personal pronoun are repeated by the main word, e.g. *mod' kamđu-j d'oho? barhon na* 'my house is on the bank of river' ("my house-my ..."), *ū oddo-đo-j toa* 'the boat for you came' ("your boat-for-you came").

In the objective conjugation the congruence appears when the number of the object is expressed in the form of the verb, e.g. *ekke seđor kađar* 'this polar fox you slew' : *ekke seđorhi? kađahuđ* 'these two polar foxes you slew' ("... polar-foxes-two slew-two-you") : *ekke seđor kađiđ* 'these polar foxes you slew' ("... polar-foxes-several slew-several-you"), *nondi? ēdi? tidi?, nūbaj, uđa? bese, tuboo kadatujđi?* 'their mother's comb, thimble, ring, mangling bat took with them' ("... took-several-they-two"), *niđa keđer, seđor, modde kađiđu?* 'his sons catch wild reindeer, polar foxes, foxes' ("... catch-several-they-several").

### 1.3.4. Other syntactical relations

#### 1.3.4.1. Some general remarks

Principally each part of the sentence can be expressed by almost each part of speech. Concerning adverbs, this use is limited since they cannot occur as attributes or predicates. For example, the subject can be expressed by a noun in the nominative case, e.g. *ded'u? kudahan kani?* 'the swans went far', but at the same time by the nominative case of a substantivized verb form, e.g. *keđer? deđ? badīma mole d'ađa* 'the hunting of wild reindeer is in full swing already', or by the nominative case of a numeral, e.g. *bikođ nehu? kai* 'from ten remained three'.

The Enets nominal compound predicate is formed by means of the auxiliary verb *g-* 'to be', e.g. *d'uđe kasađu? sòjda kad'ada ebi* 'their younger brother is said to be a good hunter', *seđ? esađ??* 'what was I?' ("what-I was-I?"), *bu esegs̄ eđa* 'he will be father', *mod' ibl'ajguđ? eđađ?* 'I will be small' ("I small-I be-will-I").

Instead of the above-observed constructions sometimes the following can be used: *agga negs̄ kanihi?* 'the two of them became grown-up' ("... women came-they-two").

Due to the practical lacking of conjunctions and subordinate clauses in Enets syntactical relations are expressed by other means. The conjunctions are very rare, for example *ań*, which is not preceded but followed by a pause, so that *ań* forms a single-stressed unit with the word preceding it. *ań* is actually an adverb, meaning 'again, anew', e.g. *binęda dikađa ań, ped sęrađa* 'he untied the string and tied it to the tree' ("his-string he-untied-loose again, to-tree tied fast").

The personal pronoun can be lacking in the subjective and attributive use when the person is not emphasized, e.g. *d'ohara, sewpirod tonin d'adudađ?* 'I don't know how long I will be walking' (cf. the version of the same sentence when the person is

emphasized *d'ohora, sewpirod tonin mod' d'aḏudaḏ?* 'I don't know how long I will walk').

Impersonal sentences occur seldom in Enets, e.g. *ekke kiḏe torut' tara* 'the cup needs cleaning', *keḏer? deḏ? naranōju, otuḏnōju badud' sōjḏa* 'in spring and autumn it is good to hunt wild reindeer'. In describing natural phenomena some subject is attempted to use in such sentences, e.g. *ḡāḏa narejma, ajuma, sareeḥ kani* 'spring came, it became warm, rains began' ("its-sky spring-like-became ...").

The choice between the subjective and objective conjugation can express either definiteness or indefiniteness, e.g. when forwarding information 'his father was fishing' ("fish his-father was-catching"), is first said *kare eḡeḏa kaḏa*, but after the fishing *kare eḡeḏa kaḏaḏa*. In the first version the predicate is in the subjective conjugation since the information is about indefinite fish in general, in the second version the use of the form of the objective conjugation is connected with information about the fish known from the former text. The above pair of sentences is in a sense close to the following pair of sentences, cf. *sira pageḏa poniḡa* 'is wearing winter clothes', but *oddona? deḏ? poniḡaḏa* 'he went towards our boat' ("... kandis").

It is peculiar that the 2nd person possessive suffix is often used not only in connection with the 2nd person, but with a more general definitive element. It is particularly typical of an object, e.g. *d'oto toa, d'oto-r d'oda?* 'the goose was flying, the goose was shot down' ("..., the-geese-your ..."), *d'abu bing-r ta?* 'give the long string!' ("... string-your ..."). The case form of the object is nominative with the definite object, and accusative with the indefinite object, e.g. *d'aha? moteḡa* 'he crossed the rivers (PlNom)', cf. *d'ahu? motuḡa* 'he crossed rivers (PlAcc)'. Personal pronouns are used in the accusative case and also with the imperative 2nd person, e.g. *budu? siḏdu? mōgad kada?* 'take them (PlAcc) to the forest!'

#### 1.3.4.2. Co-ordinating relationship

Parts of the sentence of the same kind can be presented as a simple enumeration in which case pauses and intonation are used as an attributive resource, e.g. *neḡ? buseḡ?, minseḡ? čuko? peḏ odibi?* 'women, old men, old women all came out', *niḏa keḡer?, seḡor, toḡe kaḏuḡa?* 'his sons catch wild reindeer, polar foxes, foxes', *kivuḏnōju nereḡ?, oḡa?* 'in the morning they got up, ate'.

The relationship between two mutually closely connected words can be expressed by attributing the markers of the dual to both words, e.g. *kāda oron nibijuhuda, bunal'ahuda neḡ? mana* 'Before dying he said to his Nibi and Bunalya' ("... to his two-Nibi, to his-two-Bunalya"). In this construction the connective postposition *no?* 'together' occurs only after the second component of the construction, e.g. *d'oor bunal'ahudi?, nibijuhudi? no? direreḡ?* 'Dyo began to live together with Bunalya and Nibi'. A slightly different nuance of the meaning can be expressed by adding the dual marker only to the first component whereas *no?* is still placed only after the second component, e.g. *o l a s n e ḡ h i o n a j n e ḡ n o ? d i r e b i h i ?* 'the sorceress together with the wife lived'.

#### 1.3.4.3. Regimen

The difference of the regiminal case can bring about the change in the meaning of the verb, for example the meaning of the verb *torod'* in the case of the lative or ablative regimen is 'to get used to', but in the prolative regimen 'to long for', e.g. *direḏ ser? nabe d'ad torḏud* 'you live, you get used to the new place', *d'oku d'ogod ḡḡeḡiḏ torōma* 'the orphan got used to the strangers', but *ḡwneḏ torōbid* 'you must be longing for you mother'.

The regimen of the verbs denoting a short-time action is expressed by the lative, the continuous action is expressed by the locative regimen, e.g. *d'a? ni? aḏōjḏ?* 'he sat down on the ground', but *d'a? nin adibi* 'he is sitting on the ground'; *eser oddoda d'oha? barod nertaḏa* 'your father stood his boat by the bank of the river', but *eser d'oha? barhon nu* 'your father is standing on the bank of the river'.

The verbs 'to help', 'to decide', 'to order', 'to wait', 'to be similar', 'to conduct', 'to lead', 'to deal with', 'to be busy doing something customary', 'to think' need the accusative, e.g. *četa? siḏḏa? perḏičuā?* 'we'll have to help you tomorrow', *buoto siḏna? tore tabaḏa* 'thus our muster ordered us', *ū toḏḏod otte* 'he is waiting for your arrival', *mod' agga kāsaj oddoda nojḏigua* 'my older brother is sailing his boat', *neḡ? metu? mosa poniḡa?* 'women are busy with household chores', *obu bituḡaḏ?* 'what are you thinking about?', *seharij bituḡaḏ?* 'I am thinking about my trail'.

The verbs 'to look', 'to gaze', 'to get angry', 'to get drowned', 'to run across', 'to rejoice', 'to hide', 'to harness', 'to pour', 'to want' need the lative regimen, e.g. *ḡū? niḡ moḡtiḡ ḡad seḡā* 'lying on the grass he is gazing at the sky', *kaḏ'ada bunkeḡhoda baruma* 'the hunter got angry with his dog', *d'oha? d'odan olasne bit barima* 'in the water of the middle of the river the sorceress got drowned', *teḏaho? noni deremad* 'now you ran across me', *ḡda moḏad eḏima* 'she rejoices at her mother's arrival', *ečuj? bunek koddod poḏara?* 'the children harnessed the dog to the sledge', *ne kāmōḏod teḡaraḏ?* 'the woman went into the house to hide herself', *kami jandowad d'u? bata* 'the girl was pouring the fat into the cup', *bit komad?* 'do you want water?', *čajd komā?* 'we want tea'.

The verbs 'to get frightened', 'to be afraid', 'to be ashamed', 'to feel shame', 'to catch', 'to take away', 'to snatch', 'to bite something from somewhere', 'to make out of something', 'to sew from something', 'to darken', 'to wake up at something', 'to exclaim', 'to begin shouting' need the ablative, e.g. *naḏiku sameḡoḏ lume* 'the young calf got frightened at the wolf', *ḡabahaḏ pidoḏ?* 'I am afraid of a hare', *kami mame? baḏahit seḡōlareḡ?* 'the girl felt ashamed of the words she had said', *suihoḏ sojḏuj soḏōḏaḏ?* 'I am going to sew a hat from the long-haired fur for myself', *ajani koba kajahoḏ polew'a* 'my skin darkened in the sun', *bunek? maḏōhoḏ mameḏōḏ?* 'I woke up at the barking of a dog'.

The verbs 'to speak', 'to long for' need the prolative regimen, e.g. *mado? baḏaon d'orid' d'oharaḏ?* 'in the Maddu language I cannot speak', *busewneḡ tudolij?* 'I long for my husband'.

#### 1.3.4.4. Interrogative clause

The interrogative clause can be expressed even by intonation only, e.g. *kobuðu? okka??* 'do they have many furs?' ("their-furs many?"), *omad koma?* 'does he want to eat?', *mōga d'ahon direś pirotar?* 'can you live in a wooded place?'.  
The word stock of Enets is close to that of Nenets and Nganasan, partly also to Kamass from the historical-etymological point of view. At the same time Enets has many more recent loan words from Nenets and Nganasan. Nenets has yielded the terminology of keeping domesticated reindeer, Nganasan has given the terms for a collective hunt of wild reindeer. Quite a number of loan words come from Russian, belonging first of all to the spheres of life and to such phenomena and objects that were unknown to Enetses before their contact with Russians. A long-lasting belonging to Socialist Russia has both introduced Sovietisms into the lexis of Enets and brought about the change of meanings in the genuine Enets word stock. Among the first examples were the terms *kolhoz* 'a collective farm', *gorod* 'town', *radio* 'radio'. Among the latter is an example about the verb *purδud*, to whose original meaning 'to compete in strength, skill' was added the notion 'to compete in work'.

Mostly the nature of the question itself brings about the necessity of an interrogative word, e.g. *obu baḡar tonne?* 'which word do you have?', *kud' d'oridad?* 'how can you get to speak?'.  
The conjunctive gerund (see 1.2.6.2) attributes the colouring of an indirect question to the sentence, e.g. *ekke mēhuna? ossa pires tenebuti??* 'can those daughter-in-laws of ours boil meat?'.  
There can also be found a separate particle accompanied by the interrogative intonation and giving a special emotional colouring to an interrogative sentence: *-ōw/-ōw-*, e.g. *obu karej oḡarōw?* 'what kind of fish are you eating?', *tubikoku, kuo? d'aḡadōw?* 'little mouse, where are you driving?'. (The same particle occurs also in exclamatory sentences, see 1.2.7.3.)

In addition to this in the preterite the question is supported by a special suffix of the interrogative type (see also 1.2.6.1), e.g. *ekke naranōju kunne dire-sa-d?* 'where did you live this spring?'.  
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## 2. LEXIS

The word stock of Enets is close to that of Nenets and Nganasan, partly also to Kamass from the historical-etymological point of view. At the same time Enets has many more recent loan words from Nenets and Nganasan. Nenets has yielded the terminology of keeping domesticated reindeer, Nganasan has given the terms for a collective hunt of wild reindeer. Quite a number of loan words come from Russian, belonging first of all to the spheres of life and to such phenomena and objects that were unknown to Enetses before their contact with Russians. A long-lasting belonging to Socialist Russia has both introduced Sovietisms into the lexis of Enets and brought about the change of meanings in the genuine Enets word stock. Among the first examples were the terms *kolhoz* 'a collective farm', *gorod* 'town', *radio* 'radio'. Among the latter is an example about the verb *purδud*, to whose original meaning 'to compete in strength, skill' was added the notion 'to compete in work'.

### 3. APPENDIX

#### 3.1. Everyday text

The present text was recorded by Natalija Tereščenko (the informant is unknown).  
The text was published with the translation into Russian (Tereščenko 1966: 456-457).

##### 3.1.1. Text

(t: 1) *sehetę d'odi-gon keđer?*      *koroharu muči-hon*  
old    time-Loc    wild reindeer    several    way-PILoc  
*kad'atagu-bi-đu?*  
hunt-Quot3Pl

(t: 2) *kutujhin otuđnõju teą*      *kora-? mođe-?*  
sometimes    in autumn    reindeer    ox-Gen    chase-Gen  
*d'od-igon te-saj*      *ęńće teą*      *kora-da badi-d'*  
time-Loc    reindeer-Adj    man    reindeer    ox-Px3Sg    hunt-Ger  
*katta-đa*  
take-Aor3Sg

(t: 3) *keđer*      *kob-u?*      *nę-da*      *kora-da*      *nado-d*  
wild reindeer    skin-PIGen    Post      ox-Px3Sg    horn-Lat  
*mor?*      *koba*      *bing*      *tihoja-ś*      *nobku-a-đa*  
wild reindeer    skin    strip    tie-Ger      let go-Aor3Sg

(t: 4) *kora-hi?*      *nado-đi?*      *polosahađ-di?*      *kad'ada-r*  
ox-Du    horn-Px3Du    tangle-Aor3Du    hunting-Px2Sg  
*ido-?*      *mimo-hong*      *kađagu-đa*  
bow-Gen    arrow-Loc    slay-Aor3Sg

##### 3.1.2. Free translation

In olden times wild reindeer were hunted in various ways. Sometimes in autumn during the chase the man who had reindeer, took a domesticated reindeer-ox with him when he went hunting. He tied strips of some wild reindeer's skin to the horns of his own reindeer and let him go. After the horns of the reindeer got together, the hunter slew (the wild reindeer) by an arrow from his bow.

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### 3.3. Abbreviations

Abl	ablative (case)	Loc	locative (case)
Acc	accusative (case)	Neg	negative (verbal form)
Aor	aorist (tense)	Nom	nominative (case)
Conj	conjunctive (mood)	P	person
Det	determinative (case)	Pl	plural (number)
Du	dual (number)	Post	postposition
Fut	future (tense)	Prol	prolative (case)
Gen	genitive (case)	Prt	preterite (tense)
Ger	gerund (verbal form)	Px	possessive suffix
Imp	imperative (mood)	Quot	quotative (mood)
Int	interrogative (mood)	Sg	singular (number)
Lat	lative (case)	Tr	transitive (case)

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