Forest Enets and Tundra Enets: How different are they and why?

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1. Introduction

Over the last hundred years Forest Enets and Tundra Enets were first called dialects (e.g. Prokof'ev 1937; Terešcenko 1966; Sorokina 2010). More recently, certain studies have treated them as separate languages (Janhunen 2009; Salminen 2007; Siegl 2013), while some publications have insisted on the irrelevance of this debate (Khanina et al. 2018) or avoided any direct claims on the taxonomic status of the Enets lects (Khanina & Meyerhoff 2018). On the ethnographic side, the Tundra Enets and the Forest Enets have had different ethnic identities and different self-nominations, while the speakers of other indigenous languages in the area have likewise not treated them as a unity (see Khanina 2021 for more details). It was only outsider observers, linguists and ethnographers who used a joint nomination for the Forest and the Tundra Enets, first "Yenisei Samoyeds", then "Enets". As our field experience shows, the degree of mutual comprehensibility between the two Enets lects is not a neutral question and depends on the stance that a speaker takes at the moment of conversation, either stressing the difference between the two ethnic groups and their lects, or aiming at reaching a communicative goal. Representatives of the previous generation of Forest Enets, who met Tundra Enets speakers on a more regular basis than modern Forest Enets speakers do, referred to the two Enets ways of speaking as very close in contrast to Tundra Nenets and Nganasan.

With this paper, we aim to summarize linguistic facts on the similarity or the difference between the two Enets lects. Indeed, a full account of the linguistic differences between the two Enets has never been provided. Scholars of Enets have referred to a handful of evident diverging reflexes of Proto-Northern-Samoyed phonemes and a dozen of non-cognate lexemes with identical meanings, without going any further (Prokof'ev 1937; Terešcenko 1966; Helimski 1984/2000). The grammatical features of Forest and Tundra Enets have never been systematically compared.

While preparing a pan-dialectal grammar of Enets, we have studied in detail dozens of Enets morphological, morphosyntactic, and syntactic structures on corresponding corpora[1], as well as comparing them with elicited data on phonology

[1] The text collections of Tundra Enets and Forest Enets that our description is based upon continue to be updated, edited, and corrected, and the authors are always ready to share the

and morphology (see Khanina 2016a, 2016b, 2018; Khanina et al. 2019a, 2019b, Khanina & Shluinsky 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2016, 2017, 2019a, 2019b, 2020; Shluinsky 2018, 2020a, 2020b), and can claim that there are differences between the two Enets lects only in a surprisingly small number of cases. However, diverging reflexes of Proto-Northern-Samoyed phonemes and a number of non-cognate lexemes with identical meanings suggest another scenario: the diversification of these languages happened at least several hundred years ago, or even one thousand years ago, based on lexicostatistical calculations (Koryakov 2018).

After presenting a brief catalogue of all linguistic features that differentiate between the two Enets lects in Section 2, we suggest in Section 3 a solution to this puzzle by relying on extralinguistic evidence, namely that of the geographic history of the two Enets communities in the last three hundred years.

2. Comparison

For the sake of space, in this comparison of the two Enets we do not comment on the origin of the attested differences. The various reasons that led to the observed diversion within Enets reflect a complex interplay of neighbouring lects in the former Northern Samoyed dialect continuum and undoubtedly deserve a separate publication.

2.1. Historical phonology and lexicon

Historical phonology and lexicon are treated together here, since these were the dissimilar paths of phonetic changes taken by the Enets lects in the course of their histories that led to some of the modern lexical differences. We also discuss here lexical differences that are not based on sound changes.

Helimski (1984/2000) lists the following Proto-Samoyed (PS) phonemes (or combinations thereof) that reflected differently in Tundra Enets (T) and Forest Enets (F), see (1).

(1) PS **ms, *ns, *rs*: T *dʒ* F *z, s* (e.g. T *medʒe*, F *mHʮe, mHʮe* ‘wind’, T *mKdʒara-*, F *mKzara-*, *mKsara-* ‘to work’)[2]

PS **ä* in the onset: T *e-*, F *na-* (T *edo*, F *nadu* ‘horn’, T *eəo*, F *naəa* ‘opening, aperture’)

PS **i* in the onset, not before a nasal: T *i-*, F *ji-* > *dʒi* (T *isi*, F *dʒisi* ‘grandfather’)

Moreover, some seemingly cognate lexemes with identical meanings display irregular phonetic correspondences (sometimes because of different derivational morphemes in their structure), see (2).

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latest version with anyone interested in the language. In addition, the data are archived at the ELAR archive http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0302.

[2] In this paper, we use an IPA-based phonological transcription introduced in our previous works (see details in Khanina 2018). It is very similar to the transcription of Helimski (Ms.), probably the only extensive source of data on any Enets that adheres to phonological writing. There are, however, the following exceptions: we use *K* instead of *o*, *o* instead of *ô*, *ʮ* instead of *s’*, *tʮ* instead of *t’*, and *z* instead of *ŭ*.

(2) F *Hŋa*, T *aburi* 'head'
F *Ktis-*, T *Kŋteso-* 'smell (ipfv)'[3]
F *kanaŋ-*, T *kane-* (also *kanaŋ-*)[4] 'become, leave (pfv)'
F *seÁĕr-*, T *sKKro-* 'look at (ipfv)'
F *Kzaxu-*, T *KzeKko-* 'that is why'
F *daŋgo-*, T *daŋgo-* 'there is no (ipfv)'
F *ketŋi-*, T *kKŋi-* 'almost'
F *mense*, T *menaŋK* 'old woman'
F *lKsa* (also *rKsa*), T *laŋKŋu* 'Russian'
F *to*, T *tudaŋK* 'lake'

Quite surprisingly, for several notions usually associated with the basic lexicon unrelated lexemes are used in each Enets lect, and cognate lexemes are not attested at all, see (3).

(3) F *uuə,* T *tKdaŋ* 'you(sg)' (also DU and PL forms based on these)
F *buə,* T *naŋtoda* '(s)he' (also DU and PL forms based on these)
F *nHŋu*, T *eÁĕ* 'one of, the second, the other'
F *tezaə*, T *tŋinadaŋ* 'now'
F *bii*, T *tenaŋ* 'mind'
F *Kbu*, *abu* T *miiə* 'what'
F *buuse*, T *baxoəK* 'old man'
F *ŋuru*, T *Kna* 'tobacco'

Forest Enets also has an unusual modal-interrogative verb *Kbujta-* 'what for', which is completely absent in Tundra Enets.

More comparative studies of Enets lexicons are clearly needed, but one can easily notice all possible combinations of matches in the shape and meaning of cognate words, as might be expected in any closely related languages:
• non-identical shapes with identical meanings, as in (2),
• identical shapes with identical meanings (e.g. F, T *aga* 'big'),
• non-identical shapes with non-identical meanings (e.g. F *kŋi* 'hill, ridge', T *kKK* •tundra, hill, ridge'),
• for some notions, both related and unrelated lexemes are attested (e.g. F *baza* 'language', T *baza*, *nau* 'language'),
• etc.

Interestingly, there were more consonantal contrasts between the two Enets in Castrén's time (PS **t*: T *r*, F *d*; PS **r*, **l* (in some positions): T *x*, F *r*), but they had disappeared at least by the middle of the 20th century, or possibly even earlier (now PS **t* > *z*, PS **r*, **l* (in some positions) > *r* in both Enets). However, Helimski (1984/ 2000) has suggested, based on unpublished legacy data from the 18th century that the distribution of the two consonantal isoglosses did not coincide with the F vs. T

[3] For lexical entries, we provide the basic stem of a verb (i.e. the one used in Connegative), see footnote 9 for details. For each Enets verb, we also indicate its lexical aspect.
[4] Some words have several variants, some of which coincide in the two dialects.

distinction, but was independent of it.

2.2. Phonology

The main dissimilarity between Tundra Enets and Forest Enets phonologies lies in the domains of syllable structure and attested variation, while the sets of phonemes are almost identical (Khanina & Shluinsky, in press; Khanina 2018).

Thus, vowel phonemes are the same except for the Forest Enets /ù/, absent from Tundra Enets (F /ù/ corresponds to T /e/, and F /e/ corresponds to T diphthongs /ie/, /iʼ/ (Helimski 2007)). The sets of consonantal phonemes are fully identical, though Forest Enets has slightly more allophones than Tundra Enets: [dʲ͡ʒ] and [t͡ɕ] for /dʲ/ in addition to [dʲ, dʑ], tʲ for common for both of them; [s] for /z/ in addition to [ð, ðʲ, z, zʲ] and [x] for /k/ in addition to [k, kʲ]. A recent sound change /o/ > /u/ has also occurred in some morphemes in Forest Enets, but not in their counterparts in Tundra Enets, which has created further minor lexical differences.

In both Enets, root morphemes do not allow for closed syllables at the phonological level (except for closed syllables with final /ɲ/), but vowel reduction makes closed syllables possible, and even quite frequent, at the phonetic level. Phonetic realization of stress does not display any distinctions in the two Enets either. However, phonemically closed syllables in affixal morphemes are possible in Forest Enets, but not in Tundra Enets. Indeed, a recent final vowel drop has happened in most Forest Enets affixes (apart from those ending with /a/), e.g. DAT.SG F *-d* / T *-do*, LOC.SG F *-xon* / T *-xone*, 3SG.S.PST F ***-ӈ***/ T ***-ӈi***.[5] Besides, Tundra Enets does not tolerate consonant clusters in phonology outside Russian and Nenets loans, and in Forest Enets they are possible, though still very rare at the phonological level, e.g. F *ent**ӈə*** 'person' (cf. T *enet**ӈə***).

Both Enets display numerous phonetic (=allophonic) and phonemic variation (Khanina 2018), and M.A. Castrén's manuscripts from the 1840s (Castrén, in prep.) signal a similar level of variation, so this has been characteristic for Enets for quite a while. Many patterns of this variation are identical in the two Enets: phonetic vowel reduction to zero or [ɒ] at the end of words, as well as in even syllables (though much more frequent in Forest Enets); a wide range of possible phonetic realizations of glottal stop, including a zero realization; and /e/~/i/ as well as /ʼ~/u/ in the 1st syllable. However, modern Forest Enets has more patterns of phonemic variation than modern Tundra Enets: /ʼ/ ~ /a/, attested for ca. two dozen lexemes, cf. (4), and /s/ ~ /z/ and /ʼ/ ~ /e/, each attested for a dozen lexemes, cf. (5) and (6).

(4) F /badu/ ~ /bʼdu/ 'tundra'
F /malʲʼ/ ~ /mʼlʲʼ/ 'already'
F /dʲaza-/ ~ /dʲza-/ 'go (ipfv)'
F /ʼbu/ ~ /abu/ 'what'

(5) F /ʼsa/ ~ /ʼza/ 'meat'
F /sʼse/ ~ /sʼze/ 'belly'
F /mʼsaŋa/ ~ /mʼzaŋa/ 'work'

[5] For the sake of space, affixes whose forms differ in the two Enets only by the presence or absence of the final vowel are not treated in 2.3 as different for F and T.

(6) F /tʿƠlʺe̯Ơ/ ~ /telʺe̯Ơ/ 'here it is'
F /pizʿƠn̯ʿƠ/ ~ /pizen̯ʿƠ/ 'scythe'
F /pʿƠd/ ~ /ped/ 'always'
F /nʿƠd/ ~ /ned/ '2SG.DAT'

Helimski (2007), based on Castrén's account of Forest Enets and on conservative speech of the late Forest Enets elders in the 1990s described by Anna Urmanchieva (Ms), provided a description of recent phonological changes in Forest Enets. These changes have made the two language varieties sound significantly less similar: all the dissimilarities presented in this section belong exactly to these recent changes (except for the old F /s/ ~ /z/ variation that appeared in the place of PS *ms, *ns, *rs, and those Forest Enets variations for which there are not enough data on their age: /ʿƠ/ ~ /a/and /ʿƠ/ ~ /e/).

2.3. Morphology

2.3.1. *Nominal morphology*

Both Enets have identical sets of nominal grammatical categories and the same sets of their values. Their systems of inflectional classes display no differences (default vs. alternating; voiced alternating vs. voiceless alternating; default basic vs. default plural possessive), nor do sets of forms derived from each stem (with the exception of the TRANSL.PL form discussed below). A subclass of defective locative nouns with archaic case markers is attested in both Enets (Dative F, T *-ə̈*; Locative F *-n,* T *–ne*; Ablative F -*z*, T *-zo*; Prolative F *-Kn,* T *-Kne*; e.g. F *badu* 'tundra'; F, T *tKɥ* 'lower part'; F *inuku* 'near'; T *teə̈i* 'upper part'). It would be fair to admit, however, that most of these similarities are shared not only by the two Enets, but also by all the other Northern Samoyed languages.

As for the differences in this domain, voiced alternating nouns ending with F *-lu* and F *-zu* are only attested in Forest Enets, while otherwise the types of alternating nouns are the same in the two Enets (basic stems of voiced alternating nouns can end with F *-ru*, T *-ro*; F *-nu*, T *-no*; F *-u*, T *-o*; basic stems of voiceless alternating nouns can end with F *-zu*, T *-zo* or F *-su*, T *-so*).[6] Tundra Enets does not differentiate between singular and plural in Translative forms, while Forest Enets does and uses the basic stem for the TRANSL.PL (see (7)). Forest Enets can build Destinative Plural not only from the basic stem (e.g. *kirba-zi-za* 'loaves of bread for him' (bread-DEST.PL-

[6] Here we provide examples for each subtype of alternating classes and illustrate the stem labels used in this paper:

	Gloss	Basic stem	Nominative stem	Reduced stem (here used in the Locative case)
Voiced alternating nouns	'salt'	F *siru*, T *siro*	F, T *siʔ*	F, T *si-gon*
	'tendon'	F *tinu*, T *teno*	F *tiʔ*, T *teʔ*	F *ti-gon*, T *te-gon*
	'person'	F *entʃuu*, T *enetʃeo*	F *entʃeʔ*, T *enetʃeʔ*	F *entʃe-gon*, T *enetʃe-gon*
	'dirt'	F *nɔxilu*	F *nɔxiʔ*	F *nɔxi-gon*
	'custom'	F *mutʃizu*	F *mutʃiʔ*	F *mutʃi-gon*
Voiceless alternating nouns	'house'	F *mɛzu*, T *mezo*	F *mɛʔ*, T *meʔ*	F *mɛ-kon*, T *me-kone*
	'part'	F *bɔsu*	F *bɔʔ*	F *bɔ-kon*
	'cloth'	T *tubeso*	T *tubeʔ*	T *tube-kone*

NOM.PL.3SG)), as Tundra Enets, but also from the plural possessive stem (e.g. *kirbi-zi-za*). Since the latter is attested only in the speech of younger speakers, this is clearly a recent change.

The few nominal affixes displaying any differences, beyond the final vowel drop, are listed in Table 1, all the others being identical.

Table 1. Nominal inflectional affixes which are different in Forest and Tundra Enets:

Grammatical value	Forest Enets	Tundra Enets
NOM.DU	*-xiə̈* / *-kiə̈* / *-giə̈*[7]	*-xoə̈* / *-koə̈* / *-goə̈* (optional *-xaə̈* after /a/-final stems)
OBL.DU		*-xiə̈* / *-kiə̈* / *-giə̈*
OBL.SG	optional *-ə̈* is very rarely used	optional *-ə̈* is occasionally used
ABL.PL in possessed forms	*-xiti* / *-kiti* / *-giti*, *-xizi* / *-kizi* / *-gizi*	*-xiti* / *-kiti* / *-giti*, *-xizi* / *-kizi* / *-gizi*, *-xizo* / *-kizo* / *-gizo*
TRANSL.SG	nominative stem + *-Vώ*[8] or rarely *-iӈ*	reduced stem + *-ə̈a*, *-ə̈aj* (rarely *-ə̈e*, *-ə̈ej* with e-final stems)
TRANSL.PL	basic stem + plural marker *-ə̈* + *-Vӈ* or rarely *-iӈ*	

(7) F *ŋka-aӈ* 'as meat', *entӈu-ə̈-uӈ* person-PL-TRANSL 'as people'
T *udʒu-ə̈a*, *udʒu-ə̈aj* 'as meat', *enetӈ-ə̈a*, *enetӈ-ə̈aj* 'as a person/human, as people'

Reflexive, reciprocal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns are identical in the two Enets, as well as all pronouns which are formed from them, except for the aforementioned F *ŋku*, *abu* – T *miiə̈* 'what' and those pronouns derived from them (see (3)). Personal pronouns show more divergence: 2nd and 3rd person pronouns use completely different stems (cf. discussion in Siegl 2008), cf. (3), and locational cases of personal pronouns are formed from slightly different stems: F *nŋk, ne-*, T *nŋkŋk*, cf. (8).

(8) F *nŋkd, ned*, T *nŋkŋkd* 'to you' (2SG.DAT)
F *nŋkued, nened*, T *nŋkŋkued* 'with you' (2SG.LOC)

The series of personal pronouns meaning 'only X' also use different stem forms, cf. (9): a truncated stem in Tundra Enets, but a standard one in Forest Enets. Note also dissimilar possessive affixes in 1SG forms of this series: a regular affix in Tundra Enets, but an idiosyncratic one in Forest Enets. The affix participating in these

[7] Here and in the rest of the paper, phonologically or lexically conditioned variants of an affix are given in parentheses, commas separate the free variants of an affix, and slashes separate the variants of an affix conditioned by the inflectional class of the noun (default, voiceless alternating, voiced alternating).
[8] This notation suggests that *V* copies the last vowel of the stem.

pronominal forms belongs to transcategorial morphology, see 2.3.4.

(9) T *modɋ* ‘I’, *mo-lɋo-no* ‘only me’, *mo-lɋo-nɋə̈* ‘only us’ (du), *mo-lɋo-naə̈* ‘only us’ (pl)
F *modɋ* ‘I’, *modɋ-ruu-nə̈* ‘only me’*, modɋ-ruu-nɋə̈* ‘only us’ (du), *modɋ-ruu-naə̈* ‘only us’ (pl)

Finally, there is a series of pronouns whose divergence is explained by different Proto-Samoyed suffixes attached to the same Proto-Samoyed stem (Gusev & Khanina 2020), cf. (10).

(10) F *Hɋse* ‘such’, ‘this’, *tKrse* ‘such’, ‘this’, *kurse* ‘what’ (from PS **-rsä*)
T *eloe* ‘such’, ‘this’, *tKroe* ‘such’, ‘this’, *kuroe* ‘such’, ‘this’ (from PS**-rþjä* or **-rþje*)

2.3.2. *Morphology of numerals*

The two Enets have an identical system of simple numerals, but complex numerals from 11 to 19 are built on separate models. In Tundra Enets, lesser units follow bigger units without any additional morphological modification cf. (11). Forest Enets has several ways of constructing numerals from 11 to 19, cf. (12), using one of the following models: either (i) + (ii) + (iii), or (i) + (ii), or (ii) + (iii):

(i) Ablative of *biuə̈*, *biə̈* ‘ten’,
(ii) numerals from 1 to 9,
(iii) adjective *bKzade* ‘surplus’.

(11) *biuə̈* *ӊize*
T ten two
‘twelve’

(12) a. *biu-koz* *ӊize* *bKzade*
F ten-ABL.SG two surplus
b. *biu-koz* *ӊize*
F ten-ABL.SG two
c. *ӊize* *bKzade*
F two surplus
‘twelve’

2.3.3. *Verbal morphology*

As is the case with nouns, quite a number of general features are shared by verbal systems in the two Enets. Likewise, most of these features are common for all Northern Samoyed languages.

The systems of verbal inflectional classes display no differences (default vs. alternating; voiced alternating vs. voiceless alternating), though the sets of stems and their functions only fully coincide for the default inflectional class. Although even for this class the details of rules for aorist stem formation differ, the general principles are the same.

Alternating verbs have 4 stems in Tundra Enets (basic, habitual, reduced, and aorist) and 6 stems in Forest Enets (+ extended, nominalization).[9] The distinction between basic and extended stems of Forest Enets is due to the recent drop of the stem-final vowel in its basic stem (see 2.2), while the reasons for the emergence of a dedicated nominalization stem in Forest Enets are yet unclear.[10] The 2SG.M.IMP form can be built from the extended or the reduced stem in Forest Enets (the latter option being a clear recent innovation), but only from the basic stem in Tundra Enets (cf. Khanina & Shluinsky (2015a)). Tundra Enets has only one way to form nominalization, from the habitual stem (13a-b), while Forest Enets forms standard nominalization from the nominalization stem (14a), but the converb-like nominalization in the Ablative case from the basic stem (14b).

(13) a.	*miʔ-a-do*	*kKna*	b.	*miʔ-a-xazo*
T give (pfv)-NMLZ-DAT.SG	want (ipfv).3SG.S			give(pfv)-NMLZ-ABL.SG
‘he wants to give’				‘after having given’

(14) a.	*miʔ-a-d*	*kKna*	b.	*mis-a-xaz*
F give (pfv)-NMLZ-DAT.SG	want (ipfv).3SG.S			give(pfv)-NMLZ-ABL.SG
‘he wants to give’				‘after having given’

The system of 16 cross-reference paradigms is common for the two Enets: the 4-way distinction between S, SOsg, SOnsg, and M multiplied by the 4-way distinction between basic, past, imperative, and contrastive (the past and contrastive series are clearly results of a fusion between the basic series and a past marker or a contrastive marker, respectively). Most cross-reference affixes are also identical, with the common exception of occasional omission of the vowel in Forest Enets. Table 2 lists the only diverging cross-reference affixes.

[9] Here we provide examples for each subtype of alternating classes and illustrate stem labels used in this paper:

Stem	Voiceless alternating nouns		Voiced alternating nouns					
	‘give(PFV)’		‘use(IPFV)’		‘put(PFV)’		‘appear(PFV)’	
	F	T	F	T	F	T	F	T
Basic	*mis*	*miso*	*pɔnʲir*	*pɔnero*	*pun*	*puno*	*ɔziu*	*ɔzio*
Extended	*misu*		*pɔnʲiru*		*punu*			
Habitual	*miʔ*	*miʔ*	*pɔnʲim*	*pɔnem*	*pum*	*pum*	*ɔzim*	*ɔzim*
Nominalization					*puŋ, pum*			
Reduced	*mi*	*mi*	*pɔnʲi*	*pɔne*	*pu*	*pu*	*ɔzi*	*ɔzi*
Aorist	*miʔɛ*	*miʔa*	*pɔnʲiŋa*	*ɔɔneŋa*	*puŋa*	*puŋa*	*ɔzima*	*ɔzima*

[10] However, note that this innovated Forest stem is different from the habitual stem only for one inflectional class and is used for one form only.

Table 2. Verbal cross-reference affixes which are different in Forest and Tundra Enets:

Grammatical value	Forest Enets	Tundra Enets
1SG.M	*-jə, -biə, bə*	*-jə, boə, -oə*
3SG.M	*-zə, -zoə*	*-zoə, -ə*
3DU.S[11]	*-xiə*	*-xaə, -xoə, -xiə*
3DU.M	*-xiə*	*-xoə*
3SG.S.IMP	*-j, -bi*	*-aba (-eba)*
3DU.S.IMP	*-giə*	*-agoə, -agiə (-egoə)*
3PL.S.IMP	*-jə, -biə*	*-abaə (-ebaə)*

As for affixes expressing TAM values and building non-finite forms, the two Enets also coincide more than they diverge. Table 3 lists 12 identical verbal affixes or those whose difference is conditioned either only by the recent /o/ > /u/, or the final vowel drop in Forest Enets, or by several allomorphs in one of the Enets, but not in the other. Table 4 lists 6 diverging verbal affxes and 7 affixes attested only in FE.[12]

Table 3. Verbal inflectional affixes which are the same in Forest and Tundra Enets:

Grammatical value	Forest Enets & Tundra Enets
Perfect	*-bi- / -pi- / -bi-*
Future	*-da-* (*-za-*) / *-ta- / -da-*
Debitive	*-tʜu- / -dʒu- / -tʜu-*
Probabilitive	*-ta-* (*-to* before other affixes)
Suppositional	*-daraxa-* (*-zaraxa-*) / *-taraxa- / -daraxa-*
Habitual	F *-ubi-*, T *-obi-*
Auditive	*-unu-*
Nominalization	*-a* (F also *-e*, *-o*)
Supine	F *-odʒ* T *-odʒ*
Conditional converb	non-inflecting *-buə / -puə / -buə*, *-b / -p / -b*; inflecting *-bu- / -pu- / -bu-* (voiceless)
Simultaneous participle	*-da (-za) / -ta / -da* (T also *-de (-ze) / -te / -de*)
Negative anterior participle	F *-uzaj*, T *-ozaj*

[11] Note the parallelism of the verbal and nominal suffixes for Dual (see Table 1). While Forest Enets uses only one variant, *-xiə*, Tundra Enets has also *-xaə* and *-xoə* in both parts of speech.

[12] There are three times more F data than T data available to us (both within our own corpora and in published sources). It is impossible to distinguish between morphemes that are attested only in the F data, but not in the T data, and those truly absent in T. Some of the F-only morphemes have indeed quite low frequency.

Table 4. Verbal inflectional affixes which are different in Forest and Tundra Enets:

Grammatical value	Forest Enets	Tundra Enets
Subjunctive	*-nʒ'-* / *-nʒ'-* / *-nʒ'-*	*-i-* / *-i-* / *-i-*
Interrogative	*-sa-* / *-tʜɻ-* / *-dʒ'u-*[13]	*-ba-* / *-pa-* / *-ba-*
Soft imperative[14]	*-guri-* / *-kuri-* / *-guri-*	*-goa-* / *-koa-* / *-goa-*
General converb (Infinitive)	*-ʜɻ* / *-tʜɻ* / *-dʒ'*	*-e* / *-tʜɻ* / *-dʒ'*
Anterior participle	*-j*	*-sij* / *-tʜɻj* / *-dʒ'j*, *-si* / *-tʜɻ* / *-dʒ'*
Simultaneous converb	*-buəuj* / *-puəuj* / *-buəuj* (default) + 1st person OBL possessive markers, 2nd and 3rd persons NOM possessive markers	non-inflecting *-buəkə* / *-puəkə* / *-buəkə*; inflecting *-buək-* / *-puək-* / *-buək-* (voiceless) + OBL possessive markers
Hypothetical	*-dokoda-* (*-zokoda-*) / *-tokoda-* / *-dokoda-*	-
Prospective suppositional	*-udaraxa-*	-
Posterior participle	*-uda*	-
Anterior converb	*-xajaʜɻ* / *-kajaʜɻ* / *-gajaʜɻ*	-
Passive anterior participle	*-duuj* / *-tuuj* / *-duuj*	-
Negative jussive converb (can be built from the negative verb only)	*-do-*	-
Irreal converb of the copula only	inflected *-bu-* (default): *ʜɻ bu-za*	-

While the Probabilitive suffix is the same in the two Enets (see Table 3), it is used with basic cross-reference in Tundra Enets (15), but with contrastive cross-reference in Forest Enets (16).

(15) *dʒ'ɪrako-ə* *a-ta-ə*
T Nenets-PL be (ipfv)-PROB-3PL.S
'Probably they are Nenets.'

(16) *buuse-ə ʜɻta-mə*
F old_man-PL be(ipfv)-PROB-3PL.S.CONT
'Probably these are old men.'

Tundra Enets also has one form more: analytical Debitive V-*tʜɻzək* / *-dʒ'ɪzək* / *-tʜɻzək* + *a* 'be' in the Probabilitive, all other analytical forms coinciding in the two Enets.

The negation is formed and works in the same way. The uniform negative verb is used

[13] *-si-* for the Interrogative of the negative verb.

[14] It is unclear whether its functions are fully identical in the two Enets.

(F, T *nʒe-/i-*: *nʒe-* as the aorist stem, *i-* as the other stems), with identical regularities of its linear position in various types of negative constructions. The copula has a single *a-* form in Tundra Enets, but two forms in Forest Enets: *Á-* in the Aorist, the imperative forms of the 2nd and 3rd person and the Connegative, and *Hʔ* in all other forms.

2.3.4. *Transcategorial morphology*
Six Enets morphemes can be attached to any part of speech. Three of them are fully shared by the two Enets: the Vocative, expressed by the lengthening of the last vowel, Exclamative 1 *-Ku*, Exclamative 2 *-ej*, and Topical *-xoa / -koa / -goa* (F also *-xoo / -koo / -goo)*. Two of the transcategorial suffixes display some phonological difference: Restrictive F *-ru / -lu / -lu*, T *-reo / -lʒo / -lʒo* and Insistive F *-xuru / -kuru / -guru*, T *-xoreo / -koreo / -goreo*.

2.3.5. *Derivational morphology*
Derivational suffixes are quite numerous in Enets, so here we discuss only the most frequent ones. Table 5 lists completely coinciding or almost coinciding derivational affixes, i.e. those differing only by the presence/absence of the final vowel, by the different quality of the back vowel in the non-first syllable, or by some other minor feature. Table 6 lists diverging derivational affixes or those that are attested only in F.

Table 5. Frequent derivational affixes which are the same in Forest and Tundra Enets:

Derivational affix	Parts of speech	Forest Enets & Tundra Enets
Diminutives	N > N	*-ku*, *-gu*, *-kutʰu*
Diminutive	Adj > N	*-ku*
Emotive Diminutive	N > N	*-kuji*
Comparative	N > N	*-raxa / -laxa / -laxa*
Agent nominalizer	V > N	F *-xaz / -gaz / -kaz*, T *-xazo / -gazo / -kazo*
Place nominalizer	V > N	*-raa / -laa / -laa*
Adjectivizer	N > Adj	*-j*
Comitative	N > Adj	F *-saj / -tʰuj / -dʒuj*, T *-sae / -tʰue / -dʒue*
Numeral adjectivizer	Num > Adj	*-de*
Durative	V > V	*-go- / -ko- / -go-*
Multiplicative	V > V	F *-r-*, T *-ro-*
Inchoative	V > V	F *-ru- / -lu- / -lu-*, T *-ro- / -lo- / -lo-*
Inceptive	V > V	F *-u-*, T *-o-*
Attenuative	V > V	*-jtu-*
Passive	V > V	*-ra- / -la- / -la-*
Causatives	V > V	*-ra- / -la- / -la-*, *-za-*, *-ta-*

Table 6. Frequent derivational affixes which are different in Forest and Tundra Enets:

Derivational affix	Parts of speech	Forest Enets	Tundra Enets
Pejorative-Augmentative	any	*-je*	*-dʐu*
Diminutive	N > N	*-tʜu*	*-tʜu*
Augmentative	N > N	*-lee*	*-leəK*
Comparative	N > N	*-zurau* / *-turau* / *-durau*	*-zoriK* / *-toriK* / *-doriK*
Caritive	N > N	*-ʜʐ-* / *-dʐ-* / *tʜʐ-*	*-se-* / *-dʐ-* / *tʜʐ-*
Causative	V > V	*-da-*	*-do-*, *-de-*
Attenuative	Adj > Adj	*-jta*	-
Attenuative	N > N, Adj > Adj	*-rka*	-
Locative adjectivizer	N > Adj	*-ne*	-
Adverbializer	N > Adv	*-noju*	-
Discontinuative	V > V	*-ga-* / *-ka-* /*-ga*	-

2.4. Morphosyntax

By morphosyntax we understand here the functions of grammatical morphemes and of the constructions they make a part of. It is precisely in this domain that the two Enets look extremely similar, as might be expected from very close dialects.

Apart from the few exceptions discussed below, all grammatical morphemes behave identically, with detailed corpus-based studies being undertaken for the following categories: Perfect, including both absolute and narrative uses, (Khanina & Shluinsky 2016), Passive (Khanina & Shluinsky 2014b), Future and Debitive (Khanina & Shluinsky 2019a), Imperatives (Khanina & Shluinsky 2015a, 2019a), General Converb (Shluinsky 2018), Core cases (Khanina & Shluinsky 2015b), Destinative (Khanina & Shluinsky 2014a), and emphatic transcategorial affixes (Topical, Restrictive, Insistive) (Khanina & Shluinsky 2011a). On the level of constructions, we observe no differences either, and the following have been contrastively described in corpus data:

• Aorist of the negative verb used with the contrastive cross-reference to denote an emphatic positive statement (Khanina & Shluinsky 2011b),
• emphatic negative verbs used with Connegative to express negation with an extra modal shade (Khanina & Shluinsky 2012),
• differential object marking with non-Destinative objects (Khanina & Shluinsky 2015b, 2015c, 2017).

The only attested morphosyntactic differences are the following. First, the two Enets exhibit different ways of expressing a probable event in the past with the Interrogative suffix: in Tundra Enets it is preceded by the Probabilitive suffix and followed by basic cross-reference markers (17), while in Forest Enets it is followed by contrastive cross-reference markers (18).

(17) *teto* ***a-tKba-ä̈***
T four be(ipfv)-PROB-Q-3PL.S
‘Probably he was four (months old).’

(18) *sHɫö* *pKjʊ̈* ***Hɫsa-uä̈***
F seven year-NOM.SG.1SG be(ipfv)-Q-3SG.S.CONT
‘Probably I was seven (years old).’

Second, patterns for differential object marking do not coincide in the two Enets if the Destinative suffix is present in the direct object. In Forest Enets the use of Nominative vs. Oblique is governed by the distinction between other-benefactive vs. self-benefactive contexts, while in the Tundra Enets Oblique this distinction is clearly irrelevant, but the distinction between specific vs. non-specific contexts might be important (see Khanina & Shluinsky 2014a).

The use of formally negative clauses in positive contexts with an extra modal shade is also very common in Tundra Enets (19), but not in Forest Enets, where such clauses might very well be absent.[15]

(19) *lapka-do* *nɇ-biə̈* *kane-doə̈*
TE shop-DAT.SG NEG-1DU.S leave(pfv)-FUT.CONN
‘We will be going to the shop after all’, together with ‘We will not go to the shop.’

2.5. Syntax

Within the syntax of simple clauses, we have not found a single difference in the two Enets, having performed corpus studies of noun phrases (Shluinsky 2020b); the expression of core arguments (including patterns of cross-referencing for direct objects and the distribution of the two ditransitive constructions by referential properties of their arguments) (Khanina & Shluinsky 2015b, 2017, 2020); agreeing adverbs (Chumakina & Khanina 2019); interrogative clauses (Khanina 2016a, Khanina & Shluinsky 2017); passive clauses (Khanina & Shluinsky 2014b); intransitive clauses (Khanina & Shluinsky 2019b); and phrasal as well as clausal coordination (Khanina 2016b).

There are two minor differences in clause combining: first, Forest Enets uses “pleonastic” participle constructions (see Shluinsky 2017), which are absent from Tundra Enets; and second, different-subject purpose clauses are formed differently, by a sentence-like construction with the verb in the Subjunctive in Forest Enets and by Nominalization with the postposition *nKKö* ‘on’ in Tundra Enets.

Nominalization in complement clauses is also used more extensively in Tundra Enets than in Forest Enets (see Shluinsky 2018). However, otherwise all the details of the formation of relative, adverbial, and complement clauses are the same (see Khanina et al. 2019a, 2019b).

[15] By formally negative clauses we mean here only those clauses which can also have a proper negative reading. In Forest Enets there are also positive constructions with the negative verb, but this verb is then used in a specific emphatic form, and the whole can never have a negative meaning in modern Forest Enets.

3. Discussion

This paper has presented a brief overview of differences and similarities in Forest and Tundra Enets, with particular focus on non-lexical issues. The contrast between sections 2.1-2.3 (dealing with lexicon, phonology, and morphology) and 2.4-2.5 (dealing with morphosyntax and syntax) is striking and quite spectacular. The vast majority of dissimilarities between Forest and Tundra Enets are to be found in forms, lexical or grammatical, but not in their functions. The few dissimilarities in the latter, mentioned in 2.4-2.5, belong to those that require little time to arise, i.e. they could well have happened only recently. Our tentative explanation to this puzzle is historic: the initial divergence of the two Enets was followed by the secondary convergence and then by a recent secondary divergence. Khanina et al. (2018) provide the geographical background to this scenario.

Indeed, from ethnographic sources inspected by Khanina et al. (2018), it is now known that the two Enets languages were spoken in almost disjoint areas in the 17th century (see Figure 1). However, later northward migrations of the Forest Enets brought the two groups together for the winter part of the year, see Figure 2[16] (in summer, the Tundra Enets went to the north of their winter lands). Thus, the two Enets groups first had almost no contact with each other for a considerable period of time, but then they shared the same territory in winter for several generations, from at least the beginning of the 19th century (and probably earlier) until the 1930s.[17] As mentioned in the Introduction, the two Enets groups kept separate identities, but they clearly interacted a great deal with each other. This is supported by the known marriage patterns of the time (see Dolgix 1962a) as well as by narratives collected soon after the end of this period (Dolgix 1962b).

Now turning to their languages, one can claim that the initial divergence between the two Enets languages illustrated in 2.1–2.3 was not substantial enough to hinder mutual comprehension between their speakers as soon as they started to spend winters together in regular contact.[18] Thus, this sociolinguistic setting seemed to be particularly fertile for morphosyntactic and syntactic calquing, but not for lexical calquing. These contacts, moreover, could have increased the number of lexical contrasts.[19] As a result,

[16] A part of the Forest Enets not only migrated northwards, but also managed to increase their reindeer herds. With bigger herds, they had to follow the migration routes of the Tundra Enets. This explains the distinction between the more nomadic and the less nomadic Forest Enets in Figure 2. By the end of the 19th century, the more nomadic Forest Enets had switched to Tundra Enets, which possibly resulted in some substrate influence from F to T, contributing further to their similarity.

[17] The collectivization and the quick growth of the local urban centres Dudinka and Norilsk caused an end to the coming of Tundra Enets to their former winter lands. However, they had already moved their winter pastures somewhat further north by the 1926 census.

[18] Khanina (2021) has shown that even for speakers of more distantly related languages, Tundra Nenets and Nganasan, mutual comprehension with Enets speakers was common when there was regular contact.

[19] Cf. Ellison & Miceli (2017: 278): "If a language is in contact with a number of related languages, over a long period of time, then it will face more pressure to differentiate, and so end up with fewer reflexes of ancestral lexical items than a language that has had few relatives to interact with."

modern Forest Enets and Tundra Enets grammars look almost identical, while the stock of their morphemes, lexical and — to a lesser degree — grammatical, shows a noticeable level of divergence.

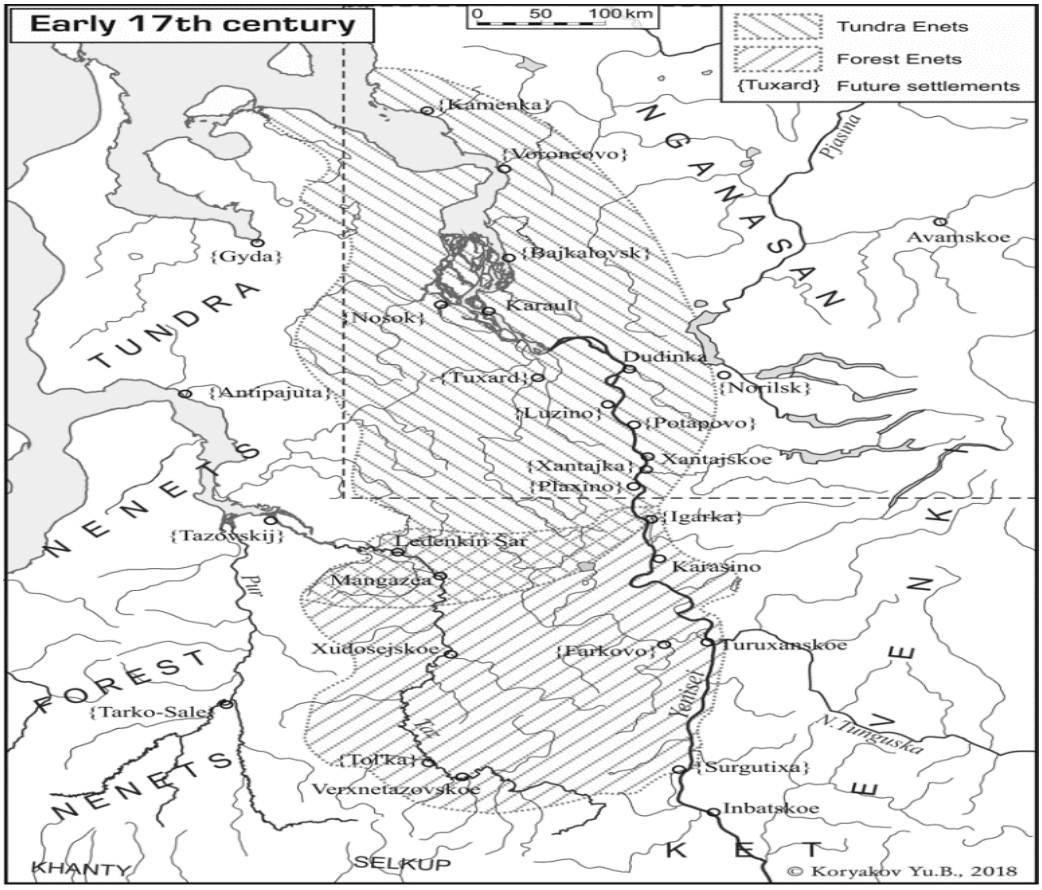

Figure 1. Location of the Enets-speaking people in the 2nd half of the 17th century (Khanina et al. 2018: 113).

The hypothesis of the Enets history in the 19th century is further supported by what we know about them in the 20th century. Indeed, as soon as the two Enets groups stopped meeting regularly, they developed quite a number of phonological and phonetic changes that led to more divergence than before. By "before" we mean not only M.A. Castrén's times, but even the first half of the 20th century. Helimski (2007) reported that the Forest Enets elders born in the 1920s and interviewed in the 1990s remembered the way that their language used to sound, and that this phonetic outlook of Forest Enets actually showed fewer distinctions from Tundra Enets than the Forest Enets of the 1990s.[20]

[20] Anna Urmanchieva (p.c.), whose data and experience Eugen Helimski shares in this paper, mentions that the two elders with whom she collected these kinds of "old" words regarded this way of speaking differently: one considered it to be just a funny way of pronouncing words, while the other attributed this pronunciation to the way her parents, or even grandparents, spoke. Anna Urmanchieva worked with them separately and they were very consistent in this archaic pronunciation.

In the Enets case, we see an illuminating parallel with numerous works on language contact which report a recurrent pattern of a ban on lexical borrowing accompanied by noticeable morphosyntactic convergence in a specific sociolinguistic setting (e.g. Thomason 2008; Aikhenvald 2002; Epps 2018). In particular, this happens when groups in close contact treat their respective languages as icons of separate group identities, and thus undertake a conscious effort to keep their languages apart. These efforts focus on the lexicon, since differences in this domain are usually easier to notice for speakers of different languages, while morphosyntactic patterns are less tangible and hence are less likely to be noticed. Interestingly, this cultural imperative for conscious differentiation could be even stronger in the case of closely related languages leading to unexpectedly high rates of vocabulary replacement (see e.g. Watson 2018; Rumsey 2018; François 2012 for case studies, and Ellison & Miceli 2017 for a theoretical grounding).

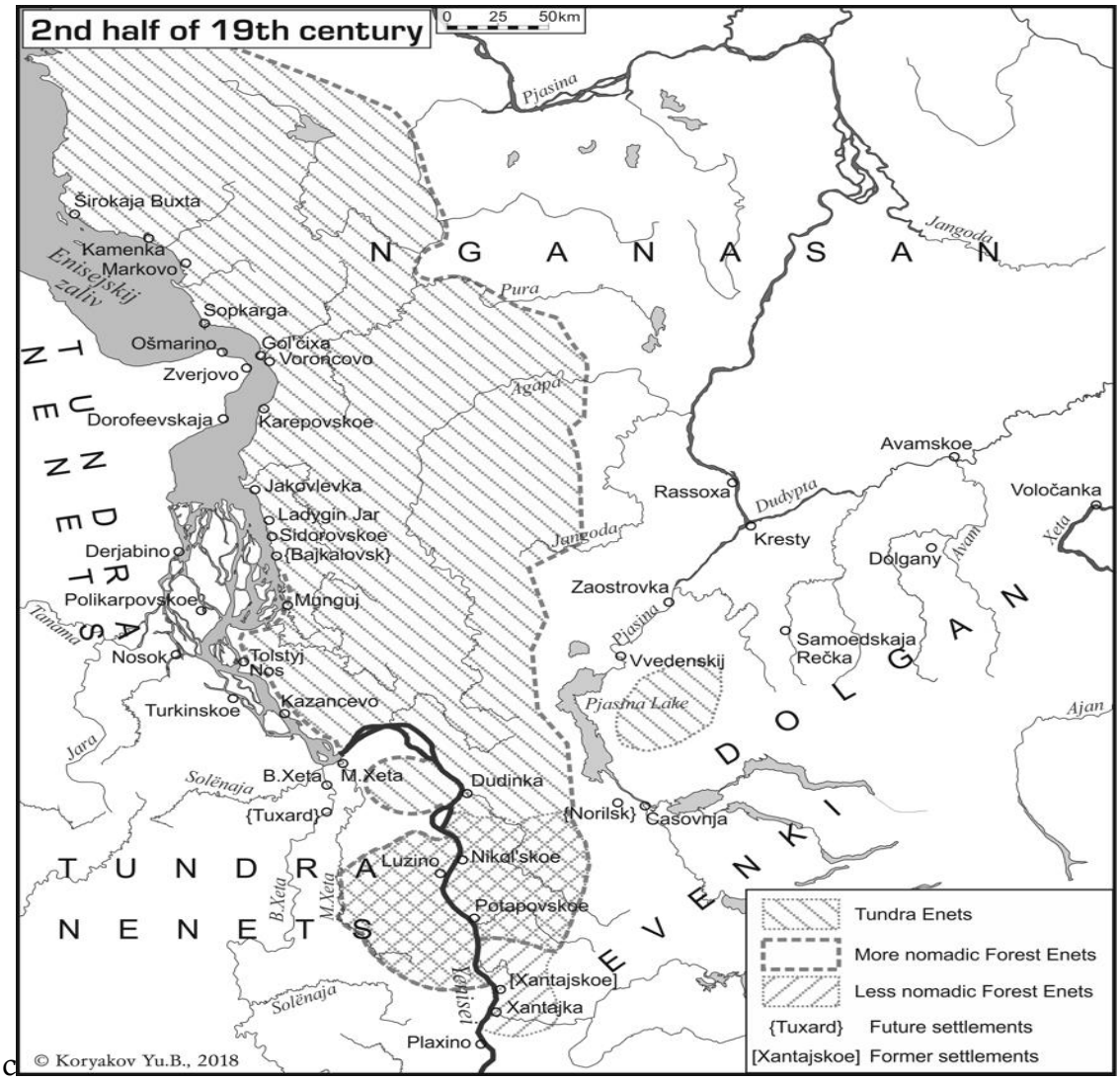

Figure 2. Location of the Enets-speaking people in the 2nd half of the 19th century (Khanina *et al*. 2018: 116)

4. Conclusion

Drawing a line between languages and dialects is well-known to be a difficult task. In the case of Enets, the two lects are spoken by communities with different identities and have easily identifiable distinctions in form, even in the basic lexicon, which suggests a distinction on the level of separate languages. At the same time, the intuitions of some linguists and speakers have suggested that the two lects are very close and mutually comprehensible, implying a distinction at the level of separate dialects. With this paper we have tried to show the origin of the two alternative points of view: one is based on lexicon, and the other is based on grammar. A possible assumption that differences between related lects are expected to be uniform throughout the various parts of linguistic structures is not true of Enets, and this echoes recent studies in language contact.

Summing up, the history of the two Enets has included an initial divergence (at all levels of linguistic structure, but mostly on the lexical level), followed by a secondary convergence (at the morphosyntactic level), and then by a secondary divergence (at the phonetic level). The case of Enets also provides an illustrative example of how language ideologies influence the evolution of linguistic structures (cf. e.g. Irvine & Gal 2000; Rumsey 1990; Silverstein 1979): it shows that contacts between communities with different identities can include conscious efforts to keep the forms distinct, with an accompanying unconscious interference in functional domains.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, 3 – 1, 2, 3 person, **ABL** – ablative, **Adj** – adjective, **Adv** – adverb, **CONN** – connegative, **CONT** – contrastive series, **DAT** – dative, **DEST** – destinative, **DU**, du – dual, **F** – Forest Enets, **FUT** – future, **IMP** – imperative series, **ipfv** – imperfective, **LOC** – locative, **M** – middle, **N** – noun, **NEG** – negative verb, **NMLZ** – nominalization, **NOM** – nominative, **Num** – numeral, **OBL** – oblique, **pfv** – perfective, **PL, pl** – plural, **PROB** – probabilitive, **PS** – Proto-Samoyed, **Q** – interrogative, **S** – subjective, **SG, sg** – singular, **SOnsg** – subjective-objective for non-singular object, **SOsg** – subjective-objective for singular object, **T** – Tundra Enets, **TRANSL** – translative, **V** – verb

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