

# みんなくりポジトリ

国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnology

SES no.044; Cover, contents, and others

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	<a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10502/797">http://hdl.handle.net/10502/797</a>

Senri Ethnological Studies no.44

# Northern Minority Languages

## Problems of Survival

Edited by  
**Hiroshi Shoji**  
**Juha Janhunen**



**National Museum  
of Ethnology**

Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka, Japan  
Phone 06-876-2151

## Senri Ethnological Studies

*Senri Ethnological Studies* will be published irregularly by the National Museum of Ethnology. The aim is to present the results of research and other activities conducted by the Museum staff, associate members, and affiliated guest scholars.

*General Editor*

Komei SASAKI

*Associate Editors*

Toh SUGIMURA

Shuzo KOYAMA

Nobuyuki HATA

Naomichi ISHIGE

Shigeharu SUGITA

Shohei WADA

SENRI ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES, No. 44

# **Northern Minority Languages**

**Problems of Survival**

*Edited by*

**Hiroshi SHOJI**

and

**Juha JANHUNEN**

Papers Presented at the Eighteenth Taniguchi International Symposium:

Division of Ethnology

National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka

1997



## CONTENTS

Preface .....	i
1. MICHAEL KRAUSS The indigenous languages of the North: a report on their present state .....	1
2. STEPHEN A. WURM Prospects of language preservation in the North .....	35
3. HIROSHI SHOJI Language policies and national consciousness among the Northern Minorities .....	55
4. EUGENE HELIMSKI Factors of Russianization in Siberia and linguo-ecological strategies .....	77
5. TAPANI SALMINEN Ecology and ethnic survival among the Nenets .....	93
6. VIKTOR ATKININE The Evenki language from the Yenisei to Sakhalin .....	109
7. JUHA JANHUNEN The languages of Manchuria in today's China .....	123
8. NILS ØIVIND HELANDER State languages as a challenge to ethnicity in the Sami Land .....	147
9. HIDEO KIRIKAE Social aspects of the Ainu linguistic decline .....	161
10. TOSHIRO TSUMAGARI Linguistic diversity and national borders of Tungusic .....	175
11. PANU HALLAMAA Unangam tunuu and Sugtestun: a struggle for continued life .....	187
Conclusion .....	225
List of contributors .....	228
Index of language names and ethnonyms .....	230



## Conclusion

Although there are many possible approaches to the problem of linguistic endangerment, and many specific problems connected with various actual languages, the participants of the Taniguchi Symposium on Northern Minority Languages, and the authors of this volume, all share a certain basic point of view. In the background of this point of view there lies a realization of the fact that the existence of languages, both generally all over the world, and particularly in the northern parts of the globe, is today seriously threatened by a multitude of external factors. It seems that these factors are mainly connected with the globalization of the world, a trend that is also responsible for the related processes of cultural and environmental endangerment. However, when we compare the degree of endangerment affecting languages with, for instance, that affecting wildlife, we see that the current loss of linguistic diversity has no parallels in other areas of life.

Also, all the contributors to this volume share the view that the loss of linguistic diversity is regrettable and should be met with active resistance. Just how this is to be done is one of the questions that was discussed at the Taniguchi Symposium, and, as a positive sign of active awakening, it is also being discussed in many other similar conferences currently conducted both in Japan and in other parts of the world on the problem of linguistic endangerment. There is no question that native language is, for any single individual and community, a crucial foundation for all intellectual and cultural activity. After the collapse of the universalist ideology in Anglo-American linguistics, even most professional scholars of language now dare to recognize that every language is different and reflects a different view of the world. The loss of any actual language means, consequently, the loss of a distinct philosophy which, if preserved, might at some time prove essential for the survival of all mankind.

The most dangerous aspect of globalization threatening languages today is the division of the world between nation-states, each one of which is supposed to have a national language of its own, and only one. Against the 6,000 or so languages still spoken today in the world, the number of separate nation-states is less than 200. While a few nations are essentially monolingual, most have a population speaking at least several languages, and some states have hundreds of different forms of speech. In the system of international communication, each state jealously protects its own linguistic rights as far as its national language is concerned, but very few states take an interest in their non-national linguistic diversity. What is still worse, any interest shown from the outside in the linguistic diversity of a nation is invariably considered as interference in its internal affairs.

Estimates as to how large a proportion of the world's languages is endangered today vary, but the basic situation is that it is a suppressed and powerless majority that is being threatened by a powerful and aggressive minority. For most practical

purposes it is sufficient to make a distinction between four kinds of languages, which may be characterized as (1) viable, (2) endangered, (3) moribund and (4) extinct, respectively. Again, opinions differ as to where to draw the boundaries between these categories, and how to estimate their mutual proportions, but at least in some regions, and especially among the languages of the so-called Northern Minorities of both the Old and the New World, it is the category of moribund languages that dominates the statistics. It is illustrative to note that there is no difference in this respect between countries representing different political ideologies or economic systems.

The fact of linguistic endangerment places us before two different tasks. On the one hand, there is the urgent but rather depressing task of studying and documenting, as thoroughly as possible, all those languages that are already doomed to disappear with the death of their last extant speakers. We might compare this task with the role of an undertaker. On the other hand, there is the equally urgent but potentially much more rewarding task of trying to help those speech communities whose languages, although endangered, may still have the chance of survival. This task corresponds to the role of a doctor who identifies an illness and suggests the proper cure or medication. Professional linguists are, however, not in the position to force surgical operations or costly medication to be applied. This is the task of the political decision-makers, both at the national and at the international level. It is, consequently, a matter of primary importance to spread positive information about linguistic diversity to all those who have the power to do something in order to save this diversity.

One such positive thing about linguistic diversity is the global potential of multilingualism, much discussed in the Taniguchi Conference. We have to recognize that the monolingual approach to the world, as represented by the majority populations of a few big nations, creates an intellectual vacuum that is both dangerous and unproductive. Huge monolingual masses, as represented in the North by the speakers of colonial languages such as Han Chinese, Russian, Japanese and English, are typically ignorant of and insensitive to the details of local history and culture. By contrast, the small indigenous communities, who are invariably fluent in two or more languages, have not only a superb knowledge of their traditional environment, but also an innate sense of cultural relativity that places them in an intellectual class of their own. Through a proper policy of local language enhancement, these intellectual benefits of multilingualism could be made available for both the majorities and the minorities.

An aspect of multilingualism that is still controversial among specialists involves the roles of minority languages. The main question is whether minority languages should be developed in a framework of standardization similar to that of state languages. Obviously, it is impossible to create the same material resources for all languages, which means that languages will always inevitably remain in some respects unequal. However, this does not mean that minority languages which lack material resources, such as the money and people necessary to create native

literature and education programmes, should be left dying, for they can well continue their existence within the specific spheres of life in which they are used. It is these spheres of life, such as the indigenous economic and social patterns as well as the physical territories of native communities, that should be protected in the first place. Questions concerning the increasing of the functional roles of an endangered language are also potentially important, but they should only have a secondary place in language policies.

Experiences from language planning in the North vary considerably. There are examples of successful standardization that has allowed languages such as Greenland Eskimo and Northern Sami to reach a functional status close to that of the dominant state languages. The main external background of this success seems to have been the model of Nordic democracy. On the other hand, there are dozens of examples of unsuccessful language planning, especially in the former Soviet Union, where considerable resources were wasted on the artificial creation of literary languages without any corresponding support to their oral continuity. Like the entire Soviet experiment, this specific policy of language planning had fatal consequences, in that it concealed the underlying reality of linguistic deterioration. The situation may be compared with that prevailing in the Northern parts of China, where many languages survive relatively well at the level of oral communication, although no serious efforts to raise their functional status have ever been made.

For the time being, most work on language preservation in the North should obviously be concentrated on the most basic aspects of linguistic survival. Any language is fundamentally a means of oral communication, and it is oral communication that is also the presupposition of its future continuity. Modern technology offers many new ways of oral communication, including radios and mobile phones, which are readily available to support the use of endangered minority languages without necessitating any standardization at the level of writing. Even the artistic dimensions of minority languages typically reach their highest quality in oral folklore, a quality often much superior to that of the written literatures supported by political states for their national languages.

On the other hand, the future of any language is in the mouths of its youngest speakers. After several decades of disinformation, both from governments and from scholars, concerning the alleged dangers of what used to be known as semi-lingualism, we now know that any child has the capability of learning as many languages as it is exposed to. Since, however, education and economic progress in the modern world often requires the knowledge of dominant and even international languages, local minority languages can have a future only if they are transmitted to children as first languages, to be complemented later by a gradually increasing number of secondary tongues. A child has no innate bias against any language. Any language, irrespective of the absolute number of its speakers, will survive if its future users are not bereft of the right to learn it.

**List of contributors**

Viktor D. ATKININE (Tungusic languages)  
Altaic Dept., Institute of Linguistics  
Russian Academy of Sciences  
199053 Tuchkov per. 9  
St. Petersburg, Russia

Panu HALLAMAA (Sociolinguistics of minority languages)  
Dept. of General Linguistics  
University of Helsinki  
Helsinki, Finland

Nils Ø. HELANDER (Sami linguistics)  
Nordic Sami Institute  
Kautokeino  
Norway

Eugene HELMSKI (Uralic and Siberian languages, historical linguistics)  
Faculty of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics  
Russian State University of the Humanities  
ul. Chayanova 15  
125267 Moscow, Russia

Juha JANHUNEN (Siberian and East Asian languages and cultures)  
Dept. of Asian and African Studies  
University of Helsinki  
Helsinki, Finland

Hideo KIRIKAE (Ainu linguistics)  
Hokkai Gakuen University  
4-1-40, Asahi-cho, Toyohira-ku  
Sapporo, Japan

Michael KRAUSS (Alaskan native languages, minority language preservation)  
Alaska Native Language Center  
University of Alaska  
Fairbanks, Alaska, USA

**Tapani SALMINEN** (Samoyed languages, survey of endangered languages)  
Dept. of Finno-Ugrian Studies  
University of Helsinki  
Helsinki, Finland

**Hiroshi SHOJI** (Finno-Ugrian languages, language policy)  
National Museum of Ethnology,  
Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka, Japan

**Toshiro TSUMAGARI** (Tungusic languages)  
Center for Language Studies  
Otaru University of Commerce  
3-5-21 Midori, Otaru, Japan

**Stephen A. WURM** (New Guinean and Pacific languages and Siberian Turkic languages, minority language preservation)  
Dept. of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies  
The Australian National University  
Canberra ACT 0200, Australia

## Index of language names and ethnonyms

- Australian Aboriginal language(s) 37, 38, 45, 47, 48  
Ahtna 11, 32  
Ainu 19, 25, 29, 33, 34, 57, 69, 73, 161–174  
Akkala (Sami) > Sami  
Algonquian 1  
Aleut 2, 5, 7, 8, 25, 32, 44, 79, 187, 192, 194, 195, 200, 202  
Aluutiiq 6, 7, 32, 187  
Alutiitstun > Aluutiiq  
Alyutor 13, 14, 33  
Arin 19, 25, 33, 78  
Assan 19, 78  
Athabaskan 1, 4, 8, 28  
Atkan 7, 195  
Attuan 7, 8, 195
- Babinsk > Akkala (Sami)  
Bargut 134, 139, 141  
Bashkir 44, 99  
Birarchen 110, 131  
Buriat > Buryat  
Buryat 44, 64, 111, 112, 118, 130, 133, 134, 136, 137, 139, 144
- Chaplino 42  
Chinese 39, 124, 125, 128, 131, 133, 135–137, 139–144, 177, 182  
Chipewyan 7, 28, 32  
Chukchi 6, 13, 14, 19, 28, 33, 44, 78, 93  
Chukchi-Koryak 1, 13  
Chuvan 19, 25, 33, 78  
Chuvash 44  
Copper Is. Attuan Creole 32  
Cree 44
- Dagur 44, 128–131, 135, 137, 139–141, 144  
Dana'ina > Tanaina  
Dene > Athabaskan  
Deg Xit'an > Ingalik  
Deg Xinag > Ingalik  
Dogrib 8, 9, 29, 32  
Dolgan 1, 41, 43, 83, 87, 90, 93, 97, 101
- Enets 20, 21, 34, 80, 85, 89–91, 97, 98, 104, 111  
English 198, 199, 201, 206, 207, 210–212, 214, 216
- Erzya 44  
Eskimo 2, 5, 42, 187, 188, 219  
Eskimo-Aleut 1, 5, 42, 187, 188, 194, 215  
Even 15, 16, 19, 28, 33, 36, 44, 78, 109, 111–114, 175, 179, 182, 183  
Evenk > Evenki  
Evenki 15, 16, 19, 28, 33, 36, 44, 78, 109–120, 128, 130–133, 136, 139–143  
Ewenke > Evenki  
Ewenki > Evenki  
Eyak 1, 11, 12, 27, 32
- Finnish 39, 65, 151, 153–156, 191  
Finno-Permian 1, 20, 22
- Ganalchi > Evenki  
Gilyak > Nivkh  
Gold > Nanai  
Goldi > Nanai  
Greenlandic > Inuit  
Guwich'in > Kutchin
- Haida 1–3, 12, 25, 32  
Han 9, 10, 32  
Hejen 16, 128, 133  
Hezhe > Hejen  
Holikachuk 11, 32  
Hungarian 83
- Inari (Sami) > Sami  
Ingalik 11, 32  
Inuit 1, 2, 5, 6, 23, 26, 29, 32, 41, 42, 44, 93, 188, 218  
Inupiaq > Inuit  
Inuktitun > Inuit  
Inuktitut > Inuit  
Inuttut > Inuit  
Itelmen 1, 13, 14, 25, 33, 78, 79, 80
- Japanese 124–126, 128, 163, 164, 173  
Jurchen 111, 124
- Kalmuk 85  
Kamas 21, 25, 34, 78, 90, 104  
Kamass > Kamas  
Kamchadal > Itelmen

- Kamchatkan > Itelmen  
 Karagas 78  
 Karelian 44  
 Kaska 9, 32  
 Kerek 13, 14, 27, 33, 79, 80  
 Ket 1, 4, 19, 27, 33, 43, 93  
 Khakas 135  
 Khalka 130  
 Khamnigan 15, 44, 128-133, 136-142, 144, 175, 176, 180, 181  
 Khanti > Khanty  
 Khanty 2, 21, 22, 25, 27, 29, 34, 43, 44, 78, 94, 96-101, 111  
 Khitan 123  
 Khorchin > Mongol  
 Kildin (Sami) > Sami  
 Kili > Nanai  
 Kilen > Nanai  
 Kirghiz > Kirgiz  
 Kirgiz 133, 135, 136, 139, 144  
 Koibal 78  
 Komi 1, 4, 83, 85, 93, 94, 100  
 Korean 71, 126-128, 144  
 Koryak 13, 14, 28, 33, 41, 44  
 Kott 19, 25, 33, 78  
 Koyukon 10, 32  
 Kumarchen 132  
 Kuskokwim 10, 32  
 Kutchin 9, 10, 32  
  
 Lamut > Even  
 Lappish > Sami  
 Loucheux > Kutchin  
 Lule (Sami) > Sami  
  
 Manchu 17, 33, 111, 112, 126, 127, 129, 133, 136, 137, 139, 144, 175-178, 180, 181  
 Mandarin > Chinese  
 Manegir > Orochen  
 Mansi 20, 21, 25, 27, 28, 34, 44, 78, 101, 103, 104  
 Maori 39  
 Mari 1, 44  
 Mator 21, 25, 34, 78  
 Moksha 44  
 Mongol 1, 112, 115, 124, 126, 127, 129, 130, 132, 134, 139, 141, 144, 177-181  
 Mongolian > Mongol  
 Mordvin 85  
 Murchen > Evenki  
  
 Nanai 16, 17, 25, 33, 44, 111, 133, 139, 175-177, 180, 182  
 Nanay > Nanai  
  
 Naukan 6, 32, 42  
 Neghidal > Negidal  
 Negidal 15, 25, 33, 79, 89, 111, 114, 115, 175-177, 183  
 Nenets 20, 21, 28, 29, 34, 43, 44, 82, 91, 93-96, 100-106, 111  
 Nganasan 20, 28, 34, 41, 43, 44, 81-84, 87, 89, 91, 97, 102, 111  
 Nisga-Gitksan 13, 33  
 Nivkh 1, 2, 18, 33, 43, 44, 111  
 Norwegian 2, 149, 151-156  
 Nuvuqaghmiistun 188, 189  
  
 Ob-Ugric 1, 20, 21, 78  
 Öelet > Oirat  
 Oirat 133-136, 139, 144  
 Olcha > Ulcha  
 Olonetsian 44  
 Omok 19, 25, 33, 78  
 Ongkor > Solon  
 Oroch 33, 111, 175, 176, 183  
 Orochen 15, 16, 79, 110, 112, 114, 128, 130-132, 136, 142, 143, 176, 177, 180, 181  
 Orochi > Oroch  
 Orok > Uilta  
 Ostyak > Khanty  
  
 Pacific Eskimo > Aluutiiq  
 Pacific Gulf Yup'ik > Aluutiiq  
 Pacific Yup'ik > Aluutiiq  
 Paleo-Asiatic 17-19  
 Permyak 44  
 Pumpokol 19, 25, 33, 78  
  
 Russian 1, 28, 47, 60, 65, 66, 77-79, 81-85, 90, 94, 99-102, 104-106, 118, 119, 124-126, 128, 138, 151, 165, 182, 188  
  
 Sami 1, 4, 5, 22, 23-25, 27, 28, 29, 34, 41, 44, 47, 59, 60, 62, 65, 67, 70, 85, 93, 147-159  
 Saami > Sami  
 Samoyedic 20, 78, 80  
 Scandinavian 151-154  
 Selkup 21, 27, 34  
 Selpechen 131, 142, 143  
 Sibe 25, 33, 111, 127, 129, 131, 175, 176, 180  
 Sibo > Sibe  
 Sirenik > Sireniki  
 Sireniki 7, 25, 32, 42, 188, 189  
 Sivuqaghmiistun 1, 188, 189, 218  
 Skolt (Sami) > Sami  
 Slavey 8, 9, 28, 29, 32  
 Solon 15, 44, 109, 111, 113-115, 130-133, 135,

137, 140, 144, 175, 176, 183  
 Sugpiaq 187, 206, 209, 215, 218  
 Sugpiat 187, 188, 189, 191–193, 205, 207, 208,  
 212, 217  
 Sugtestun 187, 189, 193, 194, 198, 203–205, 208,  
 210, 212, 213, 216–218,  
 Suk > Aluutiiq  
 Swedish 39, 151–155, 191

Tabgach 123  
 Taigi 78  
 Tagish 9, 27, 32  
 Tanacross 10, 32  
 Tanaina 11, 32  
 Tanana 9, 10, 32  
 Tatar 44, 93, 94, 99–101, 112, 182  
 Taugi > Nganasan  
 Tavgi > Nganasan  
 Tibetan 144  
 Tlingit 1, 12, 32  
 Tlingit > Tlingit  
 Tofalar > Karagas  
 Tsetsaut 11, 25, 32  
 Tsimshian 1, 12, 13, 25, 27, 33  
 Tungusic 1, 14, 17, 109–114, 124, 128, 130, 132,  
 143, 176, 177, 181  
 Turkic 1, 78, 135  
 Tutchone 9, 32

Udege 16, 33, 79, 80, 111, 133, 175–177, 183  
 Udeghe > Udege  
 Udehe > Udege  
 Udmurt 44  
 Uilta 16, 17, 25, 33, 79, 80, 111, 175–177, 182  
 Ulch > Ulcha  
 Ulcha 16, 17, 25, 33, 111, 133, 175–177  
 Ulchi > Ulcha  
 Unangam tunuu 187, 188, 192–194, 196–203,  
 212, 214, 217, 219, 223  
 Unangaŋ 187, 188, 192, 193, 195, 217, 218, 223  
 Uqueghllistun 188, 189

Vogul > Mansi

Xibo > Sibe

Yakut 1, 15, 18, 41, 44, 64, 85, 97, 111, 112, 118,  
 119  
 Yugcetun 187–189, 203, 211, 216–218  
 Yugtun > Yugcetun  
 Yug 19, 27, 33  
 Yukaghir > Yukagir  
 Yukagir 1, 18, 19, 33, 42–44, 78, 79

Yupiit > Yugcetun  
 Yupik 5–7, 28, 32, 41, 44, 93, 187, 188, 192, 211,  
 216, 218

Yurak (Samoyed) > Nenets  
 Yurats 20, 25, 34, 78

Zyryan 1

## SENRI ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES

- |        |   |      |
|--------|---|------|
| No. 1  | Africa 1  | 1978 |
| No. 2  | Miscellanea 1   | 1978 |
| No. 3  | Warfare among East African Herders  | 1979 |
| No. 4  | Alaska Native Culture and History   | 1980 |
| No. 5  | Music Culture in West Asia  | 1980 |
| No. 6  | Africa 2  | 1980 |
| No. 7  | The Galela of Halmahera:<br>A Preliminary Survey  | 1980 |
| No. 8  | Chipewyan Ecology: Group Structure<br>and Caribou Hunting System  | 1981 |
| No. 9  | Affluent Foragers   | 1981 |
| No. 10 | El Hombre y su Ambiente en los<br>Andes Centrales   | 1982 |
| No. 11 | Religion and Family in East Asia  | 1984 |
| No. 12 | Under Mt. Zempoaltépetl: Highland<br>Mixe Society and Ritual  | 1984 |
| No. 13 | History and Peasant Consciousness<br>in South East Asia   | 1984 |
| No. 14 | Regional Differences in Japanese Rural<br>Culture: Results of a Questionnaire   | 1984 |
| No. 15 | Africa 3  | 1984 |
| No. 16 | Japanese Civilization in the Modern<br>World: Life and Society  | 1984 |
| No. 17 | Maritime Institutions in the Western<br>Pacific   | 1984 |
| No. 18 | The Encounter of Persia with China:<br>Research into Cultural Contacts Based<br>on Fifteenth Century Persian Pictorial<br>Materials | 1986 |
| No. 19 | Japanese Civilization in the Modern<br>World II: Cities and Urbanization  | 1986 |
| No. 20 | Toward a Computer Ethnology   | 1987 |
| No. 21 | Cultural Uniformity and Diversity in<br>Micronesia  | 1987 |
| No. 22 | The Hanunoo-Mangyan: Society,<br>Religion and Law among a Mountain<br>People of Mindoro Island, Philippines                         | 1988 |
| No. 23 | The Museum Conservation of<br>Ethnographic Objects  | 1988 |

No. 24	Cinematographic Theory and New Dimensions in Ethnographic Film	1988
No. 25	Japanese Civilization in the Modern World III: Administrative Organizations	1989
No. 26	Japanese Civilization in the Modern World IV: Economic Institutions	1989
No. 27	Culture Embodied	1990
No. 28	Japanese Civilization in the Modern World V: Culturedness	1990
No. 29	Japanese Civilization in the Modern World VI: Religion	1990
No. 30	Cash, Commoditisation and Changing Foragers	1991
No. 31	Africa 4	1992
No. 32	Significance of Silk Roads in the History of Human Civilization	1992
No. 33	500 Años de Mestizaje en los Andes	1992
No. 34	Japanese Civilization in the Modern World VII: Language, Literacy, and Writing	1992
No. 35	Unity and Diversity of a People: The Search for Fulbe Identity	1993
No. 36	From Vedic Altar to Village Shrine: Towards an Interface between Indology and Anthropology	1993
No. 37	El Mundo Ceremonial Andino	1993
No. 38	Japanese Civilization in the Modern World IX: Tourism	1995
No. 39	Native Middle American Languages: An Areal-Typological Perspective	1995
No. 40	Japanese Civilization in the Modern World XI: Amusement	1995
No. 41	New Horizons in Tibeto-Burman Morphosyntax	1995
No. 42	Coastal Foragers in Transition	1996
No. 43	Essays in Northeast African Studies	1996
No. 44	Northern Minority Languages: Problems of Survival	1997

---

平成9年3月31日 発行 非売品

**Senri Ethnological Studies No. 44**

編集・発行 国立民族学博物館

〒565 吹田市千里万博公園10-1  
TEL 06 (876) 2151 (代表)

印刷 中西印刷株式会社

〒602 京都市上京区下立売通小川東入  
TEL 075 (441) 3155 (代表)

---

