

Arctic Languages

An Awakening



ARCTIC LANGUAGES

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Unesco

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*The word is the greatest power human
beings have. With words you can wound
others or make them happy -for life.*
(Asineq, an East Greenlander)

Preface

At its eighteenth session in 1974, the General Conference of Unesco authorized the Director-General to undertake studies on Arctic cultures (Resolution 3.31) in order to promote co-operation among research institutes and scholars from countries with Arctic population groups. The present publication is a part of the Unesco Arctic project aimed at safeguarding the non-physical heritage of Arctic peoples in its linguistic dimensions. It is the outcome of three Unesco meetings of experts, held respectively in Paris (1978), Novosibirsk (1980) and Copenhagen (1987), that worked out conceptual approaches to and practical plans for the study of Arctic cultures and languages.

The work is a study of Arctic languages written in an interdisciplinary manner. Following an introduction, it goes on to deal with the concepts of the Arctic and its peoples, describing their ethnonyms and patterns of settlement and socio-economic structuring. General data are given on their history and traditional culture and on the system of Arctic languages. The study depicts the contemporary situation from the viewpoint of written and literary language and the legal status, social functions and uses in education and the mass media of these languages. Their role as a factor of cultural identity of the peoples is emphasized.

This analysis highlights the underlying need for revitalization of Arctic languages and indicates a host of problems brought about by the impact of new socio-economic realities on traditional life and the cultural identity of the Arctic peoples. The publication is intended to foster research and draw the attention of population groups and institutions to the need to safeguard, popularize and promote the linguistic heritage of those peoples.

The editor and authors are responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts contained in this book and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of Unesco and do not commit the Organization. The designations employed and the presentation of material throughout this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of Unesco concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

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General Introduction

This collection of papers describes the history and current conditions of the Arctic languages. It is particularly concerned with what has occurred during the last twenty years. These languages are spoken in a vast but sparsely populated area and are as different from each other as those of the temperate zone. The reader who is familiar with any one of the Arctic languages will be curious to discover how the others reflect similar living conditions and will compare them. Many of the writers have shared Arctic hospitality and have been impressed with the lyrical qualities expressed by the fine arts of the Arctic peoples. In addition to their factual element, these reports are also stimulating and thought-provoking. They illustrate the enormous change in social attitudes since the Second World War. This is due in part to the spread and popularization of the social sciences, in part to the general growth in communication technology (which among other things has enabled all the people of our planet to observe their world televisually from outer space), and not least the work of the United Nations Organization in establishing equal rights for peoples as well as for persons, most particularly Unesco which has disseminated knowledge about the different cultures of our planet.

These reports are thought-provoking in other ways too: the Soviet reports tell of language engineering (the stimulated guidance of language development to enable natural languages to assume a broader communicative role), the Canadian paper describes progress in Inuit television and radio, while the Greenlandic contributions mention the maintenance of the oral tradition as a constant stimulus to the written. Yet, almost without exception, the reports mention that, while official positions on the Arctic languages have changed at the top level, the only change at lower adminis-

trative levels of government is a great increase in lip-service to human rights, except in Greenland where there is home rule.

Until the social sciences recognized language as the central symbolic function at the apex of human behaviour, languages were studied as codes independent of the societal aspect of their use. It had been popularly supposed (among Europeans and Euro-Americans) that only the classical European languages, and their offshoots, were suited to philosophy, science and technology. The social sciences demonstrated that the early use of the 'classical' languages in these fields was due to the accident of leisure afforded by mild climates. When modern technology rendered man less dependent upon climatic conditions, it was discovered that many lesser-used languages were not barriers to original and valuable thought, quite the contrary. Most recent studies of languages acquisition have led to the understanding that language develops with the rest of behaviour, and that vocabulary is proportional to its need. It has also been demonstrated that persons who do not master their mother tongue seldom master any other. Field observations in Greenland and Canada have shown that education through a second language usually takes an additional four years. The Soviet psychologist, Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky, building on Piaget's early work, proved that, regardless of how it is administered, learning always follows a path from the familiar to the less familiar.

Studies of languages in contact (where people are obliged to speak two or more languages) show that the use of two or several languages can be either enriching or alienating. The societal circumstances of language use and the relative prestige of the mother language in the eyes of the speech community determine whether the speaker benefits from his diglossia or not. The speaker whose mother language in his own community is of relatively low prestige (for whatever reason) feels alienated when obliged to speak his second language. Inversely, the speaker of a single widely-spoken language does not enjoy the wealth of nuances for regional and community matters - unless he has also mastered a regional dialect - so that the acquisition of a second language may prove an enriching experience for such a person. If motivation for mastery of a second language can be found in cases of this kind, it will usually produce a sense of well-being. In the study of languages in contact, it is a truism to say that 'bilingualism benefits most, psychologically, those who need it least, economically, and inversely'. It has also been observed throughout recorded history that if a widely-spoken language replaces a lesser-used one in all its societal functions, the latter tends to become a local dialect of the widely-spoken language and, eventually, another language.

As yet no studies have been completed concerning the critical mass of a widely-spoken language, but studies of pluralist societies indicate that those whose ethnic language is also used as a *lingua franca* by subcultures, or preponderantly used mostly for communication in technical jargon, become more rapidly acculturated from their ethnic origin than any other social group.

The original spread of widely-spoken languages was for trade and trust between different communities. Later, numbers lent prestige to the widely-spoken language. Yet some very small languages have great intrinsic value because, for particular areas of observation, they are more explicit.

Current study of socio-linguistics, particularly of languages in contact, distinguishes between different language functions. Some of these are served, in the case of widely-spoken languages, by stratified dialects: altolect, mesolect, batholect. In speech communities where language contact has produced creoles, these are almost different languages, while in plurilingual speech communities they are completely different. One cause of alienation is provided by rupture of the stratal norm because the basic societal function of language, the establishment of fellowship through trust, has been put aside. It may be said that this is the crucial factor, wherein the imposition of a widely-spoken language on speakers of lesser-used ones in the Arctic has been to the detriment of the speakers. Because of the prestige of the widely-spoken languages, and the need of access to scientific and technical knowledge, it is probable that the Arctic speech communities will continue to opt for the maintenance of their study. But it may well be that beyond the need to translate from them, their societal importance is much overrated by the Arctic speech communities. As yet, the Soviet Union alone has made any attempt to industrialize the Arctic.

For all of these reasons - maintenance of societal use of language and popularization of (potentially) useful science and technology - conscious efforts have been made in recent years to help the preservation and development of the languages of the Arctic. In 1980 a conference of specialists in these languages was held at Novosibirsk where the present book on the awakening of Arctic languages was planned.

From the contributions to the book one can grasp that almost everywhere some official policy measures have been taken to revitalize the Arctic languages at the top level of administration, while reports are almost unanimous in stating that very little has changed at the lower levels. One may well ask whether the measures are adequate and whether the language ecology has been restored. Time will tell. As Evgeny Yevtushenko puts it: *‘Мертвая рука прошлого - ничего без боя не отдаст’* The dead hand of the past will yield nought without a struggle.

It remains for me, as editor of the English version, to congratulate the translator of the Russian texts for his masterful version of the original collection, to thank Drs Louis-Jacques Dorais, Michael Fortescue, Elina Helander, Lawrence Kaplan, Dmitri Koundiuba and Edna MacLean for their helpful contributions to the process of editing. Thanks are also due to Prof. Gerard McNulty of Laval University for help with some of the Sami data and to the Micro-achievement Centre of Ottawa which recorded the material.

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 on Bilingualism, Laval University, Quebec*

Part I

SIBERIA

THE LANGUAGES OF THE
SOVIET NORTH

Introduction

Ilya Gurvich

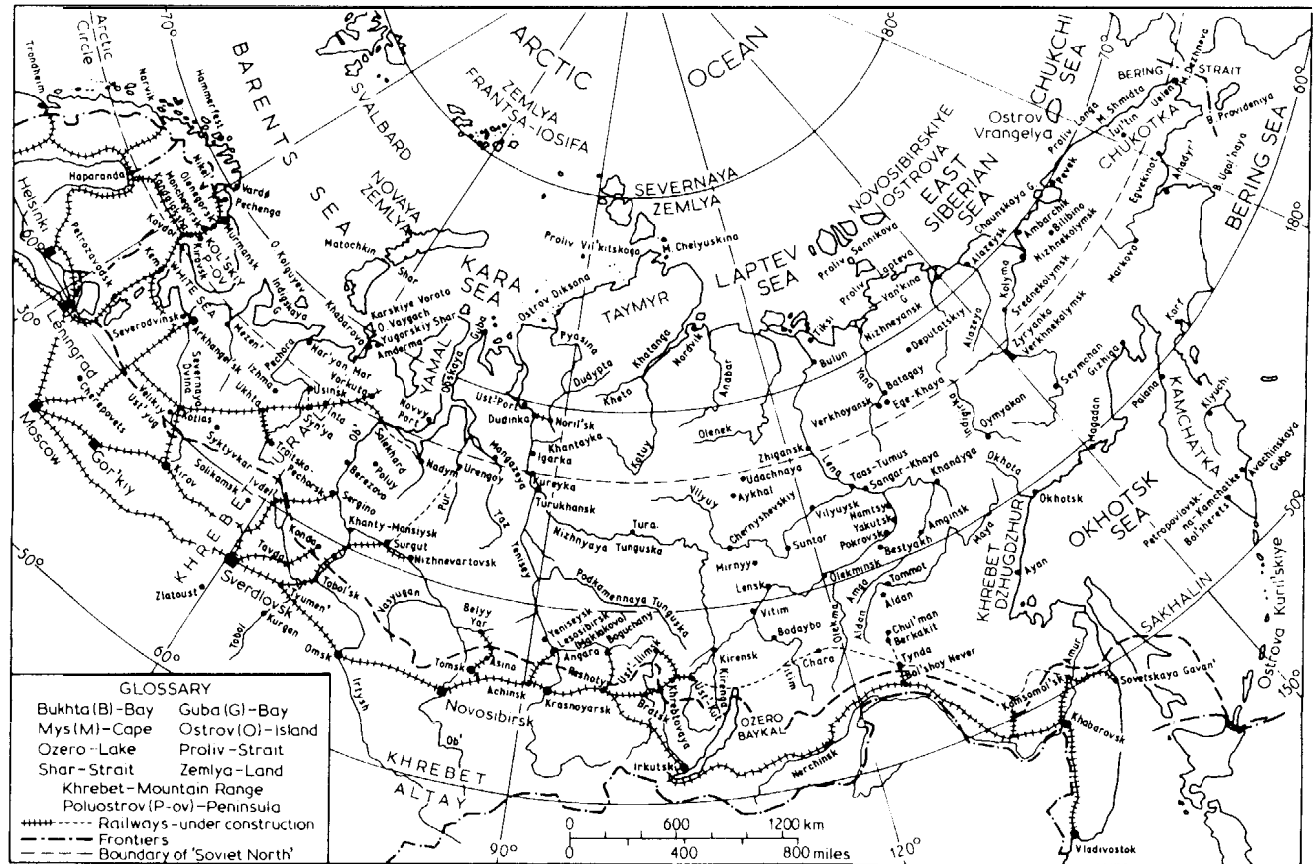
The Soviet Union is a multinational State. The All-Union Census of 1979 identified 104 peoples there, different in languages, culture and lifestyles, but closely bound by their common historical destiny.

According to the country's constitution, all citizens, regardless of race or ethnic affiliation, have equal rights, including the right to use their mother tongue and the languages of the peoples. There are 130 languages in the Soviet Union - more than there are peoples, because among some peoples two or more languages are used in parallel.

The purpose of this part of the book is to acquaint the reader with the fortunes of the languages of the small ethnic groups living in the extreme north and far east of the USSR, to illustrate the linguistic situation in the far-flung regions where they live and to depict the policy of the Soviet State in regard to the languages of the Northern ethnic groups and the practice of 'language development', in other words action aimed at establishing writing systems for and developing literary forms of existing languages, teaching these and publishing educational materials and works of literature in them.

Since the life of a language is closely linked to social phenomena, this part of the book devotes considerable space to the socio-economic and cultural development of the Northern and Far Eastern ethnic groups and to changes in their lifestyles.

[Translated from the Russian]



MAP 1. The Soviet North. Source: T. Armstrong, G. Rogers, G. Rowley. 1978. *The Circumpolar North. A Political and Economic Geography of the Arctic and Sub-Arctic*. London, Methuen and Co., p. 22.

Ethnic Groups of the Soviet North: A General Historical and Ethnographical Description

Chuner Taksami

Twenty-six small Northern ethnic groups live in the Soviet North (Map 1): of these 18 inhabit the Extreme North, seven the Far East and one the Sayan Mountains. The concept of 'small Northern peoples' was introduced in the Soviet period, the reasons being their small numbers, their common traditional occupations (hunting, reindeer-herding, fishing and sea-hunting) and their distinctive life-styles.

These ethnic groups number 158,000 in all, comprising 1,900 Sami or Lapps, 30,000 Nenets or Samoyeds, 21,000 Khants or Ostyaks, 7,600 Mansi or Voguls, 3,600 Selkups or Ostyak Samoyeds, 1,100 Kets or Yenisey Ostyaks, 900 Nganasans or Tavgis, 28,000 Evenks or Tungus, 12,000 Evens or Lamuts, 5,100 Dolgans, 10,000 Nanais or Golds, 500 Negidals, 2,600 Ulchis, 1,600 Udegeys, 1,200 Orochis, 4,400 Nivkhis or Gilyaks, 14,000 Chukchis, 7,900 Koryaks, 1,400 Itelmens or Kamchadals, 1,500 Eskimos, 500 Aleuts and so on. 1

These peoples are the indigenous population of the northern regions and belong to different language groups. A detailed account of these groups is given in special sections, and we shall consequently confine ourselves to describing their distribution (Table 1 and Map 2).

The Samoyedic- and Ugric-speaking peoples are settled in North-Western Siberia. The Khant and Mansi languages belong to the Ugric sub-groups of the Finno-Ugric branch of languages. The Khants (formerly called Ostyaks) and the Mansi (formerly Voguls) are two closely-related peoples known in the literature under the common name of 'Ob Ugrians'. The Khants live on the Ob and the Irtysh and their tributaries. They include three identifiable ethnographic groups: the Northern, Eastern and Southern groups. The latter have merged with the Russians and Tatars. The

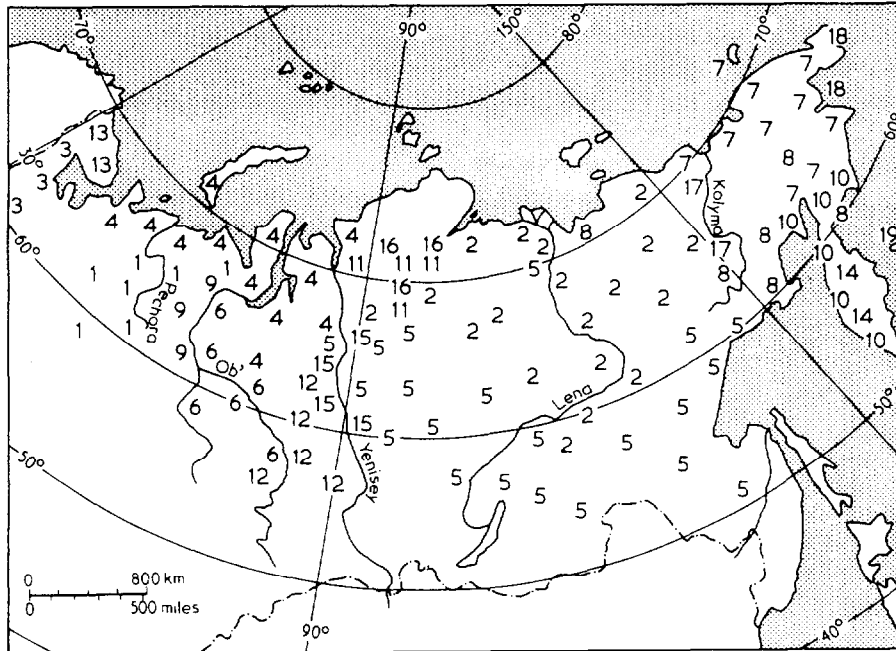
TABLE 1
Numerical strength and location (1959 and 1970) of majority of USSR Northern peoples mentioned in study by C.M. Taksami.

Ethnic group (names in current Soviet use followed by other names)	Population in thousands		Per cent change, 1959-70	Percentage of population who consider language of group to be their native language	
	1959	1970		1959	1970
1 Komi (Zyryans)	287	322	+ 12	89.3	82.7
2 Yakuty (Yakuts)	233	296	+ 22	97.6	96.3
3 Karely (Karelians)	167	146	- 16	71.3	63
4 Nentsy (Samoyeds)	23	29	+ 26	84.7	83.4
5 Evenki (Tungus)	25	25	-	55.9	51.3
6 Khanty (Ostyaks)	19	21	+ 11	77	68.9
7 Chukchi	12	14	+ 16	93.9	82.6
8 Eveny (Lamuts)	9.1	12	+ 39	81.4	56
9 Mansi (Voguls)	6.45	7.7	+ 19	59.2	52.4
10 Koryaki	6.3	7.5	+ 19	90.5	81.1
11 Dolgany	3.9	4.9	+ 26	93.9	89.8
12 Sel'kupy (Ostyak Samoyeds)	3.8	4.3	+ 13	50.6	51.1
13 Saami (Lapps)	1.8	1.9	+ 5	69.9	56.2
14 Itel'meny (Kamchadals)	1.1	1.3	+ 18	36	35.7
15 Kety (Yenisey Ostyaks)	1	1.2	+ 20	77.1	74.9
16 Nganasany (Tavgi Samoyeds)	0.75	1	+ 33	93.4	75.4
17 Yukagiry	0.4	0.6	+ 50	52.5	46.8
18 Eskimos (Asiatic Eskimo)	1.1	1.3	+ 18	84	60
19 Aleuty (Aleuts)	0.4	0.4	-	22.3	21.7
Total	802.1	897.1	+ 12		
Total population of USSR	208,827	241,720	+ 16		

Sources: *Narodnoye khozyaystuo SSSR u 1970g*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 16-17. In: T. Armstrong, **G. Rogers, G. Rowley**. 1978. *The Circumpolar North. A Political and Economic Geography of the Arctic and Sub-Arctic*. London, Methuen and Co., p. 48. Map 2 appears on p. 49.

Mansis are settled in the Ob basin (chiefly along its left-bank tributaries - the Konda and the Severnaya Sosva - and around the town of Berezovo) and the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous okrug of Tyumen oblast (pop. 6,200), while a small number live in Sverdlovsk oblast.

The Samoyedic language branch includes the Nenets, Enets, Nganasan and Selkup languages. In modern ethnographic literature these peoples are known as the Samoyedic peoples. The Nenets (formerly called Samoyeds or Yuraks) inhabit a vast area in the Northern USSR stretching from the Kola Peninsula to the lower right-bank of the Yenisey, along the coasts of the Barents and Kara Seas, and on the adjacent islands of Kolguyev, Vaygach, Novaya Zemlya and so forth. The Nganasans (own name Nya, formerly known as Tavgians or Samoyed-Tavgians) inhabit the Taymyr Peninsula.



MAP 2. Distribution of northern peoples in the USSR, 1970. The numbers refer to the left-hand column in Table 1 opposite. **Source:** Atlas SSSR, Moscow, 1969, pp. 98-9. See Table 1 for additional source.

The Enets (formerly the Yenisey Samoyeds) live along the lower reaches of the Yenisey and are divided territorially into the tundra and forest Enets. Culturally they are close to the Nenets. The Selkups (formerly called the Ostyak-Samoyeds) inhabit the region between the Ob and the Yenisey. Some of the Selkups share the resources of the Turukhan and Yeloguy river basins with the Kets, the upper Taz with the Khants and the lower reaches of this river with the Nenets.

The Chukchi-Kamchadal family of languages includes Chukchi, Koryak and Itelmen. The Chukchi live in the Far North-East of the USSR in the Chukchi Autonomous okrug of Magadan *oblast*, the Koryak Autonomous okrug of Kamchatka *oblast* and the Nizhnekolymskii rayon of Magadan *obst*. The nomadic reindeer Chukchi call themselves Chavchu, while the sedentary coastal group who engage in sea-hunting call themselves the An'khallan, meaning coast-dwellers. In the past the continental and coastal groups had sharply differing occupations, life-styles and cultures. The Chukchis include the very distinctive group of the Chuvans who have been identified as a separate ethnic group, apparently stemming from assimilation of Yukaghirs by Chukchis. The Koryaks inhabit the north-eastern part of the Soviet Pacific coast - the northern districts of Kamchatka and southern Chukotka from the Bay of Gizhiga to the Anadyr Gulf. The bulk of

them live in the Koryak Autonomous *okrug*, but small groups are settled in the Severo-Evenski rayon of Magadan *oblust* and the Anadyrskii rayon of the Chukchi Autonomous *okrug*. There are two identifiable groups: the reindeer and the maritime Koryaks. The former call themselves *Chavchyv* and the latter, the maritime or coastal Koryaks, *Nymylyn*. At one time, all Koryaks styled themselves Nymylyns.

The Itelmen live on the Kamchatka peninsula, primarily on its western coast. In the past both they and the long-established pockets of Russians mingled with them were called the Kamchadals.

The Eskimo-Aleut family comprises the language of the Eskimos and the Aleuts. The Siberian Eskimos live intermingled with the Chukchis on the eastern coast of Chukotka and on Wrangel Island: they call themselves the Yupigytic. In the USSR, Aleuts live on the Commander (Medny and Bering) Islands which form part of Kamchatka oblast.

The Palaesiberian languages include, together with the Chukchi-Kamchadal family, the isolate languages of the Nivkhi and the Yukaghir, which belong to no group or family. The Nivkhi live along the lower Amur and on Sakhalin Island, and are divided into two corresponding ethnographical groups. The word Nivkhi is their own name, and means a person. The Yukaghirs live in the upper Kolyma basin and along the river Alazeya in the Yakut ASSR and Magadan *oblust*. Linguistic and cultural features divide them into two groups: the upper Kolyma or taiga group, and the tundra group. They used to name themselves Odul, meaning 'strong', or Detkil, meaning 'bold'.

Another language isolate of Northern Asia is Ket. The Kets live along the middle and lower course of the Yenisey and were formerly called the Yenisey Ostyaks or Yeniseiains.

The most numerous group is the one speaking the Manchu-Tungus languages and includes the Evenks, Evens, Negidals, Nanais, Ulchis, Orochis, Orochis and Udegeys. These peoples are scattered over a vast expanse stretching from the Yenisey to the Pacific and from the Arctic coast to the southern border of the USSR.

The Evenks are the most numerous of the indigenous North Siberian peoples. They live in isolated groups across the vast territory that extends from the Yenisey to the Okhotsk Sea and Sakhalin Island in the east. Formerly they called themselves the Tungus, but local groups were to be found with individual names: the Orochens in Transbaikalia and the Upper Amur, the Biryars in the Bureya basin and the Manegrs in the Zeya basin. The Evens live east of the Lena in the Yakut ASSR and Magadan *oblust*, along the Sea of Okhotsk coast in Khabarovsk *kray* and in the central part of Kamchatka, Kamchatka *oblust*. They also include several identifiable ethnographic groups including the Oroch, Mene and others.

The Nanais live along the lower reaches of the Amur in Khabarovsk *kray* and the right-bank tributaries of the Ussuri in Primorskiy *kruy*. They were formerly called the Golds, while the Gorin river group were called the

Samagirs. In the Amgun basin and the lower Amur live the Negidals, who call themselves Al'kan Beinin. Mingling with the Nivkhis along the lower Amurin Ul'chskii *rayon* live the Ulchis who, like the Nanais and the Orochis, call themselves *Nani*. The Orochis live on the shores of the Tatar Strait in the Sovetsko-Gavanskii, Vaninskii and Komsomol'skii *rayons* of Khabarovsk *kray*. The bulk of them are settled along the river Tumnin, and call themselves the Nani and Orochi. The Udegey settlements are scattered over the slopes of Mount Sikhote-Alin' and along the river Khor in Khabarovsk and Primorskiy *krays*. They call themselves the Ude or Udekhe. The Orochis live on Sakhalin Island and call themselves *Ul'ta* meaning 'reindeer people'.

The Tofalar people is nominally included among the Northern ethnic groups, to whom it is close in culture and life-style. This people lives in the Sayan Mountains of Southern Siberia.

As may be seen, the Northern peoples inhabit vast expanses of taiga and tundra from the Kola peninsula in the west to Chukotka and Kamchatka in the east. In area this region makes up almost half the territory of the USSR (11,000,000 sq. km.). In terms of natural conditions and geography, it is very severe and features the presence of permafrost over most of its surface.

Before the Revolution the indigenous population was dispersed in small groups, sometimes even in separate families, because of the requirements of their hunting and fishing occupations and reindeer-breeding. The various tribal and clan groups of the same ethnic group, furthermore, did not always acknowledge their oneness or common origin. Division, dispersal and linguistic fragmentation resulted in tribal and clan affiliation holding sway among a number of ethnic groups.

Prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution, all the indigenous Northern ethnic groups had a low socio-economic development standard and were illiterate: some suffered from smallpox or were starving. Since then the conditions have been established for a rapid and comprehensive development of their economies and cultures. The organization of local government bodies, the formation of national *okrugs* and *rayons*, the socialist reconstruction of the northern craft-based economy and the allocation of hunting or fishing grounds to the indigenous population have hastened the consolidation of formerly dispersed groups with closely-related livelihoods and cultures. The Northern population is growing closer to the Russians and members of other peoples who have settled in the north.

The region has become industrially advanced and occupies an important place in the overall Soviet economy. Northern areas are rich in natural resources. Below the surface lie large stocks of minerals: oil and gas, coal and iron, nickel and copper, gold and diamonds, mica and graphite, titanium and tin, cobalt and bauxite, Iceland spar, etc. Since the Sixties the pace of development has quickened. In a short period the oil and gas industries have been built up in Western Siberia on Sakhalin and the mining and metallurgical industries in northern Krasnoyarsk *kray*, while non-ferrous metals

are mined in Chukotka. Ore mining, metal working, timber processing, fuel, fish, food, shipbuilding, engineering and other industries have been established in the areas of settlement of the Northern peoples. Hand in hand with this goes the development of transport. Alongside sea and river shipping, air and road transport is growing tremendously fast. The construction of new railway lines continues: the Baikal-Amur railway, linking Siberia with the Pacific, has been completed. Throughout the North modern communications -telephone, radio and television -have been developed. It should be pointed out that the majority of industrial centres established in Northern districts are economically important to the entire country, while the industrial development of Northern territories is a matter of State importance. At the same time new industrial towns have grown up, such as Salekhard, Norilsk, Magadan, Mirny, Nizhnevartovsk, Khanty-Mansiysk, Nefteyugansk, Igarka, Surgut, Anadyr, Pevek, Amursk, Komsomolsk-na-Amure, Urengoy, Solnechnoye and so forth. Hand in hand with cultural development, the rise of industry and transport and the exploitation of natural assets have led to a sharp increase in the population throughout the Soviet north.

At present the region as a whole numbers some 8,000,000 inhabitants. In the northern autonomous *okrugs*, too, the population has grown markedly, increasing three-fold between 1959 and 1979. Of course, such a large increase has been achieved largely through a heavy influx from other parts of the country.

The Northern autonomous *okrugs* are multinational with from 30 to 56 different nationalities living in each. This circumstance naturally influences every aspect of indigenous culture, thereby assisting the native population to assimilate new elements into their life-style.

In any discussion on the social structure of the Northern peoples, it has to be said that they are currently undergoing a period of industrial development. This process influences both the thrust of their economy and their social composition. More than any other factor the industrial exploitation of the North naturally has resulted in the growth of a working class and of a technical intelligentsia in its midst. Representatives of these ethnic groups work at large factories in Khabarovsk, Komsomolsk-na-Amure, Amursk and Nikolaevsk-na-Amure. They are to be found at the Amur Pulp and Cardboard Combine, engineering works or shipyards, oil or coal enterprises in Sakhalin, the Solnechnoye Ore Dressing Combine, on the railway and at the many forestry or fishery enterprises. Moreover, many have advanced specializations. The vast majority are graduates of factory or technical training schools, technical colleges or institutes of higher education.

We may be witnessing the emergence of a technical intelligentsia among the Northern ethnic groups. Furthermore, those engaged in industrial production, particularly in such industries as engineering, shipbuilding, oil, etc., have generally mastered not only the necessary specialization but allied skills as well. Their overall standards qualify them to work in any enterprise.

The formation of a working class and a technical intelligentsia among the Northern peoples has naturally drawn them to the towns and industrial centres. In the short period from 1959 to 1979, the urban population of Northern Siberian and Far Eastern ethnic stock more than doubled.

The indigenous peoples of the North, by virtue of their small numbers, have limited labour resources. Consequently the extensive exploitation of their region's natural riches calls for the participation of representatives of every nation and ethnic group in the country.

The bulk - some 81 per cent - of the indigenous inhabitants still live in rural areas where they were settled previously. Here they engage in different economic occupations, although most of them still follow their traditional pursuits -reindeer-breeding, hunting, sea- and river-fishing or sea-hunting. These occupations are of great importance both for the economy of the country and for the peoples of the North.

The economy of these ethnic groups has always been complex, combining several productive occupations of which one was generally predominant. This system is rooted in history and stemmed from natural and socio-economic causes, in other words the seasonal nature of hunting and fishing. All such occupations were inseparably linked and complementary. They have now been developed further on the basis of modern technology as a result of large-scale organizational measures designed to strengthen Northern undertakings.

Reindeer-breeding remains one of the foremost occupations; the Soviet North has in all more than 2,300,000 head of reindeer. Fishing is still important to the peoples of the major river basins and lakes and to those of the sea coasts. It has enjoyed particularly extensive industrial development among the peoples of Kamchatka and the Amur, Yenisey and Ob basins. Sea-hunting is important too: the Asian Eskimos, for instance, still hunt walrus, bearded seal and ringed seal. The Soviet North is one of the country's chief hunting grounds where hereditary hunters catch such fur-carriers as wild reindeer, elk, geese, duck and woodland wildfowl.

Northern reindeer-breeding, hunting and farming as a whole play an important part in the economic development of the entire region and in establishing local food supply.

The indigenous inhabitants, both workers and collective farmers, practise reindeer-breeding, hunting and fishing in a system of collective and State associations. Their contemporary occupations are developing at a time of intensive industrial exploitation of the North. Despite their lack of numbers, the aboriginal peoples are taking part in the creation of productive forces in their territories and in their industrialization. This poses the problem of providing trained personnel for reindeer-breeding and hunting associations. Clearly, it is important to take account of the needs and requirements of these traditional occupations and to continue the training of the indigenous people as personnel.

The further preservation and development of the Northern peoples' traditional occupations will depend on environmental protection and rational use of local resources. Of particular value are the reindeer pastures, fishing and hunting grounds, spawning rivers and areas of forest or other vegetation. A major objective is not only to preserve the nature of the North but to put new hunting and fishing grounds to use.

The Northern peoples have acquired an abundance of knowledge about the local environment and its fauna and flora. In reindeer-breeding, hunting and fishing they have developed original forms of transport and tools and rational production methods. Our task is to apply them more extensively as part of modern economic activity.

Since the Soviets came to power, a considerable people's intelligentsia has emerged from the ranks of the Northern ethnic groups: they are engaged in education, public health, culture or agriculture, while creators and scientists have appeared. In the early twentieth century only a few Northerners were literate, and most of them could only read word by word and sign their name with difficulty. Today a network of schools has been established throughout the North. In 1975 the seven national *okrugs* had 463 general educational schools attended by 166,800 pupils, including 26,500 children of Northern ethnic stock attending boarding schools entirely at State expense.²

Indigenous Northerners are being trained extensively throughout the country as specialists with secondary or higher qualifications. This is now possible because of the extension of schooling. In 1975 over 4,500 young people³ from the Northern ethnic groups were studying in the country's secondary or higher educational establishments, both in Siberia and the Far East, and in Moscow and Leningrad. Many establishments have special departments or faculties. Many Northerners at present, on completing their eight-year and secondary education, wish to continue their general education, and many study through correspondence or evening courses at institutes or technical colleges. All this indicates a higher cultural level among these ethnic groups. According to the 1970 Census, in rural parts of the extreme North alone over 400 persons of Northern stock with higher education were employed, while some 3,000 had incomplete higher or secondary specialized education.

Large numbers of specialists from the ranks of Northern ethnic groups are employed in education, culture and public health. They include many prominent figures. In the Chukchi Autonomous *okrug* in 1980, of the 195 persons employed in schools or pre-school establishments, 60 had higher education, while, of the 110 employed in medical establishments, 23 were doctors and 87 had secondary specialized medical education. Cultural establishments employed 114, including 53 with higher or secondary specialized education.

Extensive personnel training has promoted the emergence of a creative intelligentsia that includes scholars, scientists, writers and artists. The first

to engage in scholarly work in the 1930s were the Nenets A. Pyrerka, the Aleut V. Khabarov, the Yukaghir N. Spiridonov and others. To Pyrerka's pen we owe the work *'Olenevodcheskaya terminologiya nentsev'* (Nenets reindeer-breeding terminology) and more than ten schoolbooks and teaching aids. The topic of Khabarov's studies was the problem of fur-seal management on the Commander Islands. The first Northerner to defend a dissertation submitted for a candidate's degree was the Yukaghir N.S. Spiridonov: more than 30 members of the small Northern peoples now hold the academic degree of Candidate of Science, while two hold Doctorates. Most work in the humanities or else are teachers, but some researchers work in the fields of chemistry, biology, agriculture and other sciences. Equally importantly, some Northern graduates work in institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The establishment of written forms of the Northern languages led to the emergence of national literature. Among the first Northern writers were the Yukaghir Teki Odulok, the Koryaks Lev Zhukov and Ketsai Kekketyn, the Udegey Dzhansi Kimonko, the Nanai Akim Samar, the Nenets Nikolai Vylko, the Even Nikolai Tarabukin, the Evenks Aleksei Salatkin and Grigorii Chinkov and others. These authors and poets wrote of the natural beauty of the North and the distinctive life-style of its peoples; they described the work, social transformations and changes in people's attitudes. The usual vehicles were short stories or tales of everyday life drawn from their own experience, or historical material that made use of folklore.

The distinctive literature of the North has now matured and Northern writers have created novels and stories that are widely popular. The Chukchi writer Yurii Rytkheu is the equal of famous modern Soviet authors and his books have been translated into many foreign languages. The Nanai Grigorii Khodzher and the Mansi Yuvan Shestalov have had noteworthy success. In 1973 Khodzher was awarded the 'Maksim Gorky' RSFSR State Prize for his trilogy *Amur Shirokii* (The Broad Amur), and Shestalov in 1978 for his *Yazycheskaya Poema* (Pagan Poem).

The writings of the Chukchi Antonia Kymytval', the Yukaghirs Uluro Ado and Semen Kurilov, the Koryak Vladimir Koyaito, the Nivkhi Vladimir Sanga, the Nanai Andrei Passar, the Khants Grigorii Lazarev and Mikul' Shul'gin, the Evenk Alitet Nemtushkin, the Eskimo Yurii Anko, the Ulchi Aleksei Valdyu, the Dolgan authoress Ogdo Aksyonova and others are firmly enshrined in the Soviet Union's multinational literature and are widely read. Northern writers' works are published both in Russian and in their mother tongues.

Even before the Revolution, migratory processes occurred continuously in Siberia, with individual ethnic groups of one people or another moving far beyond its boundaries to be surrounded by other ethnic groups. This was particularly the case among Tungus speakers, Yakuts and others. Contemporary ethnic processes reveal continuing ethnocultural contacts in Siberia but are now more complex and varied. It is important to note at the outset

that in the past century the Northern ethnic groups remained within their former area of settlement and the bulk of the population still live in their birthplaces. In the last twenty years, action to unite collective and state farms has indeed in some places led to concentration in larger settlements. At the same time, however, individuals from one or other people are settling among those of different nationality, sometimes far from their ethnic origins. Usually they are specialists coming on assignment after graduating from technical colleges or higher educational establishments. But on the whole the small Northern ethnic groups still live clustered in their ethnic homelands. There appear to be many reasons for this: they include the fact that the Northern peoples retain a profound respect and love for their ancient occupations and are strongly drawn to their birthplaces and ethnic milieu. They also feel, as it were, more at ease in their accustomed surroundings.

Most Northern peoples are now multilingual. Apart from their mother tongues, they have from time immemorial spoken the languages of their neighbours, particularly in the contact zones. For instance, the Dolgans living on the Taymyr peninsula know Nganasan, Yakut and Evenk, the Nganasans themselves speak Dolgan and Enets and the Enets know Nenets. The Khants understand colloquial Nenets and Komi; the Komis speak Khant Mansi and Nenets, the Nenets speak Komi, the Mansis know Komi and Nenets; the Kets have a command of Evenk and Selkup, and some Evenks and Selkups, in turn, speak Ket. For historical reasons, bilingualism and trilingualism exist in northern Siberia and persist to this day. Of course it is now chiefly the older generation who speak their neighbours' languages colloquially.

The Northern peoples' languages live on and are spoken mostly in the home or in day-to-day life. At the same time, Russian has now become widespread among the indigenous population and is in fact the contact language. Experience shows, moreover, that the Northern peoples' cultures can be developed successfully through the Russian language, which has become their second mother tongue. It is learned on a voluntary basis and the local inhabitants view it as a natural and vitally necessary process.

An intriguing phenomenon in this context is the fact that the Russians have a command of their Northern neighbours' colloquial language. It is well known that for many decades now the old-established Russian population has lived in close contact with the indigenous Northern ethnic groups. Many of them speak the Northern languages and communicate with Northerners in those languages. This can be observed throughout the North, and the intimate links between the two have had a certain impact on the local Russian language in respect of its lexicon. The words borrowed are chiefly those connected with reindeer-breeding, hunting, fishing and sea-hunting, and names for objects of material culture.

Social institutions too have evolved in the North, as have social relationships. According to Soviet research, 'a process common to all Siberian

peoples in recent centuries has been the transition from clan and tribal social patterns to those based on territory and neighbourhood, with the former and their associated traditions and prejudices now playing a subordinate part. The functions of the clan, the phratry, have been reduced and are by and large confined to governing marital relationships'.⁴

There are still some relics of the tribal and religious past. Generally speaking, they are kept alive by the older generation, Among the relatively resilient survivals is clan exogamy, a social phenomenon that in different forms and to varying degrees is evident among most of the ethnic groups and influences the formation of family and marital relationships.

The socio-economic, cultural and political changes have brought about the right conditions for religious feelings to wither away. However, it must be said that some religious phenomena are very tenacious and appear to varying degrees in residual form among virtually all the Northern aboriginals.

In the past, archaic forms of religious beliefs, known in the literature as pre-shamanistic notions, were widespread. These early beliefs have persisted in residual form in the rituals of nature worship, hunting cults, animal worship, the cult of the bear or ancestors and in rites relating to childbirth and upbringing or to burial and so on. The older generation remember, for instance, the rituals connected with the worship of natural objects - land, hills, knolls or rocks - or with the cult of water, trees, animals, and so forth. Thus sacrificial grounds remain in many parts of the North. According to traditional belief, these places have their 'resident spirits'; during the hunting season or when at the sacrificial ground, the local inhabitants traditionally leave food, tobacco and other offerings, and sprinkle vodka about, thereby accomplishing as it were the ritual of sacrifice.

As a religious system shamanism has now collapsed. It is, however, premature to speak of the complete disappearance of the phenomenon: it survives in residual form among a number of peoples. None the less, it is virtually impossible to find shamans who have all the necessary attributes.

The Northern peoples' present-day culture may be described as an alloy of traditional and contemporary elements: it none the less represents an organic union of spiritual values created by all the Soviet peoples. It contains the most precious factors in their traditional culture that is the product of the harsh conditions of the North. Cultural traditions emerge in economic activity and work, in life-style traditions and customs, in the specificity of material and spiritual culture, in national applied art and in language and conduct.

The cultural distinctiveness of the Northern peoples is revealed above all in their economic activity. Even today in their areas of settlement, such ancient occupations as reindeer-breeding, fishing and land or sea hunting are still practised and developed. Side by side with them, original modes of transport such as reindeer or dog teams and various types of boats are common.

Reindeer transport, for example, is still used by Northern reindeer herdsman and hunters working in remote areas. Dog teams, too, retain their practical importance and are used both by reindeer herdsman and by the hunting and fishing communities. Their importance should not, of course, be overstated, but it should be said, none the less, that in the difficult circumstances of the North, especially in winter, dog and reindeer teams are still an important form of transport. It should be noted that extensive use is made of dogs in hunting and reindeer-breeding. In recent years Siberian huskies have been widely used to help herdsman on reindeer farms.

The rural population now lives in well-designed settlements equipped with hospitals, schools, clubs, libraries, shops, post offices and so on. The families of hunters, fishermen and reindeer herdsman live in loghouses. But in several parts, and particularly among herdsman, traditional dwellings and work structures are still used. Quite often herdsman's families who have settled in villages erect such portable homes in their gardens as summer quarters. Some ethnic groups - the Nenets, for example - traditionally place sledges with fur artefacts outside their homes.⁵

National dress is still used to varying degrees. The traditional fur costume is commonest among reindeer herdsman and hunters. In places the aboriginals, particularly the elderly, wear it only at festivals or as ritual dress at funerals. It is also worn by children.

Reindeer herdsman to a man still wear winter fur outerwear, headgear and footwear, and many hunters and fishermen still use working clothes of fur and hides when at the grounds. Most women employed in reindeer-herding teams wear the traditional winter fur clothes and footwear of hides and fur. Children's clothes are made of the best young reindeer fur, suede leather and so on. Many Northerners living in the towns and settlements wear traditional fur dress: the Nenets living in the town of Naryan-Mar, for instance, use reindeer fur clothing and footwear when travelling.

The Northern peoples' national characteristics may also be seen in their diet, with reindeer herdsman, fishermen, sea and land hunters still adhering to traditional foodstuffs. Reindeer meat and fish are still consumed cooked, raw or dry-cured. These dishes, it should be said, predominate in the diet of the population that engages in reindeer-herding and fishing: the diet of sea-hunters such as Eskimos is largely made up of sea mammal meat - whale, walrus or seal. A large part of the Northerners' diet now consists of agricultural products that are new to them: the development of market gardening and domestic stock-breeding, combined with an increased range of imported products, has led to increased variety.

Some Northern dishes, such as the raw fish and meat dish *stroganina*, are also eaten by the local immigrant population, especially the Russians. The settlers speak enthusiastically of it.

One further characteristic of Northern food habits should be mentioned. The Northern peoples preserve the custom of sharing the products of their occupations with related families and fellow-villagers, enabling meat or fish

to be eaten even by those families that have at the time caught or reared none, and also by all those who cannot themselves engage in reindeer-breeding or hunting. Essentially this custom stems from the old tribal relationships, but it is still alive among the local population: it is particularly strong among the older generation. Community self-help and hospitality is very common among the Northerners, who view the observance of these precepts of customary law as keeping up their national traditions.

Here it is appropriate to remark that customary law among the Northern peoples is a complex institution of social relationships, and we still know little, not only of the ways in which they used to function, but even of the very essence of these traditionally established laws. Customary law here is closely bound up with many ethical precepts. Unfortunately, these too are little studied. The literature contains only fragmentary comments on various aspects of the Northern peoples' conduct and an attempt to generalize their basic character traits. In my view, a very telling description of those traits is that given by V.N. Uvachan. 'The character of the Northern peoples,' he writes, 'was formed in centuries of difficult and sometimes cruel struggle for survival against the elemental powers of nature. Their harsh living conditions did not break them, but produced industriousness and the ability to bear any misfortunes. In them natural gifts, talents and kind-heartedness combined with honesty, unquenchable optimism and humour in any circumstances, even the most difficult.'⁶ It is intriguing to note the views of teachers working in the North about the specific characteristics of the Northern peoples' psyche. Most single out such qualities as independence, discipline, fortitude, good nature, deliberateness, laconism when answering, reserve, observation, honesty, the ability to find their way, and so on. Their discretion and deliberateness are directly related to the important quality of thoroughness. Their slowness, however, appears only in such situations as decision-making: they are highly emotional, impulsive, mobile and quick to react when implementing decisions already taken.'

The traditional festivals associated with herding and hunting are still observed. They have now been developed and become more meaningful: for instance, the festival associated with the end of calving or the summer transhumance is now universally celebrated in the North as 'Reindeer Herdsmen's Day'. In parts the traditional ritual hunting festivals have been replaced by 'Festivals of the Northern Peoples' and are held in summer and winter alike when summing up the results of a successful hunting season, the autumn slaughter of reindeer and so on. Competitions are held in the national sports-races between reindeer and dog teams, contests on Alpine or hunters' reindeer-skin skis, boat races, jumping over sledges, lasso throwing, archery, shooting and so on. Of course, each people still practises its own range of events.

The national games and competitions are closely related to the Northern peoples' herding and hunting occupations. They help to develop the qualities that the reindeer herdsman, hunter or fisherman needs in Northern condi-

tions, and to prepare people for their work. Such distinctive sports and contests are a part of the Northern cultural heritage, have great practical significance and deserve to be carefully preserved.

The characteristics of the Northern peoples are also revealed in their distinctive creative arts. The origins of this traditional culture lie deep in antiquity: millennia ago, local artists were at work in the remotest comers of the North, leaving their traces on cliff-faces, composing epic tales and songs and elaborating colourful myths and legends.⁸ Study of the ancient and contemporary Northern cultures has provided persuasive evidence of their continuity and of the contemporary population's ethnogenetic links with their forebears in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. At the same time, the profound social role that art plays in the Northern peoples' lives must be emphasized. Their art has recorded the information yielded by experience and observations of nature and social life, while simultaneously satisfying their aesthetic requirements.

Visual art is an ancient field of national creativity. Even in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ethnographers, art specialists and many other research workers drew attention to the various original forms of representation on flat surfaces -subject drawings on leather, wood, bark or cloth, images embroidered in reindeer or elk hair, animal sinews or factory-made threads, engravings on ivory or metal, images printed or scraped on bark, bas-relief work in wood, tin, copper or silver incrustations on iron, pictures cut from fish-skin, suede leather, cloth or paper and stitched or glued to smooth material or made up of scraps of dark and light reindeer or elk fur. Others, too, are pencil, paint and water-colour drawings, which are, of course, later and bound up with the development of a socialist culture.⁹ Observation and visual memory were well developed in the indigenous artists; they attempted to transfer the images imprinted in their minds on to objects that came to hand - bark, fur, leather, bone, wood or metal artefacts. The commonest subjects were animals, flora and natural phenomena of every kind. However, an equal place in the Northern visual arts is filled by man, his work, social situation or material and spiritual culture. Images of Northern reindeer are frequent, Northerners being sensitive to their beauty and plasticity. Reindeer representations are found in the arts of all the inhabitants of the North. It is shown running free, in teams or at rest: its elegance, strength and fortitude are always emphasized. The beauty of the reindeer offer the artist a wealth of opportunity to make varied interpretations of its image. Reindeer antlers seem to blend into the beauty of the Northern lights, the sparkling, melting snow and ice crystals.

Ivory engraving is one of the marvels of the art of the small North-East Siberian peoples. Each walrus tusk carved by the hands of the Chukchis, Eskimos and Aleuts is an original masterpiece, in which the artist has created various scenes, entire compositions and individual zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures. With astonishing skill, the work conveys the characteristics of the environment in which sea hunters, herdsmen, fishermen and hunters have lived for millennia.

Another distinctive field of Northern art is ornamentation applied to clothing, headgear, footwear, vessels made of bark, wood or ivory, knife blades, sledges and boats. The subjects were extremely varied and might be executed by application, incrustation, printing, scraping, open-work carving, mosaics, stitching in reindeer hair, sinew, root fibre or coloured thread, painting, stamping and so on. In a word, there were ample opportunities to express creative fantasy, and everything depended on the artist's talent and skill. Even today, clothing, footwear and household objects are still decorated with ornamentation. In modern times the aesthetic value of this applied art form has increased.

The Northern peoples are also renowned as sculptors. This branch of their art is exceedingly interesting both for its originality and distinctiveness and for its content and related ideas and concepts. It is striking in its realism and the sculptors' ability to convey the characteristics of their models in wood, bark, ivory or iron. One cannot but admire, for instance, the way in which the artists recorded images of bears on wooden vessels, birds on bowls or reindeers on bark. Particularly impressive are Chukchi and Eskimo ivory products. 'While exploiting nature in his working practices', S.V. Ivanov remarks, 'man recreated in sculpture a whole world of images of that nature as interpreted by his own conscious. Considerable emphasis was also placed on the image of man.'¹⁰

Particular attention is due to the art of ivory carving that is an ancient tradition in Chukotka. The earliest figurines of animals and men found here date from the time of the Bering Sea culture, from which this art form developed. In the Soviet period ivory carving among the peoples of North-East Siberia has undergone a renaissance, largely due to the influence of the carving workshops in Uelen and Naukan. Contemporary Chukchi and Eskimo artists have mastered the art of creating works of sculpture from walrus tusks. Their compositions are full of movement, the dynamics of struggle and the expression of character and behaviour. The subjects are legion: common images are those of the herdsman, sea hunter and fisherman. These heroes are portrayed in their everyday life -travelling on rapid dog-trains, paddling canoes or umiaks over the bleak sea, engaging in single combat with a powerful animal or returning home after executing virtuoso dances. Modern masterpieces include complex compositions which reflect the traditional or contemporary life of the Arctic.

In the conditions of the Soviet multicultural country, the arts of the small peoples have been developed, becoming far more complex, rich and varied. The valuable elements of their national creativity are everywhere being regenerated. This movement is promoted through exhibitions of national art and works by professional artists. Special art schools have been opened in a number of places.

There is now a large number of professional artists. The first to reveal their skills and talents were students in Leningrad in the 1930s. They were the first to create original works that were noticed by the country's artistic

community. Their work was immediately displayed in a large number of illustrated journals. Moreover, they graced the northern section of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition and the Soviet stand at the International Exhibition of Art and Technology in Paris. In 1937, the works of Northern artists were honoured with the Grand Prix diploma and gold medal. A number of Northern artists have graduated from the Academy of Art or are members of the USSR Artists' Union. A number have been awarded the honorific title of Emeritus Artist of the RSFSR and have received RSFSR State Prizes.

Translated from the Russian]

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Socio-economic and Cultural Development of the Peoples of the Soviet North

Vassily Uvachan

Among the outstanding historical achievements of the Soviet system is the fact that it has, while building socialism, solved the problem of nationalities. In the pre-revolutionary period many of the country's peoples suffered dreadful national and social oppression under Tsarism and the bourgeoisie as well as local exploiters. The nationalities policy formulated by Lenin provided the Soviet Union with the most favourable circumstances for the development of all peoples, great and small, in a spirit of close co-operation and friendship.

The 'small Northern peoples' or 'Northern, Siberian and Far Eastern ethnic groups' have, in the united fraternal family of Soviet peoples, achieved considerable political, socio-economic and cultural success in their development.' Before the October Socialist Revolution, these small peoples had long been confined to a state of profound political, economic, social and cultural backwardness. They suffered under the self-seeking policies of Tsarism and the bourgeoisie and were downtrodden by the local rich, thereby condemning them to poverty.

As heirs to an ancient taiga culture, the peoples and tribes of the North, who had been on the verge of extinction, embarked after the October Socialist Revolution on the new path to socialism and previously unheard-of horizons of social progress opened up before them. Many of the first decrees of the Soviet Government directly concerned the protection of the Northern peoples' and tribes' rights and interests and laid the foundation for the study and exploitation of the North's natural wealth. Many such decrees were adopted on Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's initiative and with his personal involvement.²

The building of socialism among the Northern peoples is a vivid and remarkable page in the history and development of the Soviet Union as a multinational state that has brought all its peoples together for that purpose. In achieving that difficult task, the nationalities policy displayed its flexibility and wisdom, taking account of the actual socio-economic and cultural state of the indigenous population and the natural and climatic conditions of the Northern peoples in specific and sometimes unique forms, although its content from the outset was socialist in nature and was directed in the final analysis towards the construction of socialism. In the first years of Soviet rule, for instance, state construction among these small peoples took the distinctive form of soviets (i.e. local councils) constituted on the clan principle because the residue of the patriarchal and kinship relations was still flourishing at their level.³ These extended family councils were a transitional form of government that paved the way for the formation of national and territorial administrative bodies identical to those found throughout the Soviet Union.

The next important step in the political organization of the small Northern peoples, taken in 1927, was the organization of local districts with their own executive bodies - the *tuzemnye raiispolkorny* or *TuzRIKs*, uniting both clan and territorial soviets. This was the start of a gradual retreat from kinship-based administrative bodies and a switch to the constitution of Soviet organs of government based on the principle of nationality and territory. These administrative bodies were established under the 'Provisional Regulation for Government of the Indigenous Ethnic Groups and Tribes of the Northern Regions of the RSFSR' which was adopted on 25 October 1926 by Decree of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the RSFSR Soviet of People's Commissars.⁴

At the start of 1926 the North had 16 *TuzRIKs*, 91 clan soviets, 42 rural soviets and 61 tundra, yurt and camp administrations. By the time the 'Provisional Regulation' was adopted, the Northern peoples had 16 *TuzRIKs* and 201 soviets.⁵ Local administrative bodies or soviets were established, not only among the larger peoples, but also among the smallest, i.e. those with less than 1,000 members such as the Aleuts, Ulchis, Nganasans, Orochis, Orokis and others.

With the adoption of the 'Provisional Regulation', Soviet organs of government were established more rapidly: in 1929-30 there were already 64 *TuzRIKs* and 455 soviets in operation.⁶ Soviets were being established throughout the Soviet North: in the European part there were 27 *TuzRIKs* and 204 soviets, the figures for the Far East being 34 and 234 respectively. The Northern rural soviets formed part of the *krays* and *oblasts* of the Russian Federation.

This was a practical expression of the concept of national self-determination, a further development and improvement of the Soviet peoples' national statehood within a united, multinational, federative State - the Soviet Union, a State uniting both great and small Soviet peoples. Not for

nothing did the French writer Henri Barbusse describe the country as a 'constellation of nationalities'.

The final phase of the organization of national state units, in line with the more mature phase of the construction of socialism, was the establishment of national *okrugs* to give form to the Northern peoples' national statehood and administrative autonomy. In July 1929, the Nenets National *okrug* was formed on an experimental basis at the request of the Nenets. A year's experience showed that this form of autonomy was effective and could be extended to the other small Northern peoples. On 10 December 1930, the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee adopted a resolution 'Concerning the organization of national units in regions inhabited by small Northern peoples'⁷ by virtue of which the existing system of territorial division was maintained in those regions and eight national *okrugs* established. By late 1930, there were nine national *okrugs* in the Soviet North, divided into 36 *rayons*, and eight separate national *rayons* forming part of the autonomous republics, *krais* and *oblasts* of the RSFSR.

The Northern autonomous *okrugs*, through their important role in state organization, played a major part in the building of socialism and in the far-reaching transformations of the Northern ethnic groups' economic and class structure and political and intellectual life.

On 10 September 1931 the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee adopted, further to the organization of national *okrugs* and *rayons*, a resolution 'Concerning the holding of elections to the Soviets of *rayon* and *okrug* Congresses of Soviets in the national *rayons* and *okrugs* of the Extreme North'⁸ This laid down the period between elections and the standards for representation in the Soviets and *okrug* congresses of soviets.

The 1931-2 elections confirmed the profound changes that had occurred in the class and national composition of the Northern population. In the nine national *okrugs* there were 294 Soviets with 3,085 elected members, of whom 71.3 per cent were of indigenous national stock. In some *okrugs* this percentage was significantly higher: 90 per cent in the Evenk *okrug*, for instance, and 89 per cent in the Chukchi and Koryak *okrugs* respectively. The social class make-up of the Soviets had also changed. They now comprised farm labourers, poor and middle-income peasants, workers and employees. Already 19 per cent of Soviet members were collective farmers, and 21.4 per cent of the elected were women - an indication of the increase in their political activity. This composition reflected the profound changes taking place in the Northern peoples' political, economic and social life stemming from the implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy.

To prepare the ground for the small Northern peoples to make a pain-free change from a patriarchal society to socialism, special government bodies were set up to give them all the help they needed. In March 1922, the Polar Subdivision for the Protection and Administration of the Northern Tribes was established in the National Minorities Department of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities, while in June 1924 a Committee for

Assistance to the Ethnic Groups of Northern Regions (the Northern Committee) was set up under the auspices of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee; it played a great part in this complex process.⁹ In 1935 the Northern Committee was dissolved, its functions being transferred in part to the Chief Administration for the Northern Sea Route, a subordinate body of the USSR Council of People's Commissars which was formed in December 1922, but chiefly to the now stronger administrative and party bodies in the national *okrugs* and *rayons*, and in those autonomous republics in which the Northern peoples lived.

The Soviet autonomy of the Northern peoples and their organization into national states is currently undergoing a further improvement and development, reflecting the advance of the socialist state system which takes account of the interests both of all nations and ethnic groups and of the Soviet Union as a whole.

Adopted in 1977, the new USSR Constitution made substantial amendments to the status of the autonomous *okrugs*. It developed further the regulation concerning the autonomous *okrug*, gave it constitutional standing and clearly defined its legal status. Article 88 states: 'The autonomous *okrug* forms part of a *kray* or *oblast*. The law concerning autonomous *okrug*s is adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic.¹⁰ Article 71 says: 'In the RSFSR there are . . . autonomous *okrugs* forming part of *krais* or *oblasts*: the Agin-Buryat, Komi-Permyak, Koryak, Nenets, Taymyr (Dolgano-Nenets), Ust-Ordynsky, Khanty-Mansi, Chukchi, Evenk and Yamalo-Nenets *okrugs*.¹¹ These clauses define the place and importance of the autonomous *okrugs* in the system of the single, federative and multinational Soviet State that embodies the unity of the Soviet people, the great and small peoples and all the USSR's nations and ethnic groups.

The retention of the autonomous *okrugs* as part of a unified multinational socialist state of the entire people stems from the fact that, in conditions of developed socialism, their role in organizing the state becomes even stronger, since both the dimensions of communist construction and the tasks of harnessing and developing the Northern territories' productive forces for economic and social advancement grow immeasurably larger and take on greater national economic importance.

Under the USSR Constitution each autonomous *okrug* has the right to elect one deputy directly to the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet regardless of the size of its population (Article 110). This guarantees respect for the specific interest of all its inhabitants.

In accordance with the USSR and the RSFSR Constitutions and on the basis of the USSR law 'Concerning the fundamental powers of the *kray* and *oblast* Soviets of People's Deputies and the Soviets of People's Deputies of autonomous *oblasts* and *okrugs*', the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, at the second session of its tenth convocation on 20 November 1980, adopted the RSFSR Law 'Concerning the autonomous *okrugs* of the RSFSR',¹² a key legislative act defining the legal status of the autonomous *okrug* as part of the unified,

multinational Soviet State. The Law stipulates the basic principles of the organization and activity of the *okrug's* Soviet of People's Deputies as a body of government, and defines the fundamental functions and powers of the Soviet's Executive Committee as an executive and administrative body of government. On the basis of existing USSR and RSFSR legislation, the Law lays down the functions and regulations for the formation of the standing and other commissions of *the okrug* soviets and the status of deputies elected to them.

The Northern Soviets have come far from tribal and nomadic councils to Soviets of People's Deputies, of which an extensive network has been established. On 1 January 1981, in the seven Northern autonomous *okrugs* - the Koryak, Nenets, Taymyr (Dolgano-Nenets), Evenk, Khanty-Mansi, Chukchi and Yamalo-Nenets *okrugs* - seven *okrug* Soviets of People's Deputies were functioning, comprising 38 *rayon*, 14 urban, 51 settlement and 226 rural Soviets of People's Deputies.¹³

The elections to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and local Soviets of People's Deputies on 24 February 1980 were a demonstration of the northern working people's political activity. In all, 12,000 deputies were elected to Soviets in the Northern autonomous *okrugs*: of these 62.9 per cent were workers, 3.1 per cent collective farmers and 34 per cent employees, which corresponds to the class structure of the population in these areas. 14

The considerable rise in the population's general educational standard has been reflected in the local Soviet deputies. Of all deputies, 22 per cent had higher education, 57.4 per cent secondary, 17 percent incomplete secondary and just 3.5 per cent had primary education.¹⁵ Thus 79.4 per cent of all deputies to autonomous *okrug* Soviets had higher or secondary specialized education. Overall, representatives of more than 100 nationalities were elected to Northern Soviets, and people of 58 nationalities won seats on Soviets of autonomous *okrugs*.

The Northern ethnic groups are heavily represented. The Soviets have 4,332 elected deputies of Northern *ethnic* stock, 10 at *kray* level, 50 at *oblast* level, 160 at *okrug* level, 674 at *rayon* level, 88 at urban level, eight at urban sub-district level, 175 at village level and 3,167 in rural Soviets. Of these 839 are Evenks, 627 Chukchis, 509 Nenets, 424 Khants, 364 Evens, 298 Nanais, 284 Koryaks, 228 Dolgans, 110 Mansis, 104 Itelmens, 97 Selkups, 84 Ulchis, 80 Eskimos, 75 Nivkhis, 13 Udegeys, 34 Kets, 27 Orochis, 23 Nganasans, 22 Negidals, 21 Sami, 19 Aleuts, 18 Yukaghirs and two Tofalars. 16 All Northern ethnic groups are, then, represented in Soviets of People's Deputies. The Executive Committees of autonomous *okrug* Soviets are generally headed by representatives of the Northern peoples. Thus the Chairman of the Executive Committee in the Nenets autonomous *okrug* is a Nenets, T.I. Syadeiski1; in the Koryak *okrug* an Itelmen, S.N. Slobodchikov; in the Taymyr or Dolgano-Nenets *okrug* a Dolgan, N.P. Sotnikov; in the Evenk *okrug* an Evenk, V.E. Chepalov, and, in the Chukchi *okrug*, a Chukchi woman, N.P.Otke.

The Northern peoples are also represented in the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, of which the autonomous *okrugs* are part. At the elections of 24 February 1980, the following were returned: Kh. E. Botulu, an Evenk woman who manages the fur farm at the 'Kotuisinskii' state farm, Evenk autonomous *okrug*; A.G. Grigor'eva, the Khant woman chairman of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Khanty-Mansi autonomous *okrug*; A.V. Vanuito, a herdsman at the 'Yarosalinskii' state farm, Yamalo-Nenets autonomous *okrug*; and the Evenk V.A. Popova, a herdsman at the 'Lenskii' state farm in the Verkhoyanskii *rayon* of the Yakut ASSR.¹⁷

Representatives of Northern ethnic groups have been elected as deputies to the Supreme Soviets or Soviets in the autonomous republics, *krais* or *oblasts* in which they live. For instance, two Evenks, three Evens and one Chukchi woman were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Yakut ASSR of the tenth convocation, while 299 Evenks, 178 Evens, 11 Chukchis and 17 Yukaghirs were elected to the Republic's Soviets. L.V. Nardueva, an Evenk milkmaid from the 'Pobeda' collective fishery and farm in the Severo-Baikalskii *rayon*, was elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Buryat ASSR. These facts confirm that all nations and ethnic groups in the USSR have equal rights.

In regard to economic development and the application of economic policy among the small Northern peoples, the Soviet Government employed the devices and patterns best suited to their economic condition. These were directed towards the rapid harnessing of natural wealth, accelerated economic construction, a speedy increase in the native population's welfare and their involvement in the active building of socialism. One particular aim of all economic activity was to transform the patriarchal society of the North into a socialist system, eradicate *de facto* inequality and level out the economic situation. All this was accomplished, moreover, with a careful and attentive eye to the specific and particular features of the peoples' socio-economic and societal development.

In the Extreme North, collective farms were developed through the localized expedient of extremely simple production associations in which the basic means of production (reindeer or hunting and fishing gear, etc.) remained the private property of members. What is more, these associations remained in existence for a long time, lasting until 1945 when they were finally brought under the Charter of Agricultural Co-operatives.

Another example: for a considerable period of time (1920-35), commerce in the North was carried on first by consumer co-operatives and then by integral or combined ventures, discharging both consumer supply and production functions. This was the most economical form of co-operation and the most viable in Northern, Siberian and Far-Eastern circumstances.

In 1927-30 an extensive network of co-operation was established in the Soviet North: eight *okrug* and nine *rayon* integral associations, 134 co-operative societies and 389 stores supplying the indigenous population.

Through integral co-operation, the local inhabitants became involved in the development of collective farms and in the collectivization movement which played such a decisive part in transforming their economic structure and ensuring the triumph of socialist relationships.

Taking account of the Northern peoples' plight in the mid-twenties, the Soviet Government assisted them through exemption from direct and indirect taxation.

As a result of the Government's flexible *economic* policy, by the early 1940s the socialist *sector* held undivided sway in the chief branches of the Northern economy - furs, fisheries and reindeer-breeding.

In the process of building socialism, the social structure of soviet society - a working class, collective farm peasantry and people's intelligentsia - began to emerge. The 1959 All-Union Census shows that, in the social structure of the Northern autonomous *okrugs*, workers represented 48.3 per cent, collectivized peasants 25.1 per cent and employees 26.3 per cent of the population. 1^a

As socialist relationships took hold, a national working class came into being: its members were chiefly workers in the newly-established enterprises, transport, communications and agricultural organizations including state farms, motorized fisheries and hunting stations.

The implementation of the collective farm system led to the formation of a new class, the collectivized peasantry, which incorporated virtually the whole of the indigenous population. It comprised the members of collective farms - agricultural co-operatives and simple production associations and societies.

A major achievement for the Northern peoples was the formation of a people's intelligentsia, which did not exist prior to the revolution. The training and education of its members is a key conquest for socialism. The 1959 census showed that the social structure of the autonomous *okrugs* amounted to 26.3 per cent of the population and included teachers, doctors and the staff of cultural, party, administrative and Komsomol bodies.

There were changes too in the national composition of the population. As the exploitation of the Northern territories gained pace, there was an influx of peoples of various nationalities. It should be noted that these national *okrugs* have always been multinational, being the home of various Northern peoples that formerly made up the bulk of the population. In the Taymyr *okrug*, for instance, Dolgans, Nenets, Enets, Nganasans, Evenks and Yakuts amounted to 56 per cent of the population in 1932. The Evenk *okrug* was chiefly populated by Evenks and Yakuts, who accounted for 78.3 per cent of the inhabitants.

The greater pace of development touched off an influx of population from all parts of the country and from various national groups, especially Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Tartars, Bashkirs, Ossetians and so on. Thus the population of the Extreme North in 1926 stood at 709,800, or 0.7 per cent of the RSFSR's total population, yet in 1959 it was 4,000,000 or 3.4

per cent, thus increasing nearly six-fold. Today the Soviet North is inhabited by some 9,000,000 people. The population of the seven Northern autonomous *okrugs* rose from 130,000 in 1926 to 342,000 in 1959 (an increase of 260 per cent),¹⁹ and from 573,000 in 1970 to 1,433,000 in 1982.²⁰

The comprehensive development of the socialist economy has led to a restructuring of all aspects of social life among the Northern ethnic groups. Radical changes have taken place in their social and class structure, now virtually identical to that of Soviet society as a whole. According to the 1970 All-Union Census, workers in the seven Northern national *okrugs* amounted to 66.2 per cent of the population, collective farmers 8.4 per cent and employees 25.4 per cent, while the figures for the 1979 Census were 67.3 per cent, 4.4 per cent and 28.1 per cent respectively. The working class is growing fastest in the autonomous *okrugs* where industry is developing rapidly; in the Khanty-Mansi *okrug*, for instance, it was 73.2 per cent of the population, in the Yamalo-Nenets *okrug* 74.5 per cent and in the Taymyr *okrug* 71 per cent.

The indigenous peoples -the Nenets, Khants, Mansis, Evenks, Selkups, Chukchis and others-are actively involved in the exploitation of their homeland's natural wealth. Far from being passive observers, they are actively participating in this unprecedented national undertaking. Many have become oilmen or gas workers, machine operators in agriculture or industry or specialists in industries that once had no name in their mother tongue. The ethnic groups are rapidly acquiring new skills.

The traditional Northern livelihoods - reindeer-breeding, hunting, fishing and seal-hunting - have been given new life. In late 1978, the autonomous *ok rugs* comprised a total of 33 collective and 97 state farms with 750,000 hectares of arable land, over 1,000,000 head of cattle and 2,200,000 head of reindeer in the Extreme North. While remaining unrivalled masters of hunting, fishing and reindeer-breeding, the Northern peoples have successfully acquired new agricultural occupations - fur and stock farming, arable farming, tractor driving or vehicle maintenance.

This wide sphere of working activity has led to fuller employment among the Northern peoples and made their lives more varied, thereby leading to an improvement in their educational and cultural level. They now have greater access to the achievements of Soviet and world culture, and on this basis are forming a socialist culture as an integral part of the multinational culture of the Soviet people, that new historical community of people.

Higher living and cultural standards, improved medical service and other actions in favour of public welfare have led to a rise in Northern population figures. Between 1959 and 1979, this increase amounted to 20 per cent for the Soviet Union as a whole, and 15.3 per cent for the autonomous *okrugs*.

Socialist changes have given the Northern peoples access to multinational Soviet culture. Their culture has moved on from the universal illiteracy and submission of the time before written languages were developed to

the emergence of a national intelligentsia. In a short space of time they have moved ahead from patriarchal and kinship relations to the summits of social progress, thanks to the help of the Russian and other peoples of the USSR.

(Translated from the Russian)

Notes

1. In the mid-twenties the peoples inhabiting the USSR's Northern territories were grouped together as the 'small Northern peoples', while in the 1970 and 1979 All-Union Censuses they were described as the 'Northern, Siberian and Far Eastern ethnic groups'.
2. This is vividly and convincingly portrayed in the 12-volume publication *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. BiograficYeskaja hronika. 1870-1924gg* (Vladimir Illyich Lenin: A Biographical Account: 1870-1924).
3. *Gosudarstvennyj arhiv Krasnojarskogo kraja* (The State Archive of Krasnoyarsk kray GAKK), Folio 49, Op.I, Doc. 511, Sheets 58,60.
4. *Sobranie uzakonenij RSFSR* (Collection of RSFSR Legislation), 1926, no. 73, p. 575.
5. ZIBAREV, V.A. 1968. *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo u malyh narodnostej Severa (1917-1932)* (The Development of Soviets among the Small Northern Ethnic Groups). Tomsk, Tomsk University Publications, p. 108.
6. Ibid.
7. *Sobranie uzakonenij RSFSR*, 1931, No. 8, p. 98.
8. *Sobranie uzakonenij RSFSR*, 1931, No. 56, p. 413.
9. *Sobranie uzakonenij RSFSR*, 1924, No. 57, p. 556.
10. *Konstitucija (Osnovnoj Zakon) Sojuza Sovetskikh Socialisticeskikh Respublik* (Constitution [Basic Law] of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). Moscow, 1978, p. 32.
11. *Konstitucija (Osnovnoj Zakon) Rossijskoj Sovetskoj Federativnoj Socialisticeskoj Respubliki* (Constitution [Basic Law] of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic). Moscow, 1978, pp. 20-1.
12. *Vedomosti Verhovnogo Soveta RSFSR* (Bulletin of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet), No. 48 (1154). Moscow, 1980, p. 1594.
13. RSFSR. *Administrativno-territorial'noe delenie* (The RSFSR: administrative territorial division). Moscow, 'Bulletin of the USSR Soviets of People's Deputies' Publications', 1981, pp. 9-117.
14. Authors calculation. See *Itogi ucyborov i sostav mestnyh Sovetov narodnyh deputatov RSFSR (Stat. sbornik)* (Results of the Elections and the Composition of the RSFSR's Local Soviets of People's Deputies: A Statistical Handbook). Moscow, Sovetskaja Rossija Publications, 1980, pp. 82-3.
15. Ibid.
16. Op. cit., pp. 32-4.
17. *Vedomosti Verhovnogo Soveta RSFSR*, No. 10 (1116), 16 March 1980, pp. 157, 180 and 188.

18. See *Itogi Vsesojuznoj perepisi naselenija 1959 goda. RSFSR* (Results of the 1959 All-Union Census: The RSFSR). Moscow, Gosstatizdat Publications, 1963, pp. 154-5.
19. See *Narodnoe hozjajstvo RSFSR ta 60 let* (The RSFSR National Economy over 60 Years). Moscow, 1977, pp. 8-9.
20. *Narodnoe hozjajstvo SSSR 1922-1982. CSU SSSR. Jubilejnyj statistideskij ezegodnik* (The USSR National Economy from 1922 to 1982. The USSR Central Statistical Directorate: A Jubilee Statistical Handbook). Moscow, *Finansy i statistika*, 1982, p. 14.

Languages of the Soviet Northern Peoples

Piotr Skorik

The term 'languages of the Northern peoples', or 'Northern languages', conventionally designates the genetically unrelated language groups and individual languages of the small ethnic groups of the Soviet taiga and tundra regions. They are conventionally divided into three fundamental groups - Samoyedic, Manchu-Tungus and Palaeosiberian - and also include the languages of three small Finno-Ugric ethnic groups.

The Samoyedic group is made up of four related languages: Nenets, Enets, Nganasan and Selkup. Together they have some 39,000 speakers, chiefly in the Nenets autonomous *okrug* of Arkhangelsk *oblast*, the Yamalo-Nenets autonomous *okrug* of Tyumen *oblast* and the Taymyr autonomous *okrug* of Krasnoyarsk *kray*. In addition, two small populations speaking these languages live outside those areas: one in the Khanty-Mansi autonomous *okrug* and the second in Murmansk *oblast*. This group formerly included such now extinct languages of the Sayan Mountains as Motor, Karagas, Koibal and Kamas. The last notes on Kamas were compiled from two women who still spoke the language in the village of Abalakovo in the Sayan Mountains in the 1960s. In the modern Samoyedic group, Nenets, Enets and Nganasan are closely related, Selkup being a more distant cousin.

The relationship and differences between the Samoyedic languages can be seen in all areas. In that of phonetics, all Samoyedic languages are characterized by an advanced system of vowels which includes labials, and in which the quantitative aspect of the vowels has phonemic value. A similar phenomenon is the mobile word-stress which is frequently connected with vowel length, and in several cases changes the meaning. The consonant system is rich throughout the language group: sonorant vowels are abundant and sibilants restricted, while the hard and soft vowels are characteristically contrasted.

All Samoyedic languages have identical phonetic laws: there are various alterations of vowels and consonants of great importance both for word formation and for form derivation: consonant clusters are not permitted initially, and only to a limited extent medially.

Phonetic differences between the languages are usually no more than regular phonetic equivalents. However, some languages are distinguished by additional phonetic peculiarities: prohibition of a vowel before an initial plosive (Nenets and Selkup) and the use of two guttural stops (Nenets and Enets), or one (Nganasan), or none at all (Selkup).

In the sphere of morphology the Samoyedic languages also have a degree of affinity. In the prevalent system of word-building and word forms these are of the suffix agglutinative type: while analytical formations and internal inflection do occur, they are comparatively unimportant. The usual morphological structure of a word is a consecutive addition to the stem form of various morphemes (derivatives and accidentals) which change only slightly. All four languages have three grammatical numbers. Their case systems are basically identical and make use of locatives. Nouns are used in predicative forms to express the person, number and tense. The extent to which these forms are used varies from one language to another: it is greatest in Nenets and least in Selkup.

Adjectives are closely linked with substantives. A number of the latter, primarily those denoting material, assume adjectival functions when in the attributive position. The comparative and superlative degrees are expressed by a similar device: a compound word using the adjective in the direct case.

Pronouns are characterized by an abundance of orders. Personal pronouns decline only in Selkup: in the other languages they agglutinate with postpositional pronouns in the oblique cases. Other orders of pronouns inflect, as do substantives.

Numerals are subdivided into several orders formed from cardinal numbers, which decline only when placed in isolation.

All Samoyedic languages differentiate between transitive, intransitive and causative verbs, while Selkup also has reflexive verbs. There are several moods. The imperative, unlike the others, has a special range of person and number markers. The entire language group has two types of conjugations, subjective and subjective/objective. The use of the conjugations is determined by a set of rules relating to the logical emphasis. The person markers of the subjective/objective conjugation coincide with the person possessive markers in nouns. There is a negative conjugation: in Nenets, Enets and Nganasanitis a compound of an auxiliary verb and a main verb, both of them negative, the auxiliary being conjugated while the main verb remains unchanged. In Selkup negation is expressed through negative particles.

A feature of verbs is a multitude of aspects which can be broken down into two main groups - those indicating repetitive, protracted, interrupted or habitual action, and those indicating a single, incipient or incomplete

action. The differentiation of tense markers in the Samoyedic verbs suggests that they are comparatively recent arrivals.

The best developed connective words are the prepositions. Independent particles (or word particles) and dependent particles or suffixes are differentiated.

The closely connected derivative and inflective morphemes indicate the genetic kinship of the Samoyedic languages. The substantial differences in affixes, however, are one of the fundamental criteria for the subdivision of the group into different languages.

The Samoyedic languages employ a nominative structure. Regardless of the form of the sentence, the subject is expressed by a noun in the nominative case. In some situations the nominative noun also assumes the functions of direct object and attribute. The use of personal pronouns as subjects is restricted only when particular emphasis must be given to the subject of the action. Syntactically, these languages are characterized by a fixed word order which typically combines a number of subordinate parts of the sentence by simple agglutination. The dependent parts of the sentence are normally placed before the word on which they depend. The predicate is usually placed at the very end. It is expressed both by the verb and by the noun in the personal form. The Samoyedic languages have common rules for the government of the various cases of the noun.

The syntax of Samoyedic languages leans heavily on a large number of types of simple prepositions. Prominent among these are simple prepositions compounded with verbal nouns, particles or gerunds which replace, particularly in complex expressions, the complex subordinate clauses of languages with different structures. Complex sentences, and especially subordinate clauses, are little developed.

The common lexical base of the Samoyedic languages is most clearly seen in the areas relating to their speakers' material and spiritual culture in the remote past. However, more substantial differences may also be detected. More than other aspects of the languages, they reflect the separate histories of the different Samoyedic ethnic groups - contacts with neighbours, changes in livelihood, working and living conditions and so on. In a number of cases, words from a more ancient stratum of the Samoyedic lexicon have been preserved in some languages, but lost and replaced by words of recent origin in others. Among the Nenets of the Urals and the Yamal peninsula, lexical borrowings from the Khant language may be observed, while the Nganasan employ Evenk loan-words. The lexicon is very close to the Old Turkic languages, particularly in Selkup.

It is now firmly held by scholars that the Samoyedic languages, together with the Finno-Ugric group, make up the Uralic language family. But there is no unanimity of opinion as to the Finno-Ugric tongue to which the Samoyedics are closest. In recent times the viewpoint that ascribes greatest affinity to the Ugric group, including Hungarian, has gained ascendancy. In turn, as has been said, the Samoyedic languages are customarily grouped,

together with the Ugric and a number of other languages, in a wider genetic community - the Finno-Ugric family.

This acknowledges that the Samoyedic languages are remote cousins of the tongues spoken by three small Finno-Ugric ethnic groups: Khant, Mansi and Sami. Of these, the first two make up the Ob-Ugric language group, while Sami is an isolated Finno-Ugric language.

Science tells us that the forebears of the contemporary Ob-Ugric peoples, at the start of the second millennium A.D., lived to the west of the Ural Mountains, migrating to Western Siberia only in later times. The Khants moved northwards well before the Mansis. At present these ethnic groups (some 30,000 in all) live chiefly in the Khanty-Mansi and Yamalo-Nenets autonomous *okrugs*.

Phonetically, the Ob-Ugric languages have approximately identical vowel systems in which the quantitative aspect of the vowels has phonemic force, and a consonant system in which fricatives figure largely. They are also closely bound together by shared phonetic features that set them apart from other Finno-Ugric languages, including Hungarian. Furthermore, they are united by distinctive morphological features - fewer cases than the other Finno-Ugric languages, a wider use of the dual number, a subjective appraisal form of verbs and some others.

The syntax of this group is characterized by the wide use of various passive constructions. The position of the subject and object in the sentence is fixed, while the predicate is usually placed last.

In their lexicon, the Ob-Ugric group still bear the traces of their former close links with languages in other groups of the Finno-Ugric family, while loans from unrelated languages may also be identified.

However, the differences between the Ob-Ugric languages so far outweigh their common features that they are merely distant relatives: the Khants and Mansis do not understand one another. In turn, both languages are subdivided into a number of dialects whose marked differences - particularly in Khant - considerably impede communication.

Sami is spoken by a small ethnic group of which only a tiny number (some 2,000 people) inhabit the Soviet Union, in the Kola Peninsula. The bulk of its speakers live in Norway, Sweden and Finland. The language is fairly isolated in the Finno-Ugric family. Its diphthongs and certain other traits link it with the Baltic-Finnic languages, yet it has a greater degree of agglutination than the other Finno-Ugric languages combined with a strongly developed basis of inflection. A further distinctive feature is its extensive consonant system, together with certain specific points of grammar. Sami is subdivided into a number of dialects, some of them so different that they could be mistaken for closely-related languages.

The Manchu-Tungus language group includes eight related languages spoken by small Soviet ethnic groups: Evenk, Even, Negidal, Nanai, Ulchi, Orochi, Oroki and Udegey. These peoples are dispersed over vast expanses of taiga and tundra in the RSFSR - the Evenk autonomous *okrug* of

Krasnoyarsk *kray*, Amur and Primorsky *kruys*, Sakhalin oblast, the Severo-Even *rayon* of Magadan *oblast*, the Chukchi and Koryak autonomous *okrugs* and parts of the Yakut ASSR. According to the 1979 census, their total numbers in the Soviet Union were some 57,000. The Manchu-Tungus group also includes the dead literary Manchu, some dialects of the latter that survive in the People's Republic of China, and the extinct Juchen. Here we shall chiefly confine ourselves to the Soviet Manchu-Tungus languages. These have much in common in all areas of linguistics: phonetics, morphology, syntax and lexicon. However, the ties are closest among the Manchu-Tungus languages of Siberia - Evenk, Even and Negidal, on the one hand, and the Far-Eastern Nanai, Ulchi, Orochi and Udegey on the other.

In phonetic terms, these languages are marked by a basically identical vowel and consonant structure; the phonetic rules are also largely shared. Vowel harmony, represented by a degree of modification of the vowels of suffix morphemes under the influence of the stem morphemes in terms of height and sometimes of labialism, is common to all the languages. There are long vowels, diphthongs and monophthongs resulting from a general process that usually stems from reduction causing some consonants between two vowels to disappear.

The consonant system, too, largely obeys uniform phonetic laws in all Manchu-Tungus languages. Clusters of consonants, usually not more than two, occur only medially. Additionally, the consonants generally follow the same phonetic rules, and are in particular affected by progressive assimilation, both complete and incomplete.

The phonetic structure of the word permits all vowels and most consonants to take the initial position, with prohibited consonants ranging from one to seven in the various languages. All vowels may occur finally; they also form syllables, each syllable having not more than one vowel, whether short or long. Syllables may comprise one vowel, one vowel and one consonant, one consonant and one vowel or one vowel between two consonants. The number of syllables per word is unrestricted. Most non-derivative words are monosyllabic or disyllabic, while derivatives are generally polysyllabic.

Word stress - obtained through pitch and effort-usually falls on the last syllable of words without long vowels, and on a long vowel or a diphthong in words that contain these.

The relatively slight phonetic differences among the Manchu-Tungus languages generally amount to no more than regular phonetic equivalents. There are some differences in phonetic rules too, but they are usually individual in nature.

In respect of morphology, the Manchu-Tungus languages are, by virtue of their predominant manner of word formation and inflection, of the suffix agglutinative type. Other methods of word formation and expressing grammatical meaning, albeit to a lesser extent, are used - phonetic alternation in the radicals, reduplication of the stem, conversion, use of connective words and intonation.

Both in structure and in substance, these languages have a good deal in common. Morphemes are arranged in a definite order from left to right: the stem, the word-forming suffix, the derivative word-forming suffix (diminution, collectivity, transitivity, voice and aspect), the mixed word-forming suffix (number and oblique relationship in substantives, personal *or* impersonal in participles, tense and mood in verbs) and the relational word-forming suffix (case and possession in nouns, person and number in verbs).

The declension of nouns follows largely the same system throughout the language group: the nominative is not marked, but the oblique case markers are to some extent identical in substance. The verb conjugation system, too, is basically the same in structure and substance. The same may be said of the other forms of the noun -the possessive and other cases -and the verb - participles and so forth. In this regard, Manchurian is distinctive since, for instance, unlike the possessive forms found in the other Manchu-Tungus languages, it has a genitive case form, while the verb lacks the category of person which all the others have.

In general, however, morphological differences in this group, on close examination, are in most cases no more than mere phonetic variations.

In the field of syntax, the Manchu-Tungus languages, with the exception of Manchurian, are closely bound together by an identical structure of word-combination and sentence that is noteworthy for a relatively rigid word order. The sentence is nominative in structure with the subject in the nominative case and the predicate expressed by a verb or noun. The grammatical connection within the sentence is expressed by co-ordination and subordination. Co-ordination is rarely by conjunction. Subordination is expressed by government, agreement, agglutination and annexation. Government is much used in objective constructions in which the object, whether direct or indirect, usually precedes the governing verbal form and generally has the appropriate case marker. Agreement may be complete, i.e. in person and number, or incomplete, i.e., in number or case only.

The subordinative link between the attribute and the modified word does not require proper agreement. Attributive compounds are formed either by simple agglutination of the attribute to the modified word or involve an attributive construction of two nouns in which the modified word bears an attributive marker expressing person and number or simply number. The corresponding construction in Manchurian is a combination of the modified word with the preceding attribute in the genitive case.

Again with the exception of Manchurian, the Manchu-Tungus languages have fairly similar forms of government and agglutination, possessive structures and co-ordinative or subordinative links. The predicative forms of participles, which outwardly coincide with the personal possessive forms of nouns, are also common to them.

All of them have few complex subordinate clauses, but make extensive use of participle and gerundive constructions which fulfil the functions of the Indo-European subordinate clauses.

The Manchu-Tungus languages to a large extent share the root stock and word meanings in their lexicons. Pronouns, adverbs and numerals are particularly alike. But no less revealing in this regard are words relating to kinship, everyday life, hunting, fishing, the different production processes, flora, fauna, natural phenomena and so forth.

The Palaeosiberian language group does not represent a genetic entity. The term derives from a hypothesis put forward in the mid-nineteenth century by the Russian scientist L.I. Schrenck concerning the Palaeo-Asiatics or Ancient Asiatics, Palaeosiberians or Ancient Siberians. Under this heading Schrenck grouped a number of small Siberian ethnic groups whose languages he considered genetically unrelated to the Turkic, Mongolian or Manchu-Tungus groups. According to his hypothesis, the Palaeosiberians are the remnants of Siberia's ancient population which had been partly assimilated by intruders from the south, and partly driven out to North America. True, a diametrically opposed theory has been propounded according to which these groups moved in from the American continent, but it has no real justification and has consequently gained no currency. The hypothesis that these peoples originated in Asia is shared by the majority of scholars both in our country and abroad. The Palaeosiberian languages are currently held to include three small language groups, i.e. Chukchi-Kamchadal (Chukchi, Koryak, Aliutor, Kerek and Itelmen), Eskimo-Aleut (Eskimo and Aleut) and Yeniseian (Ket and Yug), and two genetically isolated languages, Yukaghir and Nivkhi.

In addition to their genetic differences, these languages have substantial typological divergences. They do indeed all use agglutination, but with varying degrees of synthesis. Furthermore, in some the agglutination is by suffix, in others by circumfixation, while in others again it operates by infixation. Again, some languages also utilize internal inflection. Finally, some languages are incorporative while others are not, and some have an ergative sentence construction whereas others do not.

The Chukchi-Kamchadal languages are spoken by the small ethnic groups that constitute the bulk of the indigenous population of Chukotka, Kamchatka and the north-eastern fringe of Kolyma. The total number of speakers is some 24,000. Eskimo and Aleut are spoken chiefly in Alaska, Canada and Greenland; only a tiny fraction - some 2,000 speakers - live in the Soviet Union, i.e. the Eskimos on the coast of the Chukotka Peninsula and the Aleuts on the Commander Islands. The Yeniseian languages were formerly spoken by small tribes in the Yenisey River basin, most of whom were assimilated in the last century by neighbouring Turkic or Samoyedic peoples. There remain just two sparse groups speaking Ket and Yug (some 1,100 persons). Both languages have elements in common with the Yeniseian languages. Yukaghir or Odul at one time was one of a group of related languages spoken by small tribes occupying extensive lands in the inland parts of north-eastern Siberia. Over the last century they have been partly assimilated by the Chukchis and partly Russified. Only a small Yukaghir-

speaking ethnic group of some 800 persons remains. Nivkhi or Gilyak is spoken by an ethnic group of around 4,400 settled on Sakhalin Island and the lower reaches of the Amur.

The problem of the genetic relations of Nivkhi is still far from solved. The latest studies have highlighted traits that are typologically and materially (in lexicon and grammar) akin to the Altaic languages. The Nivkhis are currently influenced linguistically by the ambient Russian population, so that the younger and middle generations are bilingual.

It has been suggested that in the past some Palaeosiberian ethnic groups were influenced by Samoyedic-speaking peoples, and this casts an interesting light on their linguistic history. For instance, G.N. Prokofev, the famous student of the Samoyedic languages, concluded, on the basis of linguistic and other facts which he discovered, that the forebears of the Samoyeds migrated to the North from the Sayan Mountains, assimilating the local Palaeosiberians, and that this was the origin of the modern Samoyedic peoples.² This viewpoint is increasingly supported by ethnographic and archaeological studies.³ Certain linguistic facts corroborate it

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When it was first described, the Eskimo language, in addition to its obvious loans from the Chukchi-Kamchadal languages, revealed traces of a deeper kinship with them. Even in such superficially different systems as verb conjugations, with suffix agglutination in Eskimo and circumfixation in the Chukchi-Kamchadal group, comparative analysis lays bare a certain structural and material kinship.⁴ However, the known facts about the Eskimo and Samoyedic languages are merely the first pointers to the Palaeosiberians' internal and external linguistic connections. We still do not know whether these facts stem from a genetic or an historical relationship. However, the genetic groups and isolates listed above have been identified from clear linguistic evidence.

The Chukchi-Kamchadal languages are united by approximately identical phonetic and morphological structures and considerable similarity in their vocabularies. Phonetically, both the vowel system and the consonant systems are broadly similar. A characteristic is their indeterminate vowel, one of seven in the group's vowel system. The consonant system lacks voiced plosives but has uvulars, glottals and pharyngals.

The group's phonemic systems have differing compositions. Itelmen is the richest, having consonants unknown in the other languages as well as variants on the basic types of vowels and consonants. The phonemically poorest is Kerek, which lacks even some of the basic phonemes in the group.

All the Chukchi-Kamchadal languages have inherently the same basic consonant changes (assimilation, dissimilation and alternation) which are commonest in Chukchi and rarest in Itelmen. A phonetic characteristic common to the group, except for Kerek, is a fundamentally identical vowel harmony that is none the less expressed in varying degrees. Phonetic similarities and dissimilarities generally amount to no more than regular

phonetic equivalents, most frequently determined by differences in phonemic systems and phonetic laws in the flow of speech. A distinctive trait in Itelmen is its tolerance of consonant clusters. While all other Chukchi-Kamchadal languages usually prohibit initial and final clusters and restrict them medially, Itelmen permits clusters of several consonants in any position.

In terms of morphology the commonest trait that unites the Chukchi-Kamchadal languages - and distinguishes them from their neighbours - is circumfix agglutination, their basic method of word formation and form derivation. At the same time, they employ other devices among which analytic constructions figure prominently.

The identical systems of noun declension are characterized by combined nominative and accusative cases that have the same grammatical force and by a roughly similar range of other cases in which locatives and cases expressing various shades of conjunction play an important part. The number of cases differs from one language to another: the extremes are Koryak, which has fourteen, and Itelmen with only eight. All Chukchi-Kamchadal languages have identical types of declension, characterized by a varied range of cases and the differentiation or otherwise of grammatical number in the oblique cases. The declension systems in general express the same case values; in some languages, however, those values are expressed by more extensive case systems while, in others, one case combines several meanings.

The sophisticated verb conjugation systems are also much the same in all five languages. By and large, they have the same grammatical categories (aspect, voice, mood, person, number, tense and limitation or non-limitation) expressed by fundamentally similar devices. Additionally, all Chukchi-Kamchadal languages have two types of conjugation: subjective for intransitive verbs and subjective-objective for transitive ones. In this regard, they have over 300 per cent more transitive than intransitive verb forms.

Differences in inflection depend firstly on the category of number: Chukchi and Itelmen have singular and plural, while Koryak, Aliutor and Kerek also have dual. A further difference between Itelmen and the four remaining languages is that, in the latter, nouns not only decline but also change for person. The biggest difference, however, is that the other four use incorporation. This distinctive grammatical device consists of the compounding of two or more stems - which none the less remain lexically separate and are related to one another as are the components of ordinary compounds - within a single morphological construction.

The structural similarity of the Chukchi-Kamchadal languages in terms of morphology is supplemented by the physical similarity of their stock of affixes. Since affixation is the foremost method of word formation and inflection, the similarity or dissimilarity of affixes is among the fundamental indications of each language's affinity with or separation from

the others. Four of the five Chukchi, Koryak, Aliutor and Kerek - reveal an approximately identical measure of similarity in respect of morphological affixes. Additionally, Aliutor is very close to Chukchi, as is Kerek to Koryak. Furthermore, Aliutor and Kerek differ substantially both from Chukchi and from Koryak and even from each other. Lastly, Aliutor is close to Chukchi and Kerek to Koryak in the very area of the affix stock in which each differs from the opposing language - Aliutor from Koryak and Kerek from Chukchi.

In syntax, similarities between the languages far outweigh their differences, and here even Itelmen is no exception. In all five, sentences are fundamentally alike in structure, the commonest being simple sentences, especially the distinctive 'incomplete' structures.

Thanks to their sophisticated conjugation systems, the verbal predicate is the organizational centre of the sentence, the focus of expression of the grammatical links among its chief components; the person and number of the subject of intransitive action, and of the subject and object of transitive action, are clearly identified. Thanks to this specificity of verbal forms, the subject and object, once named, are then generally omitted throughout the discourse: they are successfully replaced by the subject and object markers of the verbal form.

The two fundamental sentence structures common to all the Chukchi-Kamchadal languages - the nominative and ergative constructions - are bound up with these traits of the verbal forms. In the nominative construction, the subject noun is in the direct (nominative or absolute) case, and the intransitive verbal predicate agrees with it in person and number. In the ergative, the subject noun is in the oblique (instrumental or special ergative) case and the object noun in the direct (nominative or absolute) case; the transitive verbal predicate agrees with the object noun and expresses in its form the person and number of the subject. Additionally, all languages except Itelmen have a nominative construction in which the predicate is expressed by an incorporative verbal complex that agrees in person and number with the subject and includes a substantive stem as the object. Itelmen, which has no incorporation, as was remarked above, employs an absolute construction in which, as in the ergative, the verb is in the subjective and objective conjugation, but both subject and object are in the nominative case.

The word order is relatively free. Usually the subject precedes the predicate and the object follows it.

Complex sentences, particularly subordinate clauses, are comparatively little developed, but this is compensated by the extensive use of gerundive phrases. The chief and subordinate actions in such sentences may refer to different subjects.

In syntax, accordingly, the Chukchi-Kamchadal languages have much in common, their most typical joint trait being the ergative construction.

The shared elements of the lexicon are, firstly, the pronouns and, secondly, areas of vocabulary that relate to people's age-group, kinship, characteristics, parts of the body, reindeer-breeding, hunting, natural phenomena and in general all areas of material and spiritual culture. In this regard, Chukchi, Koryak, Aliutor and Kerek also have more in common than they have with Itelmen.

By their structure, the Yeniseian languages (Ket and Yug) occupy an isolated position among the surrounding languages. They have a rich vowel system which includes, together with the ten fundamental vowels, long vowels that in a number of cases have clear phonemic force. Additionally, there are a number of uvular occlusive vowels. The consonant system opposes voiced plosives to unvoiced occlusives and unpalatalized to palatalized consonants, and also has an uvular phoneme. Stress is mobile and sometimes has phonemic force. Some specialists class the Yeniseian group as tonal languages.

In their morphological structure the Yeniseian languages are agglutinative, but have specific traits. Suffix agglutination is accompanied by prefixation and infixation: suffixation and prefixation are common to both nouns and verbs, but infixation occurs only in verbs. A characteristic is that they have the category of gender. Substantives have three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. This division is expressed in case endings, the predicative forms of adjectives and the third person singular form of the verb. Declension of nouns is divided into conventional and possessive.

A peculiarity of the verbs is that they have four morphological structural types: (1) the radical stem at the end; (2) the stem divided by an infix, the word-forming morpheme being at the beginning and the radical at the end; (3) a divided stem with the radical morpheme initially and the word-forming morpheme finally; (4) a compound divided stem made up of two radicals or derivative stems. Verbs have two conjugations: subjective for intransitive verbs and subjective-objective for transitive verbs. They have the categories of person, number, tense, mood, voice, method of action and gender (in the third person singular).

A distinctive feature of the Yeniseian languages is that their parts of speech include what are called nouns of action, which are intermediary between nouns and verbs.

Connective words are commonly postpositions, which discharge the function of exact description of spatial concepts.

The syntax of the Yeniseian languages, according to preliminary information, is marked by the extensive use of simple sentences. The noun predicate generally ends the sentence: a predicate expressed by a verb may be either at the end or in the middle of a sentence. Government of the direct object varies according to whether the transitive verbal predicate is in the purely subjective form, the direct object taking the oblique case. Word order is relatively free, but the attribute regularly precedes the word modified.

Complex sentences, especially subordinate clauses, are used far less frequently than simple ones. A further trait is that complex co-ordinated sentences have no conjunctions, while complex subordinated sentences do.

In their lexicon, these languages reflect in detail their speakers' hunting and fishing lifestyle. They have many terms for roads, paths, tracks, toponyms for nomadic routes, names for natural phenomena, mammals, fish, hunting gear, utensils and so on. There are many loan-words from Turkic, Samoyedic, Manchu-Tungus and other languages; in particular, they have incorporated many Russian words.

The Yeniseian languages have sub-divisions that differ in phonetics, grammar and lexicon. However, the degree of these differences, as of the differences between the languages themselves, has not as yet been adequately ascertained.

The distinctive structures of the Yeniseian languages have led to intense interest on the part of linguists in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Typologically, they have most in common with the Ibero-Caucasian languages, particularly so in the gender system and its grammatical expression, but also in the structure of the subjective and objective conjugation. They also bear some affinity with Basque and the Sino-Tibetan languages.

Due to the disappearance of the closely-related Omok and Chuvan languages, Yukaghir is now a genetic isolate. The view can be found in the scholarly literature that it may be genetically akin to the Uralic languages; however, it also shares some traits with the Altaic group, although the question of its genetic affinity remains open.

The phonemic system of Yukaghir includes seven vowels and twenty-eight consonants. The vocalic system also has two rising diphthongs and, together with the basic vowels, two long ones that have phonemic force. The consonant system is divided into unvoiced and voiced occlusives, fricatives and sonorants, and also has glottal occlusives, uvulars and pharyngals.

A word may begin with a single vowel or consonant; clusters are not permitted as a rule at the end of the word. Medially, no more than two consonants may come together. Phonetic changes are few. There is a limited amount of progressive assimilation and alternation of consonants and individual cases of regressive vowel assimilation. Syllables are sub-divided into those consisting of one vowel, those of one consonant and one vowel and vice **versa**, those of one vowel between two consonants and those of one vowel between one and two consonants. The stress may fall on the first or second syllable.

In its morphological structure, Yukaghir is suffix agglutinative, with some infixation.

There are declinable, conjugable and invariable words. A peculiarity here is that the language lacks such parts of speech as the adjective or numeral: words with qualitative or numeral meanings, together with a few others, are united in a special part of speech which in its characteristics is close to the intransitive verb.

The syntax of Yukaghir is notable for its widespread use of simple sentences. The word order is comparatively free, but the attribute generally precedes the word modified and the direct object usually precedes the predicate. A considerable role in syntax is accorded to simple sentences made up of phrases, including those with various subjects of the main and secondary action. Semantically, these correspond to the complex subordinate sentences of languages with other structures. In this regard, complex sentences, particularly those involving subordination, have not become in any degree widespread.

A characteristic of Yukaghir syntax, clearly expressed in its morphology, is its actual articulation.

In their lexicon the Yukaghirs, like the other Northern ethnic groups, give ample expression to hunting, fishing and reindeer-breeding. They have detailed terms for hunting equipment, the processes involved in making it, wild animals, fish and birds, and a detailed anatomic terminology. Much of the lexicon is shared with the Samoyedic languages, part of the reindeer-breeding has been borrowed from Yakut, and there are Manchu-Tungus loan-words too.

The language is sub-divided into several dialects having such far-reaching phonetic, grammatical and lexical differences that they are essentially linguistic differences.

As stated earlier, the Nivkhi language is still considered a genetic isolate. Its phonemic system consists of six vowels and thirty-two consonants, but in addition to these there are long vowels which have phonemic value, albeit variably. The consonants are chiefly sub-divided into resonants and sonants. Voiced-unvoiced contrasts are phonemic in the case of stops and fricatives, and more in the latter case than in the former. The system also contrasts palatalized and unpalatalized vowels and includes pharyngals and uvulars. A word may begin with any vowel and generally speaking with any consonant. Clusters of two consonants are permitted initially, and up to three finally. A syllable may be monophonic (with one vowel), open, closed or checked. Stress is free but falls primarily on the first syllable. The most characteristic of the phonetic rules is the extensive alternation of consonants which is a substantial trait in word and sentence structure. Vowel alternation and assimilation is far less prominent.

In morphology, the substantive, verb, pronoun and adverb are quite clearly expressed. The substantive has the categories of case, number and possession: the verb has those of voice, aspect, tense, mood, interrogative and negative forms and certain specific forms such as one that expresses a quantitative modification of the action, an emphatic form and one expressing emotion. Pronouns are sub-divided into personal, demonstrative, reflexive attributive, possessive, relative and interrogative, indefinite and negative. Pronouns in the second person plural have inclusive and exclusive forms. Adverbs are subdivided for quality and quantity, degree and place.

A trait of Nivkhi is the lack of adjectives as a particular part of speech, their lexical meaning being expressed by words that, in view of their grammatical characteristics, are close to the verb. The numeral is confined to the cardinal which is a complex system relating to the counting of various objects: the ordinal is expressed by description. The values of repetition, distribution and collectiveness are conveyed by words which, by their morphological and syntactical characteristics, are classed as adverbs.

The syntax of Nivkhi, unlike that of other Palaeosiberian languages, is distinctive in that it has only the nominative construction. Word order is rigidly fixed: the predicate is placed last, preceded by the direct object, preceded in turn by the indirect object and adverb, while the subject stands first. Simple sentences compounded with participle and gerundive phrases are common: complex sentences, including those with subordinate clauses, are quite frequent.

The lexicon is most detailed in respect of such occupations as fishing and fur- or sea-mammal hunting, and in respect of traditional dwellings and utensils, family relations and religious concepts. These strata contain the fewest, loan-words. A trait is a high content of homonyms, both of stem and derivative forms. Polysemy and synonymy are also well-represented.

Nivkhi has three dialects: those of the Amur, East Sakhalin and North Sakhalin. They have quite profound phonetic, grammatical and lexical differences, and are in turn divided into sub-dialects.

The present review⁶ does not claim to give an exhaustive account of the Northern languages. It does, however - or so I feel - indicate how varied these languages are in genesis, typology and number of speakers.

The first scientific description of languages of the small Northern peoples was given in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and is bound up with the names of the Russian ethnographers and linguists I.E. Veniaminov, V.G. Bogoraz, L.Y. Sternberg and V.I. Jochelson, and the Finnish specialist M.A. Castrén. Until their research appeared, all that was available on the Northern languages were isolated word-lists and fragmentary, far from complete notes on the phonetic and grammatical structures drawn up at an earlier period by Cossacks and state officials and thereafter mainly by members of geographical expeditions.

Studies of the Chukchi-Kamchadal language group were made in the late nineteenth century by V.G. Bogoraz: the results of his years of research were contained in a combined survey of three of its five languages. He was also responsible for the first description of Even. The Commander Island Aleut languages were first investigated scientifically by I.E. Veniaminov. His work on this subject, published in the fourth decade of the last century, has still not lost its scientific validity.⁶ In the early twentieth century V.G. Bogoraz supplied the first scientific account of the language spoken by the Asian Eskimos, while at the same time Jochelson's research added to our knowledge of Aleut. Methodical study of Nivkhi dates back to the end of the last century and was founded by L.Y. Sternberg, who collected extensive

material on the language and made valuable observations in respect of its phonetic and grammatical structure. He also gathered information on the Nanai, Orochi and Negidal languages.

Both in scale and depth of analysis, however, the greatest volume of research into the Northern languages belongs to M.A. Castren, who pioneered the hypothesis that the Ural-Altai languages are genetically akin, known to linguists as the 'Ural-Altai theory.' Our thanks are also due to Castrén for his achievement in the study of the Yeniseian and Samoyedic languages, and of the smaller Manchu-Tungus languages. As early as the first half of the last century, he gathered, generalized and analyzed a great deal of material on the Yeniseian group, wrote a Ket grammar and proved its affiliation with all other languages of the group. He was also the first to investigate the Samoyedic languages - formerly more numerous - while to him is also due a short Tungus grammar published early in the second half of the nineteenth century, being the first study of the unwritten languages of the Manchu-Tungus group.

The result of these studies was a preliminary description of no more than the basics of the phonetics and grammar of the Northern languages, and by no means all of them. A start was made on a more searching investigation immediately after the October Revolution.

Research into the languages of the Northern peoples and of all the country's other small ethnic groups was formerly the concern of isolated amateurs; in the Soviet period it has become a matter for the State and is systematically pursued by teams of specialists. It may be subdivided into two basic periods: pre-war and post-war.

In the pre-war period (before 1941) such research was carried out by a research association at the Leningrad Institute of Northern Peoples and was largely conditioned by the pressing need to solve a number of problems relating to the establishment of written forms of the Northern languages. The choice of a base dialect, the development of an alphabet, the establishment of spelling rules and the preparation of textbooks and teaching aids - all of this called for in-depth study of the phonetics, grammar, lexicons and dialects. It must be remarked that the combination of pure research with this practical work proved extremely fruitful. The research ensured the development of written forms, and this solution of the problem in turn promoted the application of research findings.

A considerable pre-war research achievement was the publication of outlines of the small Northern languages. Despite the as yet incomplete, and occasionally inaccurate, information they have provided on language structures, these outlines greatly assisted practical work in developing the new written forms, while providing a sufficiently reliable basis for the more penetrating studies that followed.

In the post-war period, research has been concentrated chiefly in the Leningrad department of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Linguistics, but studies have also been undertaken by other establishments

in the Academy's network, such as the Siberian Department, the Yakutsk Branch and the Far Eastern Scientific Centre, as well as in the Leningrad and Tomsk Pedagogical Institutes. The work is co-ordinated by the Leningrad department of the Institute of Linguistics.

The specialists concerned have concentrated primarily on a study in depth of the phonetics and grammar of the small Northern languages. The research into phonetics, headed by the famous Leningrad phoneticians M.I. Matusevich and L.R. Zinder, has clarified the phonemic systems and phonetic laws of all Northern languages, in many cases through experiment. This is particularly true of the investigations in which Academician L.V. Shcherba played the leading role. At present experimental study of the phonetic aspect of these languages is chiefly the responsibility of the phonetics laboratory at the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

With regard to grammar, research has focused on the identification of all the specific structural traits of the Northern languages and the elaboration of related general theoretical questions. Carried out through extensive field studies, research has resulted in a number of outlines and many articles, together with fundamental monographs now completed or nearing completion. These are chiefly systematic descriptions, in one or two volumes, of a language's grammatical structure. With occasional exceptions, there are studies of all the Northern languages, chiefly concentrating on their morphology and related syntactical traits. However, a monograph on the syntax of the Samoyedic languages has been published, and one on sentence structure in the Palaeosiberian languages is now in the press. Several monographs have been written on various aspects of the grammatical structures of Northern languages, and a number of articles and monographs have been published which study general theoretical issues via these languages, especially in respect of their logical and grammatical levels.

As regards lexicography, it should be noted that in addition to the many published short bilingual dictionaries, basic dictionaries have also been published or are being prepared for the press. Lexicological work is only in its infancy.

Dialectological research, on the other hand, is virtually complete. Its results show that lexical, phonetic and grammatical differences in some languages are far greater than those of dialect and are essentially differences between closely-related languages. This research has entailed a revision of classification in certain language groups, resulting in the identification of new languages: Enets and Nganasan in the Samoyedic group, and Aliutor and Kerek in the Chukchi-Kamchadal group. Even though the so-called dialects of Khant, too, are clearly quite closely-related languages, their differences are so profound that different primers have had to be developed for school purposes.

Special onomastic studies began comparatively recently and are steadily gaining pace. A number of reports on Northern languages have been

heard at the All-Union Geographical Society attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences, while articles on toponymics and names of mountains, waterways or humans have been or are being published. We know that a great deal has been done in this area by the linguists of the Tomsk Pedagogical Institute.

Specialists at the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences have carried out socio-linguistic studies of the Northern peoples and published a number of works.⁸

Research into the languages of the small Northern peoples concentrates on two fundamental problems: in regard to the Samoyedic and Manchu-Tungus groups, the question of the relationship between the Ural-Altai languages and, in regard to the Palaeosiberian group, that of the linguistic bonds among the indigenous population of the far north-east of Siberia. The former is directly linked to M.A. Castrén's Ural-Altai hypothesis, and the latter to L.I. Schrenck's Palaeosiberian hypothesis.

It is well known that the Ural-Altai hypothesis has not gained widespread support: the predominant viewpoint acknowledges genetic relationships only within the Ural (Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic) family and the Altai (Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus) family. None the less, several prominent scholars, such as J. Nemeth, B. Kollinder and M. Raaanen,⁹ consider that the theory that some genetic links exist between the Uralic and Altai languages has some foundation.

Most researchers acknowledge the common genesis of the Altai languages, although the view has its opponents too. A definitive answer can only come from a comprehensive comparative study of this group. In this regard, research into Manchu-Tungus is under way: monographs on the comparative phonetics and syntax of these languages have been published and, for the first time, a large, two-volume comparative dictionary has also been published.¹⁰ Regardless of the final outcome with regard to the kinship of the Altai languages, the current investigations have yielded and will continue to yield a great deal that is of benefit both in the study of individual Altai languages and in answering general theoretical questions of linguistics.

G.N. Prokofev, that great specialist in the Samoyedic languages, was not a wholly convinced supporter of the Ural-Altai hypothesis, but the supposition he put forward regarding the ethnic genesis of the Samoyedics is of interest in this context. Research into the Samoyedic languages is concentrating on a more detailed identification of the genetic links between these languages and their connections with the languages of neighbouring aboriginal peoples. Several articles have been published and a plan for a fundamental study has been drawn up.

The first phase of work on the extent of linguistic kinship among the indigenous peoples of north-eastern Siberia - the systematic study and description of individual Palaeosiberian languages - is nearing completion. The second phase, fundamental comparative studies, has now begun. This

will identify with greater precision the extent of the internal and external relations of the north-east Siberian languages, thereby contributing in some measure to solving the problem of the ancient movements of, and relationship between, the peoples of north-east Siberia and North America.

The extensive material on which linguistic research is based is constantly being replenished and renewed by regular field expeditions and, in both this and the generalizing research, a part is played by the representatives of the small Northern peoples themselves.

[Translated from the Russian]

Notes

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4. More details of the Eskimo language are given in the section of this publication by G.A. Menovshchikov.
5. The review was based to a considerable extent on the following publications: *Jazyki narodov SSSR* (Languages of the USSR Peoples), Vols. III and V; TSINTSIUS, V.I. 1949. *Sravnitel'naja fonetika* (Comparative Phonetics), Leningrad; SUNIK, O.P. 1947. *Ocerki po sintaksisu tunguso-man'czurskih jazykov* (Sketches in Manchu-Tungus Syntax), Leningrad; DUL'ZON, A.P. 1968. *Ketskij jazyk* (The Ket Language), Tomsk; KREINOVICH, E.A. 1968. *Glagol ketskogo jazyka* (The Ket Verb), Leningrad; -. *Issledovanija i materialy po jukagirskomu jazyku* (Studies and Documents on the Yukaghir Language), Leningrad, 1982; PANFILOV, V.Z. *Grammatika nivhskogo jazyka* (Grammar of Nivkhi), Moscow, Leningrad, Part I, 1962, Part II, 1965.
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Contemporary Studies of the Eskimo-Aleut Languages and Dialects: A Progress Report

Georgy Menovshchikov

The Eskimo-Aleut language group has no direct genetic kinship with any language in the world. Under L.I. Schrenck's genealogical classification of the indigenous languages of northern Siberia, the languages in this group were included among what he called the Palaeosiberian languages,* embracing groups of related languages and structural isolates that bore no resemblance to the Ural-Altai, Finno-Ugric or Samoyedic groups.

The Eskimo-Aleut languages are dispersed in the Arctic and sub-Arctic zones from the Chukotka Peninsula and the Aleutian Islands, through the coastal regions of Alaska and the Canadian Arctic as far as Greenland. None of the Northern ethnic groups occupies so extensive a territory as the Eskimo. The Eskimo-Aleut language family groups number some 102,000 persons, of whom 1,500 Eskimos and 500 Aleuts live in the USSR. ²

The two peoples are ascribed to the same language group on the basis of a distant kinship in their languages' phonological systems and the similarity between restricted but substantial aspects of their material and spiritual cultures. Their linguistic kinship stems from the similarity of their phonetic composition and the major traits of their grammatical structures in respect of morphology and syntax. As for their lexicon, Aleut has only a few dozen words per thousand that share their roots with Eskimo: these may well originate in the pre-maritime cultural period of the two peoples.

Comparative studies of the regional and dialectic fragmentation of 'the Eskimo language' show that this concept is to a large extent general: there is no single Eskimo language in which a majority of the ethnic group could communicate. In reality there is an Eskimo language group comprising two main subdivisions: Inupik and Yupik (Yugyt). Other names for these languages are Inuit and Yuit. The first two denote the concept 'real people',

the others 'man' or 'people'. Inuit is spoken by the Eskimos of Greenland, Canada and to some extent Alaska; Yupik by most Eskimos in Alaska, including Nunivak and St Lawrence Island, and those of the Chukotka coast in the USSR. Both languages include some thirty separate territorial dialects, some of which in each of the two groups have become, through centuries of isolation and independent development, different languages rather than dialects. Until recently, for instance, the Asiatic Eskimos of the Yupik group spoke three different dialects - those of Chaplino (un'uzig'mit), Naukan (nyuulz'ug'mit) and Sireniki (sigl'nyng'mit). Although the speakers of the first two could partly understand each other, those speaking the Sireniki dialect communicated with their kinsmen from Chaplino or Naukan in the unrelated language of their neighbours, the Chukchi. In the early twentieth century the Sireniki dialect was spoken by about 100 people, in the 1930s by 60 or 70, in 1954 by 30, in 1960 by 20 and in 1980 by 5. Consequently, what has traditionally been called the 'Asian Eskimo language' is in reality an amalgamation of two dialects - Naukan and Chaplino - that are far apart in space and time, and the Sireniki Eskimo language that is isolated from both. The history of the latter was such that during a period of dispersal of a unified tribe, its speakers may have found themselves totally cut off for many centuries from other groups of the tribe and surrounded by some other (possibly more than one) tribe that spoke a different, now lost, language: they subsequently came into contact once again with their kinsmen speaking cognate languages. The structurally different Chukchi, whose speakers were for many centuries the closest neighbours of the Sireniki Eskimos, had an unquestionable influence on the latter's lexicon.³ The grammatical structure and lexicon of the Sireniki language, which has died out before our very eyes, together with samples of text that are of undoubted interest to ethnographers and linguists, were recorded in time and published by us in 1964.⁴

The Chaplino dialect, which was adopted in the early 1930s as the basis for written Eskimo, is close in grammatical structure and lexicon to that of the Eskimos of the American St. Lawrence Island (*Siuuk'uk*). Spoken by the majority of Asian Eskimos, when regular contacts developed among the different Eskimo settlements, it did much to promote the complete linguistic assimilation of the Sireniki Eskimo, who now speak Chaplino dialect and Russian⁵

The Naukan dialect is close in grammatical structure and lexicon to the Alaskan Yupik dialects. It has, however, been in constant contact with one of the Inuit dialects, some elements of which have influenced its structure.⁶ Because the Naukan Eskimos, who make up a particular ethnic sub-group and lived in one large settlement, were dispersed in 1957 to various Chukchi villages, their language and folklore began gradually to change under the impact of the structurally different Chukchi and Russian languages. It is an urgent task for linguists to record real facts about this dialect more fully.

For many centuries Chukchi has exerted a measure of influence on the development of the grammatical structure and lexicon of all three Asian subdivisions of the Pan-Eskimo language, and a large quantity of peripheral Chukchi lexicon - conjunctions, particles, adverbs and to some extent substantives and verbs - has interfered in the Eskimo dialects.

A similar dialectal dispersion impeding free communication among the geographically scattered Inuit groups in Greenland, Canada and Alaska is recorded by language specialists and ethnographers in those countries. Ease of linguistic contact among the various overseas Eskimo groups is also hampered by a lack of co-ordination in writing systems and of a single system of alphabets. The Canadian Inuit in different regions, for instance, use two writing systems: one Roman and one syllabic. In turn, the Roman orthography adopted by the Greenlanders differs somewhat from those used in Canada and Alaska. None of this makes for the ethnic or cultural consolidation of the Eskimo people.

The Asian dialects, first studied in the late nineteenth century by the ethnographers and linguists N.L. Gondatti, V.F. Miller and V.G. Bogoraz, have been investigated most energetically since the start of the Soviet period. The incentive for researching these dialects was provided by the establishment of written forms for previously unwritten Northern languages in the early 1930s. The preparation of the first primers, textbooks and dictionaries stemmed directly from the study of the grammatical structure, phonemic composition and lexicon of these dialects.

The first Eskimo (Yuit) primer was published in 1932, being compiled by E.P. Orlova with the assistance of A. Bychkov and B. Leity, Eskimo students at the Khabarovsk Technical College for the Northern Peoples. The writing system was based on the Roman alphabet. This was the first book for Soviet Eskimos and laid the foundation for the development of their own written language. Of course, it did not yet meet the requirements of a systematic or methodical rendering of phonemes or words, but did largely adhere to the principle of working from the simple to the complex and could have been the basis for literacy teaching among Eskimo children.

Unfortunately, this primer reached Chukotka by chance in early 1933 - and only in one copy. A whole year's issue was lost on the way. A group of teachers in Eskimo schools, N.A. Bratyshkin, K.S. Sergeeva, N.I. Rubinov, G.A. Menovshchikov and A.F. Lotsman, in turn organized the copying of the book in his or her own school. Each copy, handwritten on thin paper, was multiplied with the help of second and third year pupils. The original of the primer found its way to all the Eskimo schools in the Chaplino region and in November 1933 a start was made on teaching Eskimo children literacy in their own language, using the copies that had been made. Those who compiled the book omitted two uvular sounds, q and x (k' and kh'), from the alphabet because of the then inadequate study of the language's phonological composition.

Between 1935 and 1937, Eskimo language textbooks for the primary school were compiled by K.S. Sergeeva and A.S. Forshtein with considerable help from Eskimo students at the Leningrad Institute of the Northern Peoples, Amkaun, Ashkamakin and Achirgin. Using the Roman script they wrote a new Eskimo primer, two readers and several translations of short books for young children.

From 1937, the Roman script was replaced by the Russian alphabet for the newly literate languages of the Soviet Extreme North, and this enabled pupils to master the Russian language far more quickly.

In 1939 *K'yryn'ukh'l'yg'a arifmetikam zadachan'ita*, G.A. Menovshchikov's translation of the 'Compendium of arithmetical problems and exercises for the first year of primary schools' (Popova, N.S., Uchpedgiz, Leningrad, 1939), was published together with his *Un'ipag'utyt* (Stories, Glavsevmorput' Publishers, Leningrad, 1939). These were followed in 1941 by a Russian-Eskimo Dictionary for the Eskimo Primary School (Uchpedgiz, Leningrad, 1941), compiled by E.S. Rubtsova, one of the first teachers at the Eskimo schools in Chukotka. In these teachings aids the uvular *kh'*, which is a phoneme, was overlooked, as was the bilabial rounded fricative *w* (*u*): they were denoted by the letters *x* and *B*, which represent different phonemes.

In 1940-41, Menovshchikov compiled, with the assistance of the Eskimos Matlyn and Maina, the first grammar textbooks for the first and second classes of Eskimo schools. A copy of the manuscript of the textbook for the first class was left for the teachers of schools in the Chaplino, Kivan and Sireniki regions. Hand-made copies for a long time (1941 to 1946) were the only aid for teaching children their mother tongue.

The Great Patriotic War of 1941-45 impeded the development of school-books for Eskimo and other Northern schools, since these were published in Leningrad. The first post-war textbooks for Eskimo schools began to appear in 1946. School grammars and primers, readers, Russian-Eskimo and Eskimo-Russian dictionaries, curricula and other teaching aids in Eskimo and Russian were drawn up by two specialists at the Institute of Linguistics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, E.S. Rubtsova and G.A. Menovshchikov, who had in the early 1930s been the first teachers at Eskimo schools in Chukotka. The Eskimos Gukhuge, Anal'kvasak, Kasyga, Tanuta, Tatak, Ayakhta, Ainana and others assisted as translators and co-authors. A large number of educational and methodic literature works were published or prepared between 1946 and 1980. The Eskimo Primer by E.S. Rubtsova and S.M. Gukhuge, which has been through three editions (1947, 1953 and 1960), the readers *Khuan'kuta Akuzil'ykh'put'* (Our language, 1948) and *Khuan'kuta alykh'k'ul'ykh'put'* (Our conversations, 1956) for second year, and the first-year reader *Khuan'kuta Akuzil'ykh'put'* (1950 and 1955), all three of which are the work of E.S. Rubtsova in collaboration with the Eskimos Anal'kvasak and Tanuta, as well as Eskimo grammars for preparatory, first and second classes compiled by G.A. Menovshchikov, and likewise

reissued two or three times - all of these teaching aids and programmes with their methodical development have provided a basis for mother-tongue teaching in Eskimo schools. The latest Eskimo teachers are V.A. Anal'kvasak and L.I. Ainana who received their linguistic and teacher training at the Leningrad 'A.I. Herzen' State Pedagogical Institute. A series of new teaching aids is now being prepared for Eskimo schools in the Chukchi National Okrug.

The Aleut language has two main dialects, Atkan and Unalaskan, and is spoken in the Aleutian Islands (USA)⁹ and to some extent on Bering Island (USSR).

For the past 150 years the language of the small Aleut population of Bering and Medny Islands in the Commander's has been exposed to intensive Russian influence: Russian colonists were sent there constantly and gradually assimilated the local inhabitants linguistically. In 1963 this author was required by the Institute of Linguistics of the USSR Academy of Sciences to carry out a linguistic survey of the Commander Island Aleuts. It turned out that not more than one in ten of the older generation had a fluent command of their mother tongue: the others understood it to some extent, but could not speak it, while the young people used Russian as their sole means of communication. Since the speakers were so few in number, their language remained unwritten, and this too accelerated its demise. The Aleut primer *Agadgikh hanakikh* (The sun rises), compiled in 1931 by N. Budakov, P. Volokitin, A. Nozhikov, M. Pan'kov, S. Sushkov and A. Shadrin, who at the time were Aleut students at the Far Eastern Technical College of the Northern peoples under the guidance of the teacher E.P. Orlova, was unfortunately not published because of the small numbers of the Aleut population which had even then largely lost its mother tongue. As a document illustrating the desire of even the smallest ethnic groups for a written form of their languages, this manuscript copy of the Aleut primer is of unquestionable cultural and historical value.

Theoretical studies of the Aleut languages were first undertaken in the first half of the nineteenth century by the outstanding Russian educator in the Aleutian Islands, I.E. Veniaminov (1797-1879).¹⁰ In 1836, Veniaminov's first Aleut primer and translation of the catechism were published by Sinod. The primer was re-issued several times, and most recently in 1893. Veniaminov's linguistic works *Opyt grammatiki aleutsko-lis'euskogo yazyka* (Experience with the grammar of Fox Islands Aleut) and *Zamechaniya o koloshenskom i kad' yakskom yazykakh* (Remarks on the Kolosha and Kadiak languages), published in the 1840s provided a definite incentive for linguists of the day to study the unwritten languages of Siberia and America.

After a protracted interval, research into the grammatical structure of Aleut was renewed only in the early twentieth century by the Russian ethnographer and linguist V.I. Jochelson (1855-1940) whose first work, *Zametki o foneticheskikh i strukturnykh osnovakh aleutskogo yazyka* (Notes on the phonetic and structural bases of Aleut), was published in 1912

Izvestiya Akademii Nauk, Series VI, No. 17, St. Petersburg, 1912). In 1934 he published a short grammatical outline, *Unanganskii (uleutskii) Yazyk* (The Unangan or Aleut language) in Volume 3 of *Yazyki i pis'mennost' narodov Seuera* (Languages and written forms among the Northern peoples) (Moscow and Leningrad, Uchpedgiz, 1934). In the Soviet period, theoretical studies of the grammatical structure of Aleut were begun only in the 1960s or 1970s by specialists at the Palaeosiberian Languages Sector of the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Linguistics; these studies are continuing. ¹

Even today G.A. Menovshchikov, N.B. Vakhtin and N.M. Emel'yanova, specialists at the Leningrad branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Linguistics, continue to give Eskimo schools practical help, contributing to the compilation of school dictionaries and textbooks for elementary schools and a teaching aid on Eskimo grammar for students and teachers, and also training young Eskimos as teachers.

One difficulty for mother tongue teaching resides in the fact that there are now no more settlements with a wholly Eskimo population. For economic reasons, the local authorities have enlarged a number of Eskimo and Chukchi settlements in post-war years, resulting in mixed Chukchi, Eskimo and Russian populations. There remain no such large and ethnically distinct villages as Naukan, which until recently had preserved its particular dialect and many ethnic features of the original Eskimo culture.

Eskimo children now have a poor command of their mother tongue, and teachers are faced with the complex task of revitalizing it through the educational process. It is essential not just to maintain the language as a means of communication in the family and at work, but also to keep up the body of useful folk knowledge and art that is closely bound up with knowledge of the language and the traditional terminology of hunting or lifestyle.

The second crucial aspect of Soviet research into the Eskimo dialects is the theoretical investigation of their grammatical structure in respect of phonetics, morphology and syntax, and comparison with these aspects of individual dialects of Inupik and Aleut. In this regard, between 1948 and 1982, we organized more than 17 linguistic expeditions to the Asian Eskimo regions and two to the Commander Island Aleut. Thus a considerable volume of texts (folklore) and phraseological and lexical material in all the Asian branches of the Eskimo language was gathered in the field. On this basis we wrote and published such monographs as: (1) *Grammatika yazyka aziatskikh eskimosou* (A grammar of the Asian Eskimo language), Part I, 1962; Part II, 1967; (2) *Yazyk sireniskikh eskimosou* (The Sireniki Eskimo language), 1964; (3) *Yazyk naukanskikh eskimosou* (The Naukan Eskimo language), 1975; and (4) *Yazyk Eskimosou Beringouaproliva (Inuitskii)* (The Bering Strait Eskimo [Inuit] language), 1980. All are the work of G.A. Menovshchikov: in addition to outline grammars, the last three contain texts and dictionaries, thus providing the basis for comparative dialectal research. We also published E.S. Rubtsova's *Materialy po yazyku i fol'kloru*

eskimosov (chaplinskii dialekt) (Materials on the language and folklore of the Eskimo [Chaplino dialect]) (1954) and her Eskimo-Russian dictionary (1971). N.M. Emel'yanova's *Klassy glagolov v eskimosskom yazyke* (Classes of verbs in Eskimo) has also appeared (Leningrad, Nauka Publications, 1982). A number of outlines and articles on the grammatical structure of the Eskimo-Aleut languages have also been written and published. Soviet research into these languages, now numbering over 100 titles, has won widespread recognition among Soviet linguists, ethnographers and philologists as well as foreign scholars.¹²

Staff of the Palaeosiberian Languages Sector of the Academy's Leningrad branch are continuing their syntactical, lexicological and textual research into the Eskimo-Aleut languages and dialects, adding to their linguistic material in field conditions. Particular emphasis is placed on the scholarly publication of texts of the Eskimo oral tradition together with comments on their ethnic, linguistic and folklore content. The series also includes texts in the Naukan dialect, previously unpublished in the original, and now accompanied by translations and scholarly commentaries.¹³

Although there are direct contacts between archaeologists, ethnographers and anthropologists working in the same area in different countries, this is not yet the case in respect of Eskimo language studies. It would therefore be advantageous, in order to further the co-ordination of research into the Eskimo-Aleut languages and dialects, if linguists from appropriate Soviet, American, Canadian and Danish institutions in future collaborated in the production of comparative Asian, Alaskan, Canadian and Greenland Eskimo grammars and dictionaries. An exchange of experience in research and materials would make a concrete contribution to Eskimo studies.

[Translated from the Russian]

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Social Functions of the Soviet Northern Peoples' Languages

Piotr Skorik

In the pre-Soviet period the small Northern ethnic groups had patriarchal tribal structures at various levels of development and lived nomadic or semi-nomadic life-styles. Together with their primitive forms of hunting and gathering economy, and their extremely backward cultural standards, these factors determined the associated functions of their languages.

Even then a number of these peoples had established quite close contacts with Russians. Together with such elements of indigenous lifestyle as clothing or hunting and reindeer-herding techniques, Russian settlers in the North adopted the relevant lexicon - malitsu (an outer fur garment), libty (fur stockings) and tabary (fur footwear) from Nenets, unty (a kind of footwear), *khaga* (a bark box), dyalkon (a bark boat) and tisku (a bark cover) from Even, and yaranga (a dwelling) from Chukchi. But far more Russian loan-words entered the Northern languages. And since they were borrowed by ear, they underwent changes in conformity with the phonetic and morphological traits of the host language. Examples are the Even *budyra* for *uedro* (a bucket), *numpu* for *lumpu* (a lamp) and *chupuku* for *supogi* (boots); the Nanai pudu *forpud* (unit of weight = 16.38 kg) and *chuguni* for *chugunka* (a railway), and the Evenk *poruk* for *porokh* (powder), *bane* for *banya* (bath) and *pechu* for *pech'* (a stove). The Russian influence was felt most strongly by those peoples who lived in first-hand contact with long-settled Russian populations, such as the southern Selkups, the Western groups of Nenets, Evenk groups along the major waterways, the Nanais, Nivkhis, Itelmens and sedentary Koryaks. It was but slight on the ethnic groups of the remote taiga or tundra, where no Russians had settled: this was true of the Chukchis, Eskimos, Enets and Nganasans. In the pre-Soviet period, their languages contained only individual Russian loan-words: *chakar* (*sakhar*:

sugar), *kankheka* (*konfeta*: a sweet), *chai* (tea), *taak* (*tabak*: tobacco), *kachak* (*kazak*: a Cossack) and *rupyl'* (*rubl'*: a rouble) in Chukchi; *urbaka* (*rubakha*: here a woman's dress), *sakyr* (*sakhar*: sugar) and *kankheka* (*konfeta*: a sweet) in Nganasan; *pechu* (*pech'*: a stove), *tol* (*stol*: a table) and *kirba* (*khleb*: bread) in Enets; *siyupkan* (*shlyupka*: a boat), *korov* (*korova*: a cow), *kapkan* (a trap) and *klevan* (*khleb*: bread) in Koryak.

Early Russian loans are well entrenched in the Northern languages, whose speakers have long viewed them as native words. Like the indigenous stock, the loan words serve as the basis for far-reaching derivation, using the procedures operating in this or that language. From *chai* (tea), for instance, Chukchi has derived *chaiputyk* (to boil tea), *chai pauyk* (to drink tea), *chuikok* (a teapot), *chuikonin* (a teacup), *chaipat* (boiled tea), *chaelchyn* (a tea-table) and *chaekuatyk* (to snack before tea). From *sukhar* (sugar) Nenets has formed *sakhar'yas'* (to sweeten), *sakhar'yada* (sweet), *sakharamdus'* (to candy) and *sakharomz'* (to crystallize into sugar), while Even has derived *koleban* (to bake bread), *kolobanosin* (to go for bread), *koloboty* (to eat bread) and *kolobanot* (dough) from the loaned *khleb* (bread).

Thus the Russians' progressive influence over the small Northern peoples' economic and cultural activity, and at the same time over their languages, dates from the distant past; however, in the pre-Soviet period the Northern languages had restricted social functions and were merely a means of communication in day-to-day life.

The changes have been and continue to be in some measure reflected in the Northern languages which, like the other languages of the Soviet Union, are among the most effective instruments for developing national cultures. The mother tongues have played and still play a substantial role in the transformation of the lives of the indigenous Northerners. Because of this, their social functions have gained considerably in scope and the languages themselves have developed and grown proportionally richer.

A particularly important role in this regard was played by the development of writing systems for these peoples.

In pre-revolutionary Russia all the Northern languages were unwritten. True, missionaries had attempted here and there to establish writing systems for some Northern languages with the aim of spreading Orthodox Christianity, but these attempts proved fruitless. The missionaries' knowledge of the languages was inadequate and lacked scientific depth, while their purpose was alien to the Northern peoples. Yet the need for a writing system was universally felt, as is indicated by the pictographical letters, tally sticks, way signs and so on that have existed among these peoples since time immemorial. A particularly eloquent testimony is the hieroglyphic writing system invented by a Chukchi herdsman. However, because of their limited potential and restricted applications, none of these devices was able to play a part, however insubstantial, in the cultural development of the small Northern ethnic groups.

The work of establishing and introducing the systems was done by the Linguistics Section of the Scientific Association attached to the Institute of Northern Peoples in Leningrad. Soon the base dialects for the written forms had been identified, alphabets had been established, spelling standards formulated, the role of the newly literate languages in the educational process and the social affairs of the Northern peoples had been defined and primers published, laying the foundations for the publication of educational, literary, political and other works in the Northern languages. The writing systems were based on Roman script, but this was subsequently exchanged for the Russian alphabet in response to local demand.

A direct contribution was made to this work by the students of the Institute of Northern Peoples; many later became translators, writers, compilers of dictionaries and textbooks and, in some cases, researchers into mother tongues.

Special committees were set up to supervise the introduction of writing systems in the autonomous *okrugs* and other places where the minority Northern peoples lived. Together with specialists in Northern affairs, the indigenous population was represented on those committees. For example, the committee for the introduction of written forms of Chukchi and Eskimo was headed by the Chukchi Tegrynkeu, Chairman of the Chukchi *okrug* Executive Committee.

Young indigenous men and women, trained in special courses in different places in the *okrugs* and *rayons*, did much to promote the introduction of the Northern writing systems. They staffed an extensive illiteracy eradication network and gave mother tongue tuition in schools. The introduction of written forms was a major event for the Northern peoples: quantitatively speaking, it ushered in a new phase in their cultural development. Mother tongue wall newspapers, posters and slogans began to appear in schools, clubs and red tents, plays were written and performed and songs or topical ditties composed by enthusiasts were sung at concerts.

However, the sphere of application and the social functions of the Northern languages have certain distinctive characteristics. This stems from the particular historical circumstances in which the Northern peoples developed. Small in numbers, they live in the midst of people speaking other languages (especially Russian) and frequently in isolated groups, making for a subdivision into dialects that are frequently very fragmented and have far-reaching differences. Because of this, in the regions where they live, including the national *okrugs*, the contact and official language is Russian or, in far fewer cases, the language of another, larger population surrounding them: for the Evens and Chukchis of the Yakut Autonomous SSR, for instance, it is Yakut. Generally the contact language is used in periodicals, radio and television.

Consequently, applications of the written Northern languages have from the outset been restricted by the specific traits of their social function and by the requirement for, and potential applications of, these languages.

Even when writing systems were introduced, mother tongue tuition in the school was given in the first three classes, after which Russian was phased in and the mother tongues taught as subjects. Even then, in addition to the mother tongue textbooks, the pupils had translated literature for extramural reading, that being in those days virtually the only source of Russian and other foreign literature for schoolchildren.

While written forms were being introduced, a start was made on developing the national press. *Okrug* and *rayon* newspapers began to appear and the local publication of small editions of translated and even of some original works was organized in the literature, socio-political, craft, health care and other fields.

Various viewpoints were held as regards the social function of mother tongues, particularly in their written forms, and their role in the cultural development of the small Northern peoples. Two such viewpoints were diametrically opposed. One of these expressed the desire to extend their social functions artificially, to extend mother tongue tuition to the upper classes in schools, to translate the literary classics and so forth. The other undervalued or completely ignored the social role of the mother tongues, tended to assign to them the role of mere objects of research and claimed that the mother tongue hindered pupils in learning Russian, thereby handicapping cultural development. Experience has shown that both of these viewpoints were mistaken. Nothing but unnecessary complications could result from the artificial enlargement of the northern languages' social functions - and equally, nothing but loss could stem from a desire to overlook in any way the natural role of a people's mother tongue or, worse still, to counterpoise it with Russian. Experience showed that the functions of the mother tongue and of Russian are not mutually opposed, but supplement each other in harmonious combination. It is the proper observance of that combination in the specific circumstances of each ethnic group that ensures its most successful cultural development.

The balance between the social functions of the mother tongue and of Russian is not a stable one: it varies, depending on how far the particular ethnic group has mastered the latter. Recently, because knowledge of Russian has spread considerably among the small Northern peoples, the educational process at school has undergone a certain change. Tuition is given in the Northern languages only during the first year, this being preceded by literacy teaching in the mother tongue for the final group of the pre-school establishment. The mother tongue as a subject is still studied at every level of schooling. Where the national composition of pupils is mixed, mother tongue tuition is given in language groups; where the number of speakers of a given language is insignificant, it becomes optional.

The continuously spreading knowledge of Russian does not diminish the beneficial role of their mother tongues in pupils' lives. They love their writers' works, take an interest in the mother tongue newspaper or radio and television broadcasts and participate in amateur music groups. The

right combination of either language's social functions in each specific case is the condition for their mutual influence. Through their mother tongues the small Northern peoples master Russian more easily and more fully. In turn Russian exerts a positive influence on the development of the Northern languages and enriches them.

Lexicons have undergone great development in the Soviet period, the enrichment stemming from three sources: (1) Russian loan-words; (2) coining of new words from the language's own resources; and (3) the attribution of new meanings to existing words.

Russian loans chiefly make up the sectors of the lexicon that previously did not exist in Northern languages. This applies first and foremost to socio-political and scientific and technological terminology. Many words borrowed from Russian are connected with new economic activities and experiences, the work of schools, clubs, cinema, radio and television. Another set relates to changes in time-honoured occupations.

The Russian numerical system is used among all the small Northern peoples and has virtually completely superseded their own usually incomplete counting systems such as the quinary and vigesimal method used in Chukchi and related languages.

An example of borrowing from other languages are the Yakut words found in Evenk.

Lexical enrichment from the Northern languages' own resources is chiefly bound up with Russian. The most usual method is affixal derivation and compounding, through which a large number of words have entered and are still entering these languages. Examples are **nun** meaning 'teacher' (literally 'explainer'), **khant** meaning 'steamship' (literally 'fire-boat'), **chuk** meaning 'aircraft' ('flying device' or 'flier'), **kor** meaning school ('teaching house') and so forth. In some cases neologisms are coined from earlier loans. A case in point is the Khant word for a 'co-operative store', formed by compounding the two earlier borrowings **mir** ('people') and **lapka** ('shop') to give, literally, the meaning 'people's (publicly owned) shop'. Comparatively fewer but still quite important additions come through widening and redefining the meanings of a language's existing vocabulary. Some examples are: the Evenk for 'to rise upwards' has also acquired the meaning 'to develop culturally', the Nivkhi verb 'to outstrip' has come to mean 'to emulate in work, while the Chukchi participle denoting 'found' now means 'a delegate' and its derivative means 'a polling station', and so on. It is common to find pairs of synonyms, one derived from the mother tongue and the other borrowed from Russian.

Interaction with the alienlanguages surrounding the Northern tongues has an impact on their phonetic systems, albeit to a far lesser extent than on their lexicons. Some results of this can already be seen. Young Northerners, particularly the intelligentsia, display a wish to pronounce Russian loan-words in accordance with the rules of Russian. Consequently, many Russian words are used in two forms in the Northern languages: one that

conforms with the phono-morphological rules of the borrowing language, and one that meets the standards of Russian literary pronunciation. Further, there are Russian words now deeply entrenched whose pronunciation is foreign to the host language, and what is more the new sounds may not have been part of the word before it was borrowed: *zurnal* for *zhurnal* ('periodical'), *krazok* for *krazhok* (a 'club' or 'circle') in Chukchi, Koryak, Evenk and some others.

The impact of the linguistic environment is greater on the Northern languages' grammatical structures than it is on their phonemic systems. It is none the less generally confined to the field of syntax. Thus certain of them, under the influence of Russian, make more widespread use of compound and particularly of complex sentences which, furthermore, are in a number of cases formed with the use of Russian loan-words. Evenk, for instance, has borrowed the conjunctions *i* ('and'), *da* ('furthermore') and *to* ('then' or 'on the other hand'), Mansi has borrowed *shtoby* (*chtoby*: 'in order to') and *no* ('but'), while Nanai uses the borrowed conjunctions *na* (a: 'and or 'but'), *ta* (*da*: 'and, 'furthermore') and *ali* (*ili*: 'or'). Foreign influence on morphology occurs only in isolated cases.

The Northern languages are undergoing various changes not only due to their interaction with the alien linguistic environment, but also because of the ever-increasing interaction among their dialects. The formation of large integrated economic units (collective and State farms) has touched off an ongoing and intensive process that blurs dialectal differences to form a language that is equally understandable to all employees and is, moreover, enriched by pairs of homonyms from the different dialects.

Translated from the Russian)

Note

1. BOGORAZ, V.G. 1934. **Luoravetlanskij (Cukotskij) jazyk** (The Luoravetlan/Chukchi Language), in **Jazyki i pis'mennost' narodov Severa**, Part III, Moscow, Leningrad, p. 8.

Use of the Northern Languages in the Mass Media

Chuner Taksami

The mass media, including radio and television, have been developed extensively in the Soviet North. Periodicals, published both centrally and locally, reach all parts of the region, and newspapers, books and magazines have become an essential spiritual requirement as much for the indigenous Northerners as for all Soviet people.

The purpose of this section is to show how the Northern peoples' mother tongues are used on radio and television and in the press. This is a matter of the greatest importance. At present, some 8,000,000 people, comprising more than 50 nationalities, live in the Soviet North: the aboriginal inhabitants account for only a small percentage of the Northern population.² Despite their small numbers, the Northern ethnic groups have not lost their mother tongues. In the prevailing linguistic situation, when most ethnic Northerners are bilingual, it is essential to identify the extent to which the mother tongues are used by the mass media - radio, television and press - and what practical results this yields for the maintenance and development of their cultural traditions.

The first swallow of the Northern press is rightly considered to be *Turga i Tundra*, the wall newspaper produced by students at Leningrad University's workers' faculty in 1925-6. In it the first Northerners who came to receive an education acquired, under the guidance of their lecturers, the skills of mother tongue propaganda and printed their first articles and literary works. In those years the wall press became common throughout the North and played a major part in awakening the backward peoples to the new way of life. It may be said to have been the forerunner of printed newspapers in a number of Northern languages, which came into being virtually at the same time as the national *okrugs* and *rayons* were being established.

On 7 November 1929, four months after the Nenets National *okrug* had been formed, the first issue of the *okrug* newspaper, *Nar'yuna Vynder*, came out in Russian. In April 1930 the newspaper carried its first Nenets language material. By 1934, newspapers were already being published in all the national *okrugs*; some which were printed in Russian carried pages or inserts in the language of the indigenous population. The newspaper of the Yamalo-Nenets National *okrug*, *Naryana ngerm* (Red North), first appeared in 1930 with its text in Nenets and Russian.

In the Ostyako-Vogul (later renamed the Khanty-Mansi) National *okrug*, the first issue of the local Mansi *Sor* (Ostyak-Vogul Pravda) appeared in 1931. Another newspaper, in the Khant language and entitled *Lenin naty khuvat* (By Lenin's path) since 1957, had been published since 1930.

Rayon newspapers in the languages of the indigenous population were also published in addition to those at *okrug* level. In 1932 the *Udarnik putinyim* was published with a Nenets language page in the Kanino-Timanskii *rayon* of Nenets *okrug*; in 1933, the Tolochi trading station in Vitimo-Olekmenskii *okrug* began to publish the Evenk language *Zu novuyu zhizn'* (For the new life); from 1933 to 1935 the *Uchebnyiput'* (Path of Education) was published in the Nanai language in the Nanaiskii *rayon*; and in 1933 the same *rayon* had a Russian language newspaper with a page in Nanai (in 1956 it was called *Krusnoe znamya* or Red Banner).

In 1934 the Nivkhi language *Nivkhsкая pravda* (Nivkhi Pravda) first came out in Nikolaevsk-na-Amure. In 1935, the local committee for the new alphabet in the same city was publishing two newspapers: *Novyi put'* (New Path) in Nanai and *Novuyu zhizn'* (New Life) in Evenk. In 1938 the Political Department of the Political Directorate of the Far Eastern Construction Directorate began issuing an Evenk language newspaper, *Orottypravdu* (The Even Pravda), which appeared four times monthly in Magadan with a print-run of 1,000 copies. And in 1939 the *rayon* newspaper *Sovetskii Uelen* (Soviet Uelen) commenced publication in the village of Uelen; it carried texts in Chukchi and Eskimo from time to time. Extensive opportunities for launching newspapers in the Northern languages followed the establishment of the Committee for the Northern Peoples' New Alphabet and the development of written forms for these languages.

The appearance of a regular press in the mother tongues played a large part in mobilizing the indigenous Northern peoples to overcome their age-old backwardness and involving them in the new life. A newspaper galvanized the local population and gave it access to public life. It also promoted higher cultural standards. And despite the difficulties and omissions, mother tongue newspapers played an enormous role in raising the general cultural level of Northern peoples.

Here it is relevant to point out that the Leningrad Institute of the Northern Peoples printed a large-circulation newspaper, *Insovets*, with the active help of the students themselves. In 1928 the Leningrad students' group founded a bulletin called *Tuigu i tundra*, containing articles by

students at the Northern Faculty of the Leningrad Eastern Institute. Bulletins continued to be printed under this title at the Institute of the Northern Peoples, carrying articles by Evenk, Chukchi, Nenets, Koryak and Khant students both in their mother tongues and in Russian. The articles covered various themes relating to the construction of socialism in the regions; the bulletin also contained short ethnographical articles and the first literary works. Indeed the students were very active in preparing and publishing both the Institute's newspaper and bulletin of stories. In this they were helped by in-service training at the printing works and newspaper editorial offices in Leningrad. For instance, Northerners trained at the printing works in the town of Petrodvorets included the Evenk Mikhail Savin, the Chukchi Fedor Magonin, the Nenets Petr Khatanzeev and the Nanai Khodzher. One issue of the newspaper contained a report on the publication of a primer in fourteen Northern languages, while a drawing in the same edition showed newspapers coming off the press and flying to the furthest corners of the North. Among those who graduated from the Institute of the Northern Peoples were some who later became the first workers on the national Northern newspaper: others became the first authors or translators of literature and other works into their mother tongues.

All inhabitants of the Soviet North now have central and local press publications at their disposal. Additionally, local newspapers are published in all the Northern autonomous *obruks* and regions where the ethnic groups are settled. Some of these newspapers appear in the languages of the indigenous inhabitants: *Soveken Chukotku* (Chukchi Language) was first published in May 1953; *Nur'yunu ngerm* (Red North) is printed in Nenets and has appeared since 1953; *Lenin nuty khuvut* (By Lenin's Path) is a Khant-language newspaper, although some of its contents are published on special pages in Mansi. Additionally, Russian-language newspapers are published in a number of autonomous *okrugs* - *Koryukskii kommunist* (Koryak Communist) in the Koryak Autonomous *okrug* in the village of Palana, *Sovetskaya Evenkiya* (Soviet Land of Evenks) in the Evenk Autonomous *okrug*, *Sovetskii Tuimyr* (Soviet Taymyr) in the Taymyr (Dolgano-Nenets) Autonomous *okrug*, and *Nuryunu-Vynder* in the city of Naryn-Mar in the Nenets Autonomous *okrug*. These papers periodically publish special pages in the languages of the *okrug's* indigenous population. In the seven autonomous *okrugs*, 29 *rayon* newspapers are published in Russian and from time to time also carry pages or articles in the Northern languages. Furthermore, areas outside the autonomous *okrugs* that are settled by Northern ethnic groups also publish Russian-language newspapers which contain occasional articles in the local languages.

Mother tongue newspapers continue to play an enormous part in consolidating the Northern peoples and maintaining their ethnic awareness, promoting creative growth of the aboriginal population and developing the progressive elements in their national cultures. This is graphically

confirmed by the press published in the Chukchi, Nenets and Khant languages. Newspaper publication helps to preserve the language and paves the way for that of mother tongue literature.

Newspaper publication in the autonomous and national regions of the North is intimately bound up with the publication of mass political and literary writings in the languages of their indigenous inhabitants. In the pre-war period (i.e. prior to 1940, a large quantity of varied literature was published, together with textbooks and educational literature, in virtually all the fourteen written Northern languages. These books were brought out by a number of central publishers and many local concerns. This was, of course, due to the fact that the All-Union Conference on the Development of Writing Systems for the Northern Peoples, held in Leningrad in 1932, had adopted a project for the creation and development of writing systems in fourteen languages and that these systems were subsequently altered in 1937 to use the Russian alphabet. In the four years between 1931 and 1934 alone, the country produced 223 books in a total of 703,600 copies. In the pre-war years many brochures were published on political themes, and many popular works on the development of hunting and herding farms or on reindeer-breeding as well as cultural, domestic or medical matters. Folk texts and local language plays were published: the first Northern writers were bringing out their works and translations of others such as the Russian classics. Another important field was the publication of brochures on Soviet legislation, while the Constitutions of the USSR and the RSFSR were also published in Northern languages. Between 1936 and 1941 alone, 50 political works, 16 books on economic and health matters and 165 literary works and sketches were issued.³

At present literary and socio-political writings are being published successfully in a number of Northern languages: these include books in Nenets, Mansi, Khant, Evenk, Even, Chukchi, Eskimo, Koryak, Nanai and other languages.

Major literary works published in Northern languages include Mansi writer Yuvan Shestalov's *Misne* (Good Fairy) in Mansi, an anthology in Nanai and Russian by Nanai poets entitled *Mangbo dyarini* (Songs of the Amur) and Dolgan poetess Ogdo Aksenova's book *Barolzsan*. Chukchi is especially rich in important publications, many of them literary or popular political works. Many literary works by Chukchi and other Northern writers have been published: for instance, Yurii Rytkeu's cycle of short stories entitled *Druzhba naroodou* (Friendship among the peoples), the Yuvan Shestalov anthology *Sinii ueterposlaniya* (The lazy cod-fish) by the Nivkhi scholar Chuner Taksami, and other works. Some books have been brought out in both Russian and Chukchi.

In this connection it should be noted that literary and socio-political works are now issued by a number of local publishing concerns in Siberia and the Far East, but that Magadan leads in respect of national literature. The editor here is a Chukchi woman, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy L.G. Tynel'.

Each settlement and home in the North is now connected to a radio distribution network while many local inhabitants use radio sets. This enables people in the Soviet North, no matter where they happen to be -in settlements, a fishing camp, herding teams or huntsmen's huts -to listen to broadcasts.

In the autonomous *okrugs* and other regions where the Northern peoples live in the Extreme North, local radio broadcasts are transmitted in Russian and local languages. The Taymyr *okrug* radio at Dudinka, for example, broadcasts in Russian, Dolgan and Nganasan, the Chukchi radio at Anadyr' in Russian, Chukchi and Eskimo, and the Yamalo-Nenets radio at Salekhard in Russian, Nenets and Khant. The Nenets station at Naryan-Mar carries programmes in Russian, Nenets and Komi, the Evenk station in the village of Tura in Russian and Evenk, the Khanty-Mansi radio at Khanty-Mansiysk in Russian, Mansi and Khant, while the Koryak station in the village of Palana broadcasts in Russian and some dialects of Koryak. Some Northern *rayons*, including parts where small groups of Northerners live, also have broadcasting in Russian and the indigenous languages: in Khabarovsk *kray*, for instance, there is regular broadcasting in Nanai and Ulchi.

The structure of local broadcasting may be judged from the work of the Yamalo-Nenets *okrug* radio committee. The local station in Salekhard broadcasts six times a week in Russian, Nenets and Khant, carrying short news programmes twice daily in Nenets and Khant on local topics. Once a week there are special 15-20 minute broadcasts in Nenets and Khant for children, oil- and gas-pipeline workers, reindeer-herdsmen, fishermen, hunters and others in traditional occupations: each has two broadcasts. Additionally, on the last Friday of each month, the *Tundrouik* (Man of the Tundra) programme is broadcast in Russian for herdsmen, hunters and fishermen. The last ten minutes contain contributions by local poets, composers, folk storytellers and folk and other music groups. For many years this part of the programme was produced by the Nenets writer Leonid Laptui.

Since they involve topical issues concerning the *okrug's* socio-economic and cultural affairs, the Salekhard radio programmes rouse great interest among the local population. The Yamalo-Nenets Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting quite often receives letters about this or that programme, with listeners asking for repeats or suggesting programmes they would like to have produced. At the request of Russian newcomers to the *okrug*, the station broadcasts colloquial Nenets lessons.

Indeed the local residents participate vigorously in discussions of social and political matters concerning the country. When, for instance, the content of the new Constitutions of the USSR and RSFSR - or of the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers 'Concerning measures for the further economic, social and cultural development of regions inhabited by the Northern ethnic groups' - was being

discussed, reindeer herdsman would tell listeners their views on the future of reindeer-breeding, the nature of private farming or the activity of trade enterprises. Radio staff listen to the public's views and act on their wishes. In order to collect listeners' views, questionnaires are distributed asking what they would like in respect of broadcasting. Correspondents visiting places where the indigenous inhabitants live in towns or industrial centres also obtain views at first hand. As a rule, radio staff visit the field twice monthly to collect materials or record discussions. This enables a wide public - and particularly members of ethnic groups - to take part in discussion programmes.

It is important to note that the Nationalities' Department of the *okrug* Committee for Television and Radio employs members of the Nenets and Khant peoples who have been educated to degree standard in the Northern languages. The editor of the Khant language broadcast, for example, is the Khant Prokoppii Saltykov, while Anastasiya Lapsui, a Nenets woman, is the editor for that language.

Each day broadcasting begins in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous *okrug* with the call-sign in Nenets: *Inzeleda! Inzeleda!* (Attention! Attention!) *Usya ulyaty khanyim ekh po khanyim nemet* . (Good morning, friends! This is Salekhard. Our broadcasts are beginning>. The inhabitants - reindeer-herdsmen and oilmen, fishermen and builders, hunters and workers -and all who work in the Polar tundra hear these call-signs from Salekhard each day.

The Taymyr Committee for Radio and Television in Dudinka is also extremely active. On its staff is Lyubov' Komarova or Nenyang, a Nenets journalist and authoress who studied at the Northern Faculty of the Leningrad State University: she has devoted her life to her work in the national editorial office of the Taymyr Committee and has been awarded the prize of the USSR Journalists' Union. Her women colleagues are Tamara Yadne, of Nenets stock, Tamara Porotova and Praskov'ya Aslamova, both Dolgans, the Nganasan Evgeniya Sidel'nikova and the Dolgan poetess Ogdo Aksyonova. Tamara Yadne has worked there ever since national broadcasting began.

Six people work on the national staff of the Dudinka *okrug* Committee for Radio and Television: all are graduates with a good command of their mother tongues. They are very active both in gathering materials and preparing them for broadcasting: they also write sketches and poems, translate articles and dispatches of interest to the local population and make recordings.

The national staff broadcasts for an hour each day in three national languages: Nenets, Nganasan and Dolgan. Dudinka radio targets its output largely for the local population, and the bulk of its material is consequently about country people; the broadcasts are about them and for them and they themselves discuss their affairs; culture, the work of medical, cultural, educational and trading organizations and so on figure prominently in the

programmes - and of course, topics of interest to herdsmen, fishermen, hunters and fur-farmers are a major item. It should be said that the mother tongue broadcasts appeal to the local population, and lead to lively correspondence. People in the tundra wait impatiently each day for the time when the announcers' familiar voices come on the air, saying in turn *Botu Dudinka* ('This is Dudinka' in Nganasan), *Dudinka Zakhana* (Nenets) and *Khanarar Dudinka* (Dolgan). The programmes open with 'Taymyr news' in Russian, followed by materials prepared by the editors themselves, including interviews with the public recorded in the tundra. The stories and verse of Northern writers and poets, Ogdo Aksyonova, L. Nenyang, L. Lapsui, V. Ledkov, I. Istomin and a number of Yakut poets, are often broadcast in the Northern languages. Songs, poetry or plays performed by amateurs during the Taymyr festivals are also carried, while recorded folklore from the radio sound archives - tales, legends, songs, riddles and proverbs - is frequently heard.

L. Nenyang, for one, has produced several literary and musical miscellanies of the oral folk literature of the Taymyr Nenets. Of course, broadcasts often feature local inhabitants. Hero of Socialist Labour Khansuta Yaptune, who heads a team of reindeer herdsmen, Nenets Yar Boris, an Emeritus Agricultural Worker, Dolgan fur-farmer Mira Spiridonova, a delegate to the Nineteenth Congress of Soviet Trade Unions, Nenets fisherman Egor Yamkin and hunter Aleksandr Yamkin are among those who have spoken on the radio.

The Taymyr (Dolgano-Nenets) Autonomous *okrug* has 45,000 inhabitants, 4,300 of whom are Dolgans, 2,300 Nenets and 700 Nganasans.⁴ The Northern ethnic groups total a mere 16.2 per cent. None the less, their languages have equal place on the airwaves.

In the Evenk *okrug*, the call-signs of the local radio station can be heard daily: they are Evenk national tunes played on the *kyngikyuuyn*, a mouth-harp. The voice of the Evenk language announcer, Anna Kurkogir, is heard daily by everyone in the *okrug*. She is a poetess who writes verse and stories in her mother tongue, and her poem *Zdraustuui, nasha Euenkiya* (Russian: 'Hail, our Evenk land') and her story *Starik Cholko* (Russian: 'Old Cholko') are read and heard with pleasure over the radio.

There is an Evenk language programme every day for the local population: it is regarded as autonomous since it is not a repeat of the Russian language broadcasts. The voices of the local Evenk intelligentsia are heard, as are those of herdsmen, hunters and amateur arts groups. The entire population likes to hear songs in its mother tongue. The Radio Committee quite often receives letters requesting repeats of a particular programme or song that has pleased listeners. Children love folktale programmes.

In the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous *okrug*, the aboriginals make up only 3.2 per cent of the population.⁵ Broadcasting is conducted in three languages: Russian, Khant and Mansi, the last two being broadcast three times weekly. Both languages consist of a number of dialects, and the editors

consequently produce and broadcast their materials in various dialects in turn. The schedule is varied. Once a week, for example, the news programme 'Our working week' goes out: it reviews local events over the previous week, reporting facts, events and news on the economy, public education and health service. Every Monday, Thursday and Friday there are talks in the mother tongue about the indigenous inhabitants' traditional occupations and problems in their development, together with sketches about people living in the *okrug*. The entire broadcast is often given over to one particular settlement and features the residents' life, work and achievements in fishing or hunting and folk crafts.

The folk music programme 'Tunes of the Ancient Ugrians' is very popular locally: it discusses the sources of national music to the accompaniment of folk tunes and works by local composers. The radio sound archives collect samples of ethnic music.

The staff of the Khanty-Mansi *okrug* Television and Radio Committee includes specialists of local origins. Mariya Ol'zina, who heads the national editorial office, has worked here for many years.

The Chukchi Autonomous *okrug* has a population of 140,000, including 11,000 Chukchis and 1,300 Eskimos.⁶ The radio broadcasts in three languages - Russian, Chukchi and Eskimo. There are daily broadcasts in the indigenous languages scheduled to appeal to the broadest possible public: they report imaginatively on the country's affairs and on important day-to-day events in the Autonomous *okrug*. Particularly prominent are features on the lives of herdsmen or on hunting, both on land and sea. Listeners are frequently addressed in their mother tongue by the Chukchi scholar P.I. Inenlikei, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy L.G. Tynel', Chukchi writer Yurii Rytkech and others. Conferences and lectures are regularly held in the town of Anadyr, with people coming from all corners of Chukotka. At the same time recordings made in the remotest settlements in the field are also broadcast frequently. Regular programming includes performances by amateur artists, especially the Chukchi and Eskimo group from the Lavrentiya Rural Culture Centre, the 'Ryrka' folk group from Shmidtovskii *rayon*, the Eskimo group from Sireniki village and the professional Chukchi and Eskimo 'Ergyron' (Dawn) group.

Anadyr, the centre of the Chukchi Autonomous *okrug*, also has well-organized television broadcasts in Russian, Chukchi and Eskimo: reindeer herdsmen, hunters and the local intelligentsia are frequent guests in the studio. The local inhabitants are fond of these broadcasts.

The neighbouring Koryak Autonomous *okrug*, which lies in Kamchatka *oblast* on the Kamchatka peninsula, has much the same programming structure as the Chukchi radio. *The okrug* has 35,000 inhabitants, of whom 5,700 are Koryaks, 1,200 Chukchis and 1,000 Itelmens. Broadcasting is in Russian and Koryak and, as in the other autonomous *okrugs*, goes out only at certain times: Koryak language programmes are always included.

We feel that the following explanation is appropriate. We have named above only those languages in which programmes are produced and broadcast. However, members of other local ethnic groups quite often speak on the radio in their mother tongues. Thus Selkups speak on the Yamalo-Nenets radio, Chukchis on the Koryak radio, Khants on the Taymyr radio, Komis on the Nenets radio and Nenets on the Khanty-Mansi radio. Many Northern languages may be heard on these stations. In some rayons where small ethnic groups are found, broadcasting is in Russian and in the mother tongues: the rayon radio in Bogorodskoe village, Khabarovsk kray, for instance, broadcasts in Ulchi. For many years the famous Ulchi writer Aleksei Val'dyu produced programmes in his mother tongue, reporting the chief events in the country, the kray and the rayon.

[Translated from the Russian]

Notes

1. UVACHAN, V.N. 1982. Problemy osvoenija Sovetskogo Severa svete resenij XXVI s'ezda KPSS (Problems of the Development of the Soviet North in the Light of the Decisions of the Twenty-sixth CPSU Congress). In: Razvitie nacional'nyh otnosenij v svete resenij XXVI s'ezda KPSS (The Development of National Relations in the Light of the Decisions of the Twenty-sixth CPSU Congress). Moscow, Nauka Publications, p. 280.
2. BRUK, S.I. 1981. Naselenie mira. Etnodemograficeskij spravocnik (The Population of the World: an Ethnodemographic Handbook). Moscow, Nauka Publications, p. 208.
3. BELENKIN, I.F. 1971. Razvitie pečati na jazykah narodov Severa (The Development of the Press in the Northern Languages). In: Osusfestvlenie leninskoj nacional'noj politiki u narodov Krajnego Severa (Implementation of Lenin's Nationalities Policy among the Peoples of the Extreme North). Moscow, Nauka Publications, p. 134.
4. BRUK, S.I. Op. cit., p. 217.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

Mother Tongues in School

Alla Bugaeva and Chuner Taksami

Mother tongue tuition for the indigenous peoples of the Soviet North is nothing new. National schools were first organized and illiteracy eradication put in hand in the North in the 1920s. In those years it was a difficult task: staff fluent in the pupils' mother tongues had to be trained and a start made on publishing teaching aids in the Northern languages in a short space of time. It was essential to develop writing systems in those languages since a considerable part of the Northern peoples did not yet speak Russian. In 1932 approval was given to a project to formulate and develop writing systems for thirteen languages: Sami, Nenets, Mansi, Khant Selkup, Ket, Evenk, Nanai, Udegey, Chukchi, Koryak, Nivkhi and Eskimo. The possibility of establishing writing systems for Itelmen, Aleut (Unangan) and Nganasan (Tavgian) was also acknowledged.' For a number of objective reasons, however, including dialectal dispersion, lack of staff and so forth, the work was not developed to the same extent in every language. Once writing systems had been created, a start was made on publishing programmes, textbooks, teaching method aids, bilingual dictionaries in both directions, and works of literature.

Practically all the educational, teaching method and literary works in the Northern languages were published in Leningrad by Uchpedgiz Publications. In 1932 this house issued the first Northern language primers, followed by programmes (for Evenk, Nanai, Even, Mansi and other languages) and teaching method aids for reading which contained the information the reader needed about the ethnic group, its language, dialects and idioms, pronunciation and spelling rules and short methodological recommendations for working with the primers. In 1933 the first readers came out, followed in 1934 by the first mother tongue textbooks.

Many aspects of the history of the writing systems and publication of educational and teaching method works are fairly well covered in the Soviet literature.² In this section, we shall dwell only on a general description of the contemporary state of mother tongue studies in the schools of the Soviet North and on the publication of educational literature for the national schools there.

The Soviet Union is a multinational state, and people of different nationalities live and work in virtually every part of the North. Russian is now the contact language for all of them. At the same time, however, the mother tongues of the indigenous Northern peoples are also widespread. They play a major part in the school system in the regions where their speakers live; the public education authorities and experts consider that mother tongue tuition in school fosters a love for one's people and its language and culture, inculcates the habits of literary speech and promotes learning in the Russian language. Consequently the authorities attach great importance to mother tongue tuition for children of the indigenous Northern stock.

Northern schools now have considerable experience in mother tongue tuition. None the less, teachers still encounter difficulties stemming from ignorance or poor command of the mother tongue on the part of school entrants³At present the public education authorities plan to increase the number of mother tongues being taught, to recommence teaching languages that were taught previously but which, for various reasons, have been neglected in recent years, and to begin teaching some languages that have never been taught.

Children of indigenous stock now study at 639 schools in Northern regions: fifteen languages are taught - Evenk, Even, Chukchi, Nenets, Koryak, Eskimo, Mansi, Nanai, Khant, Sami, Dolgan, Nivkhi and others. The ethnic mix in these schools is highly varied and may be divided into four types: schools with children of one Northern ethnic group; schools with children of two or more Northern ethnic groups in which one clearly predominates; schools with children of two or more ethnic groups where none clearly predominates; and schools in which Russian children are clearly predominant. Of course, mother tongue tuition takes account both of the school's ethnic mix and of the standard of the pupils' command of the language.

At present the system of teaching the mother tongues of the small Northern peoples is as follows. First of all, the habits of oral speech are inculcated in five-year old children in national pre-school establishments; then from the preparatory to the third year of school the mother tongue is studied as a subject. From fourth to seventh year it is studied in groups, and from eighth to tenth it is optional.

The mother tongue is taught in preschool establishments and schools according to programmes and a curriculum confirmed by the RSFSR Ministry of Education. Programmes have already been launched for teaching Chukchi, Evenk, Nivkhi and Sami to older groups in kindergartens.

From preparatory to third year, teachers place great emphasis on developing pupils' powers of expression through the use of pictures and gramophone records. They relate the topic of the lesson very closely to the life of the village, state farm or settlement, thereby kindling a greater interest in study of the mother tongue and native region.

In the group and optional studies, teachers not only consolidate the knowledge acquired in the primary classes, but set more difficult exercises: pupils translate poetry, short stories and works of Northern writers and poets. Developing interest in the mother tongue makes for the creation of a national language milieu in schools by fitting out study rooms, producing newspapers, posters or exhibitions in the mother tongue and arranging radio broadcasts or meetings and discussions with reindeer herdsman, hunters and fishermen.

Mother tongues are studied for varying periods at Northern national schools, which may be divided into three groups. The first are schools in which the mother tongue is taught in preparatory and first years, a system used in Nivkhi, Sami and Dolgan schools. For this group programmes and primers and methods aids for conversation classes have been prepared and published. In the second group, which includes Khant, Mansi, Eskimo, Nanai and Even schools, the mother tongue is taught from preparatory to third year. For this group mother tongue textbooks and matching method guides for second and third years are now being prepared. Lastly come schools where the mother tongue is taught in both primary and secondary classes; this applies to Evenk, Chukchi and Nenets schools. In the case of Evenk, for instance, tuition extends from elementary to fourth year. For these schools textbooks and matching method guides have been prepared for fifth and sixth years, while programmes and textbooks have yet to be produced for seventh and eighth years. In Nenets and Chukchi schools the mother tongue is taught in the elementary classes, but it is planned to extend this to sixth year. A Nenets programme for fourth and fifth years has already been compiled and it is intended to draw up programmes for sixth year and textbooks for fourth to sixth years. For Chukchi schools a programme and teaching aids are being prepared for fourth, fifth and sixth year group work.

It should also be said that at present pupils in seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth years have optional instruction in their tongue. This is the case in the Evenk, Chukchi, Khant, Mansi, Even, Eskimo and other national schools.

The National Schools Research Institute at the RSFSR Ministry of Education now has a special sector for the Northern peoples' schools: for a number of years it has studied the level of teaching and the standard of pupils' knowledge of both the mother tongue and Russian. The sector's specialists have concluded that pupils' knowledge of their mother tongues has improved markedly and their vocabulary enriched in recent years. In view of the experience of the Northern national schools, the sector has drawn up an action plan to further improve the teaching of mother tongues and

Russian. It provides for mother tongue tuition to be brought more fully into the curriculum. The formulation of the plan takes account of national historical peculiarities and the educational circumstances in which the children are taught. Members of the ethnic groups who are familiar with the language, lifestyle and living conditions help to compile the programmes: these have now been drafted for preparatory and first years in Sami, Selkup and Nivkhi, second and third years in Khant, Mansi, Eskimo, Nanai and Even, preparatory and first to third years in Koryak, fourth to sixth years in Even and fourth year in Nenets.

These new programmes are designed to train children to use the literary form of the language, to read thoughtfully, fluently and expressively, spell and punctuate correctly and familiarize themselves with their own folklore and original literature. The programme for fourth, fifth and sixth classes is intended to improve further the knowledge, skills and habits that they acquired in their mother tongues in the elementary years, develop the habits of literary speech and impart a certain range of theoretical knowledge of phonetics, lexicon, derivation and grammar. The programme is designed to develop correct pronunciation, spelling and punctuation habits. Particular attention is paid to expressive reading, studying the folklore and literature of the Northern peoples and fostering a love of and interest in the mother tongue and a wish and determination to acquire a deeper insight into one's own culture.

As an aid to teachers in Northern schools, a major campaign is under way to develop teaching kits for mother tongues and Russian: each includes a textbook, an extra-mural reader, a method guide to accompany the textbook, a teacher's aid, teaching materials and visual aids and technical educational media. These aids have already begun to reach schools. In recent years national schools have started using technical educational media such as tape-recordings, sound material to accompany textbooks, slide projectors and so forth.

Textbooks and teaching aids for Northern schools are produced by a special section of the Leningrad branch of Prosveshchenie Publications: the first of these were published as long ago as 1932. In the 50 intervening years, this publisher has issued dozens of volumes and textbooks for national schools in the Northern languages. Its publications are now planned in line with the latest educational programme for pupils in the North's national schools.⁴ Particular emphasis is placed on a set of new textbooks with colour illustrations for primary schools.

In recent years (1970~80), Prosveshchenie has published a number of textbooks for Northern schools. They include, in Nenets, a primer and preparatory year textbook, both by A.I. Rozhin, textbooks for first and second years by E.G. Susoi and E.M. Taleeva, and a third year textbook by E.G. Susoi and N.M. Tereshchenko; in Evenk, a primer by A.F. Boitsova, A.A. Kudrya and A.V. Romanova, a preparatory year textbook by A.F. Boitsova and A.A. Kudrya, a second year textbook by Z.I. Kovaleva and a

third year textbook by N.I. Gladkova and Z.N. Pikunova; in Chukchi, a primer by I.S. Vdovin and P.I. Inenlikei, a second-year textbook by P.Y. Skorik and P.I. Inenlikei and a third year textbook by V.V. Leont'ev and K.A. Alekseeva. In Khant (Kazym, Shuryshkar and Surgut dialects), a number of primers and textbooks; in the Kazym dialects, a primer by E.A. Shul'gina *et al* and a textbook for preparatory year by Y.N. Russkaya, a first year textbook by G.I. Lazarev *et al*, a second year textbook by A.M. Sengepov and a third year textbook by S.P. Moldanova; in the Shuryshkar dialect, a primer and preparatory year textbook, both by V.E. Anufriev, a supplementary reader for the same years by R.P. Rugin and a Khant-Russian/Russian-Khant dictionary and, in the Surgut dialect, a primer and preparatory year textbook by N.I. Tereshkin.

Texts in Mansi include a primer by E. I. Rombandeeva and M.P. Vakhrusheva, a textbook for preparatory year by M.P. Vakhrusheva and A.A. Khromov, a first year textbook by A.I. Sainakhova and a Mansi-Russian/Russian-Mansi dictionary by E.I. Rombandeeva and E.A. Kuzakova and, in Even, a primer by V.I. Tsintsius, textbooks for preparatory, first, second and third years by V.I. Tsintsius and L.D. Riches, V.I. Tsintsius and K.A. Novikova, B.L. Krongauz and V.D. Lebedev and A.A. Keimetinova and A.V. Krivoshapkin respectively. The last-mentioned language is taught in national schools in the Yakut ASSR and Magadan and Kamchatka *oblasts*.

Texts in Eskimo comprise a primer by V.A. Anal'kvasak and L.I. Ainana, a preparatory year textbook by G.A. Menovshchikov and a supplementary reader for these two years by L.I. Ainana; in Nanai, a primer by S.N. Onenko and A.N. Putintseva and a first year textbook and Nanai-Russian-Russian-Nanai dictionary, both by S.N. Onenko; in Koryak, a primer by A.N. Zhukova, a first year textbook by V.I. Kavav, a Koryak-Russian/Russian-Koryak dictionary by A.N. Zhukova and a supplementary reader for preparatory and first years by V.I. Kavav; in Nivkhi, primers in the Amur and Sakhalin dialects by C.M. Taksami, M.N. Pukhta, V.M. Sangi and G.A. Otaina, a Nivkhi-Russian/Russian-Nivkhi dictionary by C.M. Taksami, and, in Sami, a primer by A.A. Antonova.

Between 1971 and 1975 alone, 49 textbooks were prepared and published in nine languages, including the three Khant dialects, and between 1976 and 1980, 51 teaching method manuals were issued, including 35 in mother tongues. Also published were 13 primers (six in mother tongues) and 28 textbooks. Northern children now learn to read and write in their own languages and Russian using primers and textbooks produced in line with recent developments in child psychology, methodology and linguistics.

Between 1981 and 1985 it is intended to publish 120 teaching method literature titles including 67 textbooks, 19 supplementary readers, 14 dictionaries, 14 teacher training college aids, three teachers' manuals, five omnibus editions of *Prosueshchenie na Krainem Severe* (Education in the Extreme North) and three collections of dictations.

Analysis of mother tongue and Russian textbooks for schools attended by Northern ethnic groups shows that they are designed in accordance with fundamental principles of teaching: objectivity, accessibility and relation of teaching to life. This is also borne out by teacher response.

The Nenets, Khant, Evenk, Chukchi and other textbooks accurately reflect the phonetic, lexical and grammatical features of these languages and take account of the latest achievements in linguistics.

The best works of the Soviet Union's Russian and multinational literature are studied in translation in the mother tongues. Textbooks draw widely on short stories, and include extracts from books and verse by poets and writers of Northern ethnic stock.

Such textbooks help teachers to deal successfully with ideological and political training and the moral and labour education of pupils in the process of mother tongue tuition.

The new editions and reissues are printed by the offset multicolour technique.

Active assistance in the production of educational literature is lent by specialized linguists and ethnographers - most of whom had a hand in establishing the writing system for the Northern peoples - and by their pupils and the staff of the National Schools Research Institute. The local intelligentsia of ethnic stock are also extensively involved in writing these works, and include practising teachers, public education authority staff and methods experts familiar with contemporary Northern schools and the psychological characteristics of Northern pupils. Work is being done too by creative intellectuals of Northern ethnic origin such as scientists, writers and lecturers in higher education establishments and technical colleges. Over seventy ethnic Northerners are involved in the publication of textbooks: Evenks, Evens, Eskimos, Nanais, Koryaks, Nivkhis, Sami, Khants, Mansis, Nenets, Chukchis and others. A large group of Northern writers is employed in the National Schools Research Institute at the RSFSR Ministry of Education, where the Northern schools sector employs representatives of eleven Northern ethnic groups. The staff members live in autonomous *okrugs* and are therefore in a position to lend constant aid to the national schools. At the same time they conduct research into mother tongue teaching methods.

Successful teaching depends largely on the availability in schools of highly skilled specialists in these languages. Teaching staff are currently trained for Northern national schools at the Faculty of Extreme Northern Peoples at the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute, in the Department of the Extreme Northern Peoples at the Khabarovsk Pedagogical Institute and other teacher training institutes and in the Northern teacher training colleges in Anadyr, Igarka, Khanty-Mansiysk, Salekhard and elsewhere.

Many graduates of these establishments take the Northern languages course and become mother tongue teachers in schools. Teacher training institutes and colleges also run one-year or short summer courses to

enhance teachers' skills and introduce them to methods of teaching Northern languages.

[Translated from the Russian]

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Short Reference Guide to the Northern Languages*

The Manchu-Tungus Group

Introductory Remarks

Orest Sunik and Nadezhda Bulatova

The Tungus-speaking peoples of the Soviet North include the Evenks or Tungus, the Evens or Lamuts, the Negidals, the Nanais or Golds, the Ulchis or Nanis, the Orokis or Ulta, the Udegeys (Ude or Udege) and the Orochis (Fig. 1). In all they number 56,400, the peoples ranging in size from 28,000 (the Evenks) to 500 or 400 (the Negidals, Orokis and Orochis). Some 26,400 or 50 per cent of the total regard their national language as their mother tongue. They inhabit various multinational parts of the Extreme North, Siberia and the Far East from the banks of the Yenisey to Sakhalin and from the Polar region to the south of the Soviet Pacific coast. In addition to their mother tongues, all are fluent in Russian and some in Yakut or Buryat too. Widespread bilingualism of various types is a feature of the present-day linguistic situation of these and many other Northern ethnic groups. The type of bilingualism varies according to place of residence as well as to social and age groups. People over 60 who received little education in their youth have a good command of their mother tongues but little knowledge of literary Russian, using instead the local dialect of the old established

* Translated from the Russian.

Siberian or Far Eastern Russians. Those who live in rural areas or, more particularly, urban districts such as workers' settlements, and who received secondary general education, whether in whole or in part, have a perfect command of literary Russian, helped in this by employment in multinational teams, mixed marriages and widespread local availability of the Russian-language mass media (periodicals, radio, television, cinema, theatre and literary or socio-political works). Some of the younger generation have a poor or passive, if any, command of their national languages and use literary Russian both at work and in everyday life, although this is not to the exclusion of a sense of national allegiance or interest in the history and distinctive culture of their people. Contemporary ethnic processes such as the closely-related changes in these peoples' social, cultural and linguistic affairs, are the subject of special study by Soviet ethnographers, linguists and sociologists; an increasingly important part is being played in this by persons of Northern ethnic stock who work in the country's academic establishments in Moscow, Leningrad or Novosibirsk, and in higher education institutions.

There follows information on each of the languages of the above-mentioned peoples: it was compiled from the results of the 1979 All-Union Census of the Soviet Population and from recent field data collected by the staff and postgraduate students of the Institute of Linguistics of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

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Even

Vassily Robbek

The Evens are a small people from the Soviet North-East. They number 12,000, of whom 56.7 per cent regard the language as their mother tongue, while 52 per cent speak fluent Russian. For historical reasons they have no united territory, but live scattered in Magadan and Kamchatka oblasts, the Okhotsk rayon of Khabarovsk kray and the North-Eastern parts of the Yakut ASSR. Consequently, they now live in various ethnic milieus. Because of this, the Evens have a command of other Northern languages, while some of these ethnic groups also speak Even. Admittedly, bilingualism and sometimes even multilingualism have long been characteristic both of the Evens and of other Northern peoples. Most Evens are now multilingual. In addition to their mother tongue and Russian, those living in the Koryak Autonomous okrug of Kamchatka oblast speak Koryak, those in the Chukchi Autonomous okrug of Magadan oblast Chukchi, while those in the Olyutorskii rayon of Kamchatka oblast speak both. In Yakutia, the Evens' linguistic situation is intriguing. Virtually all of them living there have Yakut as well as their mother tongue and Russian-but in mixed Even and Yakut families, the mother tongue is quite frequently considered to be Yakut alone. In this regard, there are interesting cases of Evens in Yakutia speaking Yukaghir or Chukchi in addition to their mother tongue, Yakut and Russian; this occurs, for instance, in the Verkhne-Kolymskii and Nizhnekolymskii rayons of the Yakut ASSR. These cases are not typical of the overwhelming majority of Evens, amounting in all to 13.6 per cent. The Even language is mostly used in day-to-day affairs and at work, chiefly in the reindeer herding teams where Evens predominate. There are many mixed marriages: to Russians, Yakuts, Koryaks, Chukchis, Yukaghirs and so on. As a rule, in families where the maternal or paternal grandmother is Even, this will be the child's first language. In mixed families in towns or industrial centres, the children do not speak their native Even.

In recent years oral lessons in the Even language have been introduced in kindergartens in areas where this people lives: for these children a language aid is being developed. Most Even-language textbooks are the work of the scholars V.I. Tsintsius and K.A. Novikova, with the assistance of Evens such as A.A. Keimetinova, A.V. Krivoshepin, V.D. Lebedev or V.A. Robbek.

Scientific methods for teaching the language in school are studied by an Even woman, O.N. Keimetinova, in the Yakutsk branch of the National Schools Research Institute of the RSFSR Ministry of Education.

Even is taught in the primary years at schools in Magadan oblast and the Yakut ASSR: there are optional courses in the Yakut pedagogical colleges. It is also taught at the Leningrad 'A.I. Herzen' State Pedagogical Institute.

Wherever Evens live, they are successfully engaged in various occupations: teachers, doctors, veterinary surgeons, zootechnicians, engineers, machine operators or administrative, party and economic officials. The people have their own poets and writers. Works by N.S. Tarabukin and A. Cherkanov were first published in the 1930s, while Even members of the USSR Writers' Union such as Platon Lamutskii (Stepanov) or Vasilii Lebedev have become well-known. An Even literature came into being at the same time as the language's writing system.

Literary translations are published in Yakutsk and Magadan, while educational and teaching methods literature is published in Leningrad. In the 1930s, when most Evens had an inadequate command of Russian, Even-language newspapers such as *Orotty pravda* ('The Even Pravda') and *Kolyma pioneran* ('The Kolyma Pioneer') were published in Magadan. In Yakutsk, the Republic's radio puts out a broadcast called *Gyavan* ('Dawn') in the Even, Evenk and Yukaghir languages.

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Evenk

Orest Sunik and Nadezhda Bulatova

The Evenks number 28,000 of whom 43.1 per cent regard Evenk as their mother tongue, while 54.4 per cent are fluent in Russian and 4.8 per cent in other Soviet languages.

Evenk is taught as a subject from preparatory to eighth year in the boarding schools of the Evenk Autonomous *okrug* (whose centre is the settlement of Tura) in Krasnoyarsk *kray* in three boarding schools in Amur *oblast* and some schools in Irkutsk and *Chita oblasti* and Khabarovsk *kray*. The language is taught in the Igarka Pedagogical College and was until recently studied at the pedagogical college in Nikolaevsk-na-Amure. Evenk

language and folklore are also taught at the Faculty of the Northern Peoples at the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute.

Evenk is used in the *Turu gunderen* ('This is Tura') radio broadcasts for the population of the Evenk Autonomous *okrug*.

Three times *weekly* the *Sovetskaya Evenkiyu* (Soviet land of Evenks) newspaper is published in Tura, and once a week it carries an extra sheet in the Evenk language.

Amateur music groups have been formed in many Evenk areas: the one in the *okrug* centre, Osiktakan or 'Little Star', is extremely popular. It has won prizes at a number of festivals and competitions and has appeared in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses and many of the country's towns and taken part in the Festival of Friendship among Peoples in the GDR. Similar groups have been formed in some boarding schools. All draw on Evenk folklore and poetry.

Teaching staff, both primary and secondary language teachers, are trained at the Igarka Pedagogical College. Evenk language teachers with advanced qualifications, and also editorial staff for local newspapers and radios, are trained at the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute.

A rich literature has been published on Evenk language and folklore. Aspects of phonetics, morphology, syntax, lexicology and dialectology are investigated and questions of bilingualism considered, while dialect and bilingual dictionaries have been published.

For Evenk schools, primers and preparatory to sixth-year textbooks have been compiled, readers, teaching method aids and dictionaries published, programmes redesigned and the teacher training aid *Evenkiiskii jazyk* (The Evenk language) reissued.

As regards literature, poetry is well developed. The works of Evenk poets are published in individual anthologies and printed in newspapers. Social and political works too are published.

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Nanai

Orest Sunik and Nadezhda Bulatova

The total number of Nanais living in the USSR is 10,500; of these 56.7 per cent regard Nanai as their mother tongue, while 49.4 per cent are fluent in Russian and 7.4 per cent in other Soviet languages. Virtually all of the middle and younger generations (ages ranging from fifty down to eight), including those stating Nanai to be their mother tongue, are fluent in Russian which was or is their language of instruction in general educational schools -both rural and urban-and in the country's secondary specialized or higher education establishments, whether pedagogical, medical or technical.

The first writing system was established in the early 1930s using Roman script and switched to the Russian alphabet in 1936. The literary Nanai language is developing on the basis of the Naikhin dialect found in several villages of Nanaiskii rayon, Khabarovsk *kray*. The language is taught as a subject in secondary schools (from preparatory to third year) in most villages of Nanaiskii and Komsomol'skii *rayons*, where Nanai children are educated. In other parts of Khabarovsk and Primorsky *krays* and Sakhalin oblast, which are partly inhabited by Nanais, the language is not taught, by parental request, since the language used in educational literature differs considerably from the local dialects. As in other local schools, tuition is therefore given in Russian.

Nanai is offered as a subject in pedagogical colleges and institutes in Leningrad and Khabarovsk, where staff are trained for mother-tongue and Russian teaching in the Northern peoples' local schools.

There is Nanai-language radio broadcasting in the Nanaiskii rayon (centre: Troitskoe village) of Khabarovsk *kray* where most of the population live.

Amateur performers in clubs and schools use literature in the Nanai language: folk songs and tales or the works of Nanai writers.

The teaching staff in Nanai areas often belong to that ethnic group, both in schools and in pre-school establishments, as do tutors at boarding schools. Graduates from pedagogical institutions are also employed in radio stations or rayon newspapers.

The scholarly literature published before and particularly since the war comprises dozens of books and hundreds of articles on the phonetics, grammar, lexicology and dialectology of the language. Some of these are written by members of the Nanai intelligentsia, such as linguists and those holding Candidate's degrees and who work in academic establishments in Novosibirsk and Vladivostok (S.N. Onenko and N.B. Kile).

Outline grammars, dictionaries and monographs describing individual dialects and articles on major questions of the language's structure or Nanai oral folk literature have been published.

Teaching method literature includes primers, readers and textbooks for use in schools and a programme and aids for the teacher.

Works of literature, both original and in translation, run to dozens of titles. Nanai writers have been and still are published in their own language and in Russian. Socio-political literature, translated from Russian, was published in the pre-war and immediate post-war years.

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Negidal

Orest Sunik and Nadezhda Bulatova

There are 500 Negidals, 44.4 per cent of whom regard Negidal as their mother tongue; 37.7 per cent are fluent in Russian and 5.2 per cent in another Soviet language.

Those with a good command of the language are chiefly of the older and middle generations. There is no written form and tuition at school is given in Russian. Documents on the structure of the language and Negidal folklore have been published.

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Oroki and Orochi

Orest Sunik and Nadezhda Bulatova

Oroki is the spoken language of one of the smallest Tungus-speaking groups, who live in parts of Sakhalin oblast and number some 400. In ethnographic literature the Orokis were equated with the Ulchis of the Lower Amur, their own name for themselves being Ul'ta, Uil'ta, or Uyl'ta, or with the Evenks of Sakhalin - Oroki or Orocheny meaning 'the reindeer people' - or with the Orochis of Sovetskaya Gavan'. In the 1979 Census the Orokis were grouped with the Orochis.

According to existing data stemming from field research, the older generation are fluent in their mother tongue and know Russian, while some also speak Evenk. The younger generation have a good command of Russian in which they have been educated to primary or secondary level.

In practical terms, there has never been a written form of Oroki, since attempts to service the people with literary Nanai - and even in the thirties Oroki was considered a dialect of that language - failed.

Education is given in Russian. Oroki is used in the home and as a language of folk oral literature in which the older generation is well-versed. Teaching staff of Oroki stock conduct lessons in Russian.

There is a body of scholarly ethnographic and linguistic writings about the people and their language. In 1967 a monograph on the Oroki or Ul'ta language was published, together with a number of articles. Oroki language materials are used in comparative studies of the Manchu-Tungus group.

The Orochis number 1,200 including the 400 or 500 Orokis of Sakhalin. Of these 40.6 per cent regard their national language as their mother tongue, while 20.4 per cent are fluent in Russian and 7.2 per cent in other languages.

There is no written form: the language is one of domestic communication. A rich folklore flourishes among the older generation.

The Orochis are educated in Russian. Scholarly works on the language dealt with questions of Orochi phonetics and morphology, and documents have been published on the lexicon and folklore.

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Udegey

Orest Sunik and Nadezhda Bulatova

There are 1,600 Udegeys. Of these, 31 per cent regard their national language as their mother tongue, while 26.5 per cent are fluent in Russian and 7.5 per cent in other languages. Udegey is a spoken language used by the older generation and by groups of amateur performers: it has no written tradition as such. Optional oral courses are offered in one of the local primary schools, and the language is taught to Udegey students at the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute.

Scientific study of the language is reflected in a number of publications on its phonetics, grammar and lexicon. A short Udegey-Russian dictionary has been published.

In the early 1930s a writing system based on Roman script was established, and a first-year textbook for primary schools published together with a short Udegey-Russian dictionary containing grammatical notes. In view of the small numbers of the people, the writing system and Udegey literature failed to thrive.

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ulchi

Orest Sunik and Nadezhda Bulatova

The Ulchis number 2,600, of whom 38.8 per cent regard the language as their mother tongue, while 33.2 per cent are fluent in Russian and 8.5 per cent in other languages. The older and some of the middle generation know the language and use it chiefly in day-to-day transactions.

The language has no written tradition. Oral classes are given in the local primary school and to groups of Ulchi students in the Leningrad 'A.I. Herzen' State Pedagogical Institute. There are local Ulchi-language radio broadcasts.

Research has been carried out on the phonetics, grammatical structure and lexicon of Ulchi, and folklore has been collected and to some extent published. The language was studied in comparison with Nanai, of which it was considered to be a dialect. An attempt to service the Ulchis with literary Nanai failed. The establishment of a writing system using the Russian alphabet and the publication of textbooks for the Ulchi primary school are being considered.

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The Samoyed, Finno-Ugric (Uralic Family) and Palaeosiberian Groups

Aleut

Nikolai Vakhtin

The Aleuts number 500 of whom 17.7 per cent speak their mother tongue (Fig. 2). It is planned to found a children's club to study the language and its culture. Aleut language songs are sung by local amateur groups.

Publications include the essay *Aleutskii yazyk* (The Aleut language) in *Yuzyki narodov SSSR* (Languages of the USSR peoples) (Vol. V, Leningrad, Nauka Publications, 1968) and G.A. Menovshchikov's *Short Aleut-Russian Dictionary* in *Yuzyki i toponimika* (Languages and toponymy), Tomsk, 1977. A primer compiled in the 1930s by E. P. Orlova exists in manuscript form but has never been used for teaching and is in need of revision.

Chukchi

Piotr Skorik and Piotr Inenlikei

Some 90 per cent of the Chukchis, who number 14,000, speak their mother tongue (Fig. 3); a large proportion of the younger and middle generations are fluent in Russian, while 17.4 per cent regard Russian as their mother tongue.

Mother tongue studies are compulsory for children. The school course lasts for four years (from preparatory to third year); in ethnically mixed classes pupils are separated into Chukchi language groups. The language is optional in the senior years.

Chukchi is taught at the Anadyr Pedagogical College, the Magadan Pedagogical Institute and the Extreme Northern Peoples' Faculty of the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute.

There are regular radio and television broadcasts in the Chukchi Autonomous *okrug*, and also Chukchi language radio broadcasts from the *oblast* centre, Magadan. Since the late 1950s *Sovetken Chukotka*, the *okrug* newspaper in the vernacular, has been published regularly, while *rayon* newspapers carry occasional columns or articles, chiefly by Chukchi authors. The language is much used in amateur performing arts clubs for verse, songs, humorous couplets and so on. The mother tongue is taught in

schools only by Chukchi teachers, while the national editorial staffs of the radio and television employ correspondents, newsreaders and announcers of Chukchi stock, most of them educated to degree standard.

There is quite a large body of scholarly literature and bilingual dictionaries for school use. A primer and textbooks and readers for the first, second and third years of primary school have been published, and teaching method aids have been compiled by the staff of the National Schools Research Institute at the RSFSR Ministry of Education.

Works of literature and socio-political writings, both translated and original, are published in substantial quantities in Chukchi. The works of Chukchi authors such as Y. Rytkeu, A. Kymytval' or V. Keul'kut are published both in the local press and in Russian in the central publications, and even in translation into foreign languages.

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Dolgan

Galina Grachyova

The Dolgans number 5,100: in the western and central regions of Taymyr they live mainly intermingled with Evenks, Nganasans and Nenets: in the east, most settlements are purely Dolgan. On 1 January 1978 there were 4,250 of them living in the Taymyr Autonomous *okrug*, with the remainder scattered in other northern parts of the country.

To this day Dolgan is a language of oral communication and is sometimes regarded as a dialect of Yakut: it is used in everyday life, at work and

in socio-political spheres. The language is viewed as their mother tongue by 90 per cent of Dolgans, while 72.9 per cent of them are fluent in Russian and 1.6 per cent in a third language too. The eastern Dolgans can read Yakut literature with ease. Schools and kindergartens in western and central Taymyr dispense education in Russian because of the children's varied ethnic origins. In eastern Taymyr, instruction is given in Russian. Dolgan is taught at the Faculty of Extreme Northern Peoples at the Leningrad Institute. There are constant radio broadcasts in the language in the Taymyr Autonomous *okrug*.

Dolgan is spoken to a limited extent in groups of amateur performers, although Russian is used more widely. Some propaganda teams serving reindeer herders, fishermen and hunters, however, use the language extensively to recite poetry, songs and humorous couplets or to act out scenes drawn from life, and sing modern Russian songs in Dolgan.

Dolgan teachers educated to higher or secondary specialized level and with a good command of their mother tongue work in the *okrug*, while the radio and the local newspaper *Sovetskii Taymyr* employ Dolgan graduates as announcers, newsreaders and correspondents; they include a member of the RSFSR Writers' Union, Ogdo Aksenova.

Scholarly literature in print comprises quite a few articles on the language's phonetics, morphology and syntax. A draft Dolgan primer has been prepared and is under discussion. Literary works are represented by Ogdo Aksyonova's writings in Dolgan and Russian.

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Enets

Ludmila Khomich

The Enets were not counted separately in the 1979 Census; according to field research findings they number some 300. Because they are so few, no written form of Enets has been developed. The language is used in an explanatory role in schools from time to time.

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Eskimo

Georgy Menovshchikov

The Eskimo are one of the country's smallest ethnic groups. They number 1,500, of whom 917 regard Eskimo as their mother tongue. The Asian Eskimo languages belong to the Yupik language group and are subdivided into the Sireniki language and the Asian Eskimo language, the latter comprising the Chaplino and Naukan dialects. History has dealt in different ways with the Eskimo languages. The Chaplino and Naukan dialects are still thriving and widespread, and the former has become the basis of the Soviet literary language. But the Sireniki language is now on the verge of extinction, being known only to a handful of individuals and unused in day-to-day colloquial speech.

The Asian Eskimos now live in multinational settlements, together with Chukchis, Russians, Ukrainians and others. Frequent communication across ethnic borders combined with mixed marriages and other related factors exert a major influence on the linguistic situation.

The vast majority of Eskimos speak their mother tongue, the older generation knowing only their mother tongue, although most of them also have a command of Chukchi; in the past Chukchi-Eskimo bilingualism was common. The majority of the population speak Eskimo and Russian.

As a means of communication, Eskimo is used chiefly in the home and in day-to-day transactions; another sphere in which it is invariably spoken is that of traditional occupations, particularly sea-mammal hunting. The continued use of the mother tongue here is promoted not only by the nature of the work but by the homogenous ethnic composition of the work teams and, to a certain degree, by the hunters' age. Interestingly, Eskimo is spoken more widely in families with one or more members engaged in traditional livelihoods than where all have abandoned them. A further distinctive field

for the language is amateur song and dance ensembles; an important factor is that people of all ages are involved in these, from the very old, who compose songs and arrange dances, to school children who are learning to sing and dance.

In villages where a major proportion of the population is Eskimo - Novoe Chaplino, Sireniki or Uel'kal' - this language is taught in the preparatory and primary years. Later, as of the fourth year, courses are optional. Instruction is given by skilled Eskimo specialists trained as teachers in higher or secondary specialized educational establishments.

In recent years standards have risen immeasurably in the national schools and among teachers of indigenous stock. In addition to teaching, the latter have also designed programmes, teaching method guides and textbooks. A team including Eskimo teachers U.I. Ukhsima, L.I. Ainana and V.A. Anal'kvasak prepared a first year Eskimo textbook for the printers and drew up programmes for first to third years, extracurricular work in fourth to eighth years and optional courses in ninth and tenth years. The same authors are responsible for a programme for developing a command of the spoken language among children in kindergartens.

In 1974 Prosveshchenie Publications issued a new Eskimo-language primer in colour reflecting the contemporary life of Chukotka and the country as a whole: it was acknowledged to be among the best textbooks of the year. The same publishers are preparing a reader for release. Both these teaching aids were written by V.A. Anal'kvasak and L.I. Ainana who are Eskimos.

The Eskimo population being few in number, there are no special periodical publications in their language. But Souetsltuya Chukotka, which comes out in Chukchi, regularly publishes texts in Eskimo too. Similarly, the local radio includes Eskimo-language broadcasts in its schedule.

A considerable quantity of Eskimo-language literature is also published. Up to 1966, fifty-eight titles had been issued in a total of 56,600 copies. As early as the 1930s young Eskimo writers such as Knug'e or Numylen were translating the Russian classics and moderns as well as essays. Original works by the Eskimo poets Y. Anko and T. Gukhuv'e also appeared in various publications.

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Itelmen

Alexander Volodin

The Itelmens number 1,400, of whom 24.4 per cent regard the language as their mother tongue. The eight-year school in the village of Korvan provides an optional course in Itelmen attended by pupils from fifth to eighth years. The Leningrad Pedagogical Institute teaches the language to students. Itelmen teachers working in schools have no, or at best moderate, knowledge of their mother tongue. An Itelmen script has now been devised on the basis of the Russian alphabet.

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Ket

Yevgeniya Alekseenko

There are 1,100 Kets in all, of whom 61 per cent speak their mother tongue and 53.5 per cent have fluent Russian. The Kets are now bilingual. The mother tongue predominates and is used in day-to-day affairs, in the home and to some extent at work wherever the occupational groups are wholly Ket. The second language, Russian, predominates at work and in public affairs and is also the contact language in ethnically mixed groups and between language groups. Few persons are unable to speak Russian, and most of them are very old women. Among the older and middle generations some Kets speak Selkup and - more rarely - Evenk.

The use of the mother tongue in the family still keeps it alive among the younger generation, but a decline may be observed, principally among young members of ethnically mixed families.

Instruction in schools is invariably given in Russian, but the public education authorities are now considering upgrading some schools -those in the villages of Kellog, Farkovo and others - to the status of national schools of the Extreme Northern peoples and introducing tuition in Ket (from preparatory to third year of the Kellog eight-year school).

The need to preserve the mother tongue as a form of national culture is particularly acute in present circumstances since the indigenous population's general cultural level and its sense of nationhood are rising. This may be seen inter alia in the universal interest shown in mother tongue amateur performances by folklore groups in schools or village clubs. Ket folksingers such as I. I. Tyganov take part in regional and All-Union competitions.

At the start of the 1980s, 15 ethnically indigenous specialists-teachers and tutors -were employed in the **rayon** educational system. Most of them had received secondary specialized or higher pedagogical education at the teacher training colleges in Igarka and Krasnoyarsk or institutes in Leningrad, Yeniseysk, Krasnoyarsk and elsewhere. In the course of their studies at the departments of the Northern peoples, they took one of the national languages as a special subject, usually Evenk or Selkup.

Ket, the last living language of the Yeniseian family, became the object of intensive research in the 1950s. Basic monographs have been published, and work is continuing on dictionaries. Specialist linguists are being recruited to produce teaching method literature.

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Khant

Nikolai Tereshkin

About 70 per cent of the Khants, numbering 21,000, regard the language as their mother tongue and 52.8 per cent are fluent in Russian.

Khant is taught at the Khanty-Mansiysk and Salekhard Pedagogical Colleges and at the Leningrad 'A.I. Herzen' State Pedagogical Institute. The three dialects (Surgut, Kazym and Shuryshkar) are used as the language of instruction in preparatory and first years at school.

There are Khant language radio broadcasts from Khanty-Mansiysk (Kazym dialect) and Salekhard (Shuryshkar dialect). The Newspaper Lenin **punt khuvat** ('By Lenin's path') is regularly published in Khanty-Mansiysk:

it is printed in the Kazym dialect with periodical articles in other dialects. The language is also used in amateur performing arts clubs. There are teaching staff with secondary or higher qualifications in virtually all Khant districts.

Scientific research into the language, chiefly by Finnish and Hungarian specialists, began even before the Revolution. In the Soviet period, studies of grammar, phonetics and lexicon were first undertaken in the 1930s.

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Koryak

Alevtina Zhukova

The Koryaks number 7,900, of whom 68.1 per cent regard the language as their mother tongue (Fig. 3).

The language is currently taught in school in preparatory and first years, and the written language is based on the Chavchoven dialect. Koryak is taught at the Pedagogical Faculty and at the Extreme Northern Peoples' Faculty at Leningrad Pedagogical Institute under the auspices of the chair of Northern languages, folklore and literature.

There are regular broadcasts in Koryak, with a national editorial staff in the village of Palana. The newspaper Koryakskii *kommunist* is published in Russian with, from time to time, pages in Koryak. Koryak is used by groups of amateur performers who have in recent years begun to turn to the ethnic folklore.

Koryak nationals are employed as teaching staff in all rayons of the Koryak Autonomous **okrug**, which has 35 general education schools. I. Avinova, S. Etek'eva, V. Mulyuv'i and others who qualified at the Pedagogical Institute, work in these schools, while other Koryaks, E. Narivlich, S. Tynanto and I. Tapanan are members of the radio's national editorial staff.

Scholarly publications began to appear some 60 years ago; the first scientific information about Koryak was given in comparison with the related Chukchi and Itelmen or Kamchadal languages in V.G. Bogoraz's monograph *Chukchee* (Washington, 1922). Research into the language's grammar phonetics and lexicon was continued by Bogoraz's pupils.

Even in pre-war years, Koryak literary works were being published, and in 1974 those of Ketsai Kekketyn, Lev Zhukov and Ivan Barannikov were re-issued. The works of the Koryak writer V.V. Kosygin - *Olen'imi tropani* (The Reindeer Paths, 1970), *Verkhnie lyudi podozhdut* (The Higher-ups can wait, 1976), and others - have been published in Russian.

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Mansi

Yevdokiya Kuzakova and Yevdokiya Rombandeeva

The Mansis live in the west and south-east of Khanty-Mansi Autonomous *okrug* of Tyumen *oblast*, along the river Konda, the Severnaya Sos'va and its tributary, the Lyapino: a very small number also live in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous *okrug* and there are Mansis living in the Ivdel'skii, Slobodo-Turinskii and Tavdinskii *rayons* of Sverdlovsk *oblast*. They number 7,600, of whom 40.7 per cent consider their mother tongue to be Mansi, while 49.5 per cent are fluent in Russian.

Of the four dialect groups, the northern, eastern, southern and western, only the Northern Mansis know and use their mother tongue, and even they use it only in day-to-day life. Mansis live side by side with other ethnic groups due to the enlargement of the collective and state farms; in such settlements, the percentage of Mansi speakers is five to ten per cent. The language is being assimilated very quickly because of the extensive development of the gas and oil extraction industries in their territory and the large consequent inflow of other nationalities.

Mansi is used on a practical, colloquial basis to speak to children in pre-school establishments, and is studied as a subject in preparatory, first and second years at Mansi schools. It is offered to Mansi students at the Khanty-Mansiysk Pedagogical College and the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute: there are optional courses for other trained teachers at the college.

Teaching staff for the primary classes are trained at the Khanty-Mansiysk Pedagogical College. An Advanced Teacher Training Institute has been established on the basis of the Khanty-Mansi *okrug* teaching methods centre. Yearly courses of advanced training are held for teachers of primary classes in the national schools where expert lectures are delivered by Mansi speakers such as Rombandeeva, M.P. Vakhrusheva or A.I. Sainakhova. At the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute, the Northern languages chair trains teachers for the national schools of the North. Each year there are year-long advanced training courses for teachers in primary years at non-Russian schools, including a series of lectures on the Mansi language.

Monographs have been published that reflect the phonetic, morphological and syntactical structures of the contemporary language.

Since the 1930s a large quantity of Mansi-language socio-political writings have been published, chiefly for pupils at Mansi schools. In addition, the original works of the poet and prose-writer Yuvan Shestalov, such as *Sui, Etpos, Mukem at* or *Man'si pavy nyavramyt* (Leningrad, 1960), are being published in his native Mansi. A. Tarkhanov, also a Mansi, writes and publishes verse in Russian.

Mansi language texts are occasionally carried in the Khanty language newspaper *Lenin punt khuvat* which is published in Khanty-Mansiysk.

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Nenets

Ludmila Khomich

There are 30,000 Nenets, of whom 80.4 per cent speak the mother tongue, 64.2 per cent speak Russian and 3.3 per cent speak other languages.

Nenets is used in kindergartens in settlements where the bulk of the population are indigenous. Schools where children are fluent in the mother

tongue generally provide education in Nenets or use that language for explanations (there is one such school in the Nenets Autonomous *okrug* and six in the Yamalo-Nenets *okrug*). Schools with ethnically-mixed pupils - Russian, Nenets, Komis and so on - teach in Russian, but sometimes use Nenets. The language is taught at Naryan-Mar and Salekhard Pedagogical Colleges and the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute, where the courses are given by Nenets staff.

In the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous *okrug* the radio broadcasts in Nenets with newsreaders, announcers and editors of Nenets stock. The Nenets language newspaper *Nar'yana Ngerm* (Red North) is also published there: its editor has for many years been the famous Nenets poet LA. Yupangelik. The language is used extensively by amateur performing arts groups, who recite Nenets poems or sing Nenets songs, in particular to tunes by Semen Nyaruya, an ethnic Nenets.

Since the war, teaching staff for schools and pedagogical colleges have been trained at the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute; over 100 of its graduates are now at work in the Nenets and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous *okrug*s. Teachers are also trained at the national pedagogical colleges in Naryan-Mar, Salekhard and Dudinka.

There is a large body of scholarly writings on the Nenets language.

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Nganasan

Galina Grachyova

There are 900 Nganasans, of whom some 700 live in their homeland, the Taymyr Autonomous *okrug*, intermingled with other ethnic groups, chiefly the Dolgans, while the remainder are dispersed in various parts of the country.

Nganasan is a language of oral communication. It is used in day-to-day transactions, at work and in the sociopolitical sphere, and is regarded as their mother tongue by 90.2 per cent of all Nganasans. Of the population aged 50 or less, 71.3 per cent are fluent in Russian, while 2.2 per cent have a command of a third language, usually Dolgan.

Children are educated in Russian because of their varied ethnic origins. Nganasan is not taught in schools: wherever Nganasan children are educated, the children are of varied ethnic stock. The language is taught at the Extreme Northern People's Faculty of the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute.

In the Taymyr Autonomous *okrug* there are regular radio broadcasts in Nganasan from the town of Dudinka. The language is used to some extent in amateur performers' groups, but Russian is more current among them. However, itinerant propaganda teams servicing reindeer herders, fishermen or hunters sometimes act out scenes from everyday life or sing modern Russian songs in Nganasan.

The radio and the *okrug* newspaper *Sovetskii Taymyr* employ Nganasans educated to secondary specialized or higher level as newsreaders, announcers and correspondents.

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Nivkhi

Galina Otaina

About 50 per cent of the Nivkhis, who number 4,400, speak their mother tongue. It has two dialects, that of the Amur and that of Eastern Sakhalin. The older and middle generations speak their mother tongue in the home, in day-to-day affairs and, whenever the Nivkhis are in the majority, in work

teams. The language also lives on in the folk oral literature, which is an inexhaustible source for the development of the amateur and professional arts and literature.

In the 1930s the eradication of illiteracy was covered by the newspaper *Nivhgu klai mykyr dif* or '*Nivkhi Pravda*', printed in Nikolaevsk-na-Amure; it gave the names of settlements and teachers and the numbers of adult and child pupils. In those years an Amur dialect alphabet and primer was published together with first and second year readers, while an arithmetic book was translated into Nivkhi. A brochure in the Amur dialect, entitled '*yar komsomol Lenin kahidr*' (*Why the Komsomol is named after Lenin*) was issued, while the publication of Pushkin's short stories *The tale of the fisherman and the fish* and *The tale of the priest and his man Balda* was a major event: for the first, time, the words of the great Russian poet were heard in Nivkhi. This fine translation is the work of the talented Nivkhi Aleksei Tykhta.

In 1955 a Nivkhi primer by V.N. Savel'eva and C.M. Taksami was brought out. In the sixties and seventies publications in Nivkhi were confined to scholarly works: in the same period, Russian-Nivkhi and Nivkhi-Russian dictionaries were published. In 1980 V. Sangi and G. Otaina drew up and published a programme for preparatory and first years in Nivkhi schools in the East Sakhalin dialect, and in 1981, when the first, primer in that dialect came out, Nivkhi studies were resumed in school. A new primer in the Amur dialect was also issued, and a school dictionary, readers, teaching method supplements for primers and textbooks and folklore studies are being prepared for the press.

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Sami

Ludmila Khomich

There are 1,900 Sami, of whom 56.2 per cent speak their mother tongue and 52.9 per cent. speak Russian. Mother tongue tuition is given at school in the village of Lovozero, where most Sami live, and the language is taught at the

Leningrad Pedagogical Institute. It is used by groups of amateur performers. Teaching staff are trained by the Northern Peoples' Faculty at the Leningrad 'A.I. Herzen' State Pedagogical Institute.

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selkup

Ludmila Khomich

The Selkups number 3,600; 56.6 per cent speak their mother tongue, 46.6 per cent speak Russian and 8.6 per cent speak other languages.

Selkup is the language of instruction in one school. It is sometimes used by amateur performing arts groups. Teaching staff are trained at the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute where the language is taught. A primer was prepared by E.D. Prokofeva in 1953; it is currently being revised by S. Irikov, a Selkup.

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Tofalar

Vera D'yakonova

The Tofalars or Tofs, formerly known as the Karagasy, live in Irkutsk oblast on the northern slopes of the Eastern Sayan Mountains and along the upper reaches of the Uda, Biryusa and 11 rivers. They number 800.

The Tofalar region now has two primary schools and one secondary school with 253 pupils (all nationalities) and 18 teachers. Kindergartens and crèches have been built for Tofalar children in three villages. There is a boarding school in Alygdzher with 90 indigenous children attending secondary classes.

Tofalars are bilingual, speaking their mother tongue and Russian. Tofalar teachers are trained at the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute. A dance group has been established, folklore thrives and the people's songs live on.

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Yukaghir

Alevtina Zhukova

There are 800 Yukaghirs, all of whom live in the Yakut ASSR and in Magadan oblast. The language comprises two dialects, that of the tundra and that of the Kolyma. They differ substantially in respect of phonetics, lexicon and morphology. In addition to these in the past, there were the Omok and Chuvan dialects.

Yukaghir was formerly an unwritten language. Since 1980, it has been taught in two schools from preparatory to third years. Its alphabet is modelled on the tundra dialect. Work is now under way on a Yukaghir primer, a reader for preparatory to third years and a school dictionary.

It is planned to publish folklore texts. The Yakut Republic radio broadcasts in the language which is also extensively used by amateur performing artists. Works of literature are published in Yukaghir.

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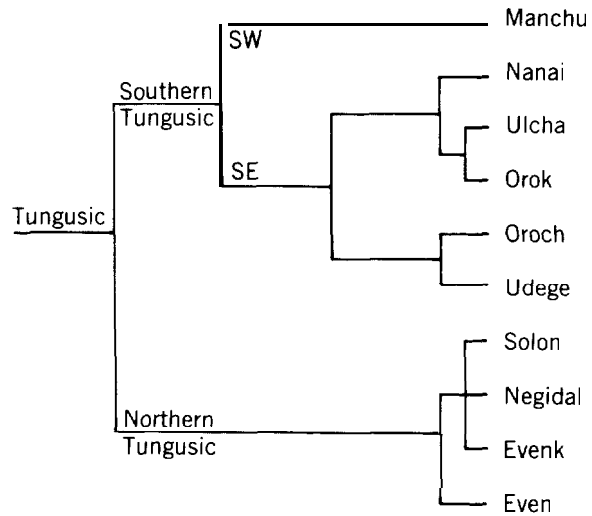


Fig. 1. Tungusic language family. *Source:* Reproduced, by permission of the Smithsonian Institution Press, from *Crossroads of Continents: Culture of Siberia and Alaska*, ed. William Fitzhugh and Aron Crowell. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1988.

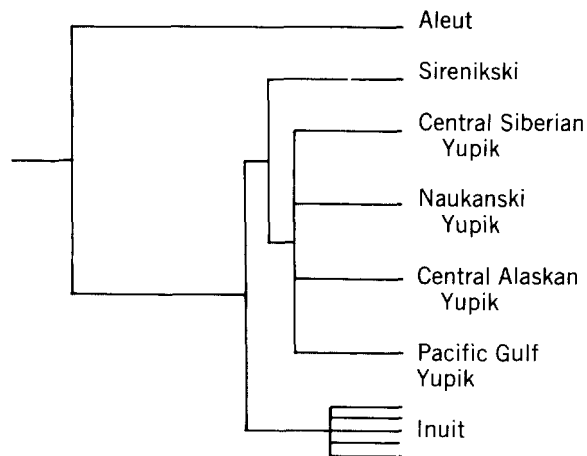


Fig. 2. Eskimo-Aleut language family. *Source:* See Fig. 1.

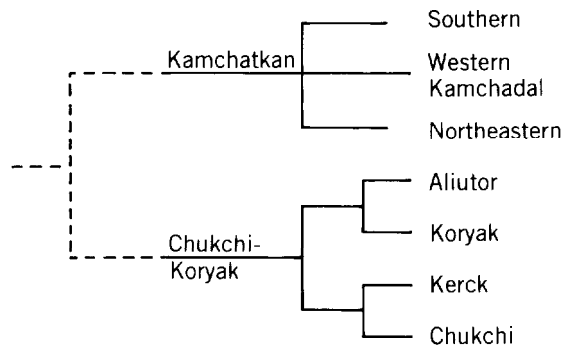
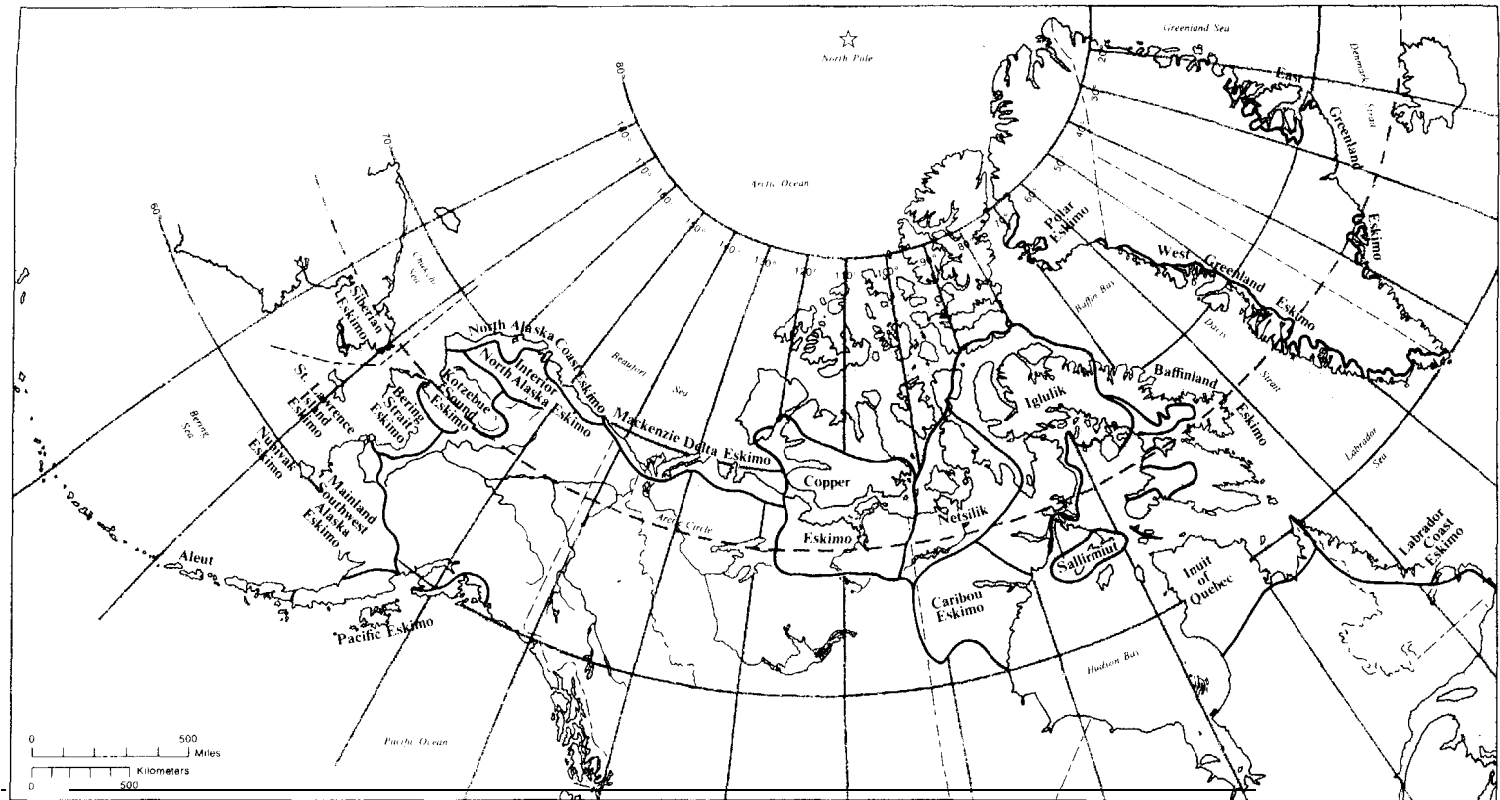


Fig. 3. Chukotko-Kamchatkan language family. **Source:** See Fig. 1.

Part II

NORTH AMERICA
AND GREENLAND

NATIVE LANGUAGES



MAP3. Key to tribal territories. Source: *The Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 5, *Arctic*, ed. D. Damas, gen. ed. W.C. Sturtevant. Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1984, p. ix.

Note: This key to the Eskimo-Aleut language family group uses terms that are gradually being replaced by ethnonyms preferred by the populations. These terms are used here in view of their frequency in linguistic and ethnographic texts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The reader should refer to the present author's texts for ethnonyms now coming into current use as well as for information on the geographical areas that are actually occupied today. The key is presented more as a guide than as an authoritative representation of actual territories at any one time and is not published in its entirety.

The Language of the Alaskan Inuit

Lawrence D. Kaplan

History and Background

The only State in the United States which extends into the Arctic region, i.e. Alaska, is the home of a number of different Native peoples and twenty different Native languages (Maps 3 and 4). Alaskans commonly refer to the indigenous peoples of their State as Eskimos, Aleuts and Indians, but these general names include a variety of groups, which often are very different from each other in culture and language. This paper concerns those Alaskans who are speakers of Eskimo-Aleut languages. These include the Inuit of northern Alaska, as well as the Yupik groups of the west and southwest, and the Aleuts of the Aleutian Islands. Along with Eskimo-Aleut, the other major language group in Alaska is Athabaskan Indian (Fig. 4), which includes ten different languages within the State. These are Koyukon, Kutchin, Ahtna, Han, Ingalik, Holikachuk, Tanaina, Upper Tanana, Upper Kuskokwim and Tanacross. Athabaskan groups also live in Canada and in the Western United States, including the well-known Apaches and Navajos of the American South-West. The small Eyak group is related linguistically

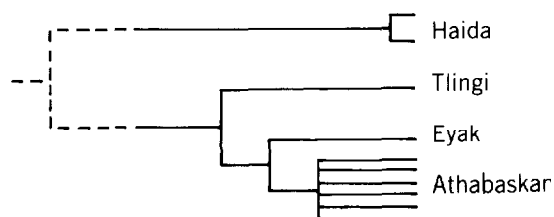
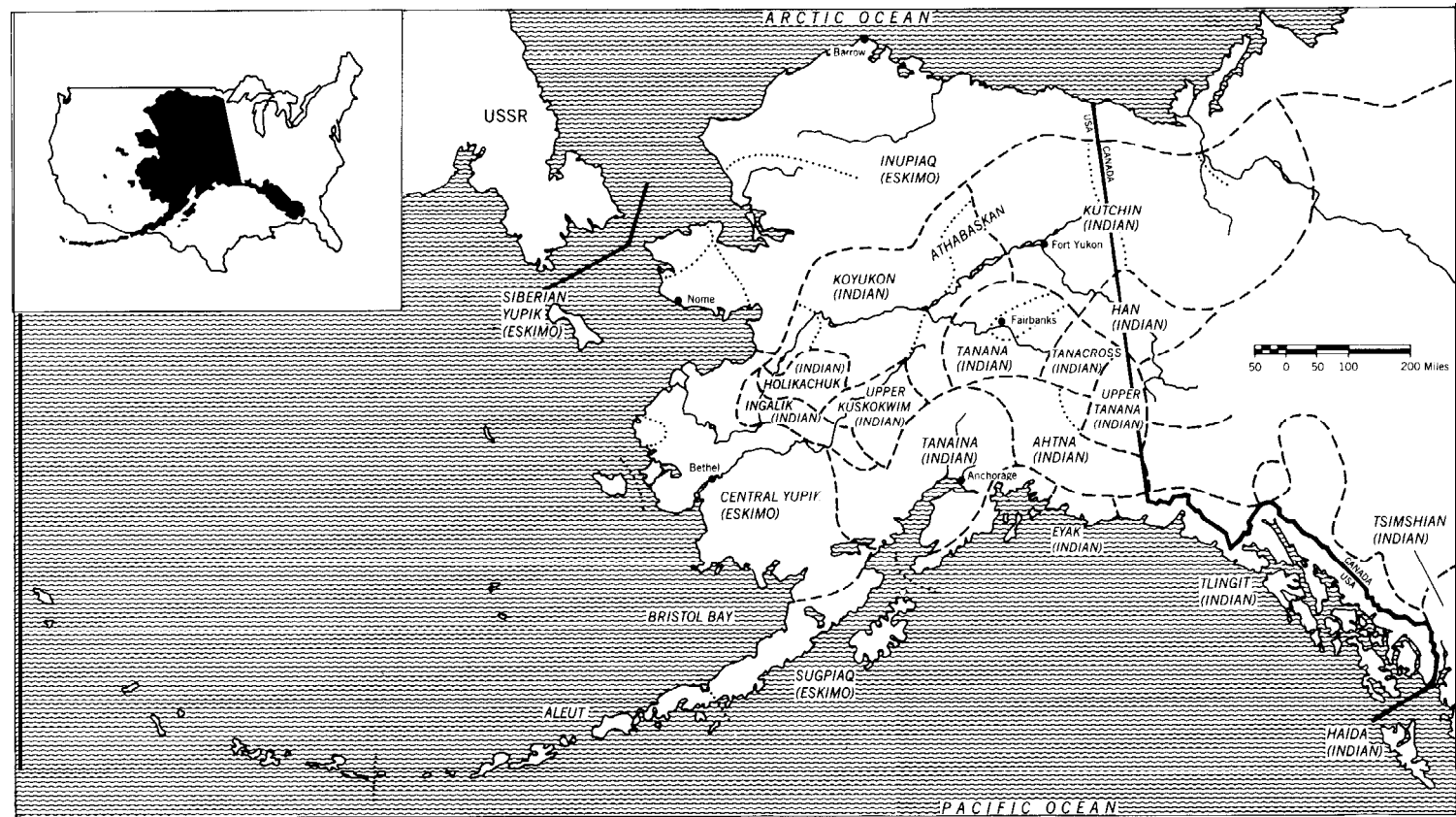


Fig. 4. Na Dene language group. Source: see Fig. 1.



MAP 4. Native peoples and languages of Alaska. Source: after M.E. Krauss. 1974, revised 1982. Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska.

to the Athabaskans, and Alaskan Indians also include the Tlingits, Haidas and Tsimshians of South-East Alaska.

When the United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867, most of the residents of the territory were Indians, Aleuts and Eskimos, many of whom lived as their ancestors had done for centuries, relying on the land and sea to provide food, shelter and clothing. The earliest Russians came to the Aleutian Islands, where cruel fur traders exploited and enslaved the Aleuts. The mistreatment was brought to an end largely by the organized commerce of the Russian America Company, which also administered the colony for the Russian crown, and by the moderating influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. Besides the Aleutians, Russian influence was felt on the mainland of South-West Alaska where trading posts and forts were established and missionaries converted Yupiks to the Orthodox Church. The Tlingits encountered Russians as well when the latter extended fur trading operations to South-East Alaska and the capital was moved from Kodiak to New Archangel, the present-day Sitka. Concerned about their ability to hold sway over their American colonies in the long term, the Russians sold Alaska to the United States for \$7,200,000. Now considered a highly advantageous purchase, the sale was ridiculed by many Americans who doubted the value of what seemed to them a frozen wasteland and called it 'Seward's folly' after the Secretary of State who negotiated the transaction.

Little or no consideration was given to the morality, or even the legality, of one foreign power's buying from another an area where an indigenous population lived and flourished. In the colonial period, ownership of territory was largely determined by the presence of a government whose army could defend the area from conquest. It was inconceivable to Western nations that an indigenous population could be considered the rulers and masters of their own homeland, if this population did not have European-style social and political organization. The colonists saw Alaska's Native groups as primitive and unorganized and needing the organization and structure which Western society could provide. In the colonial era land was for the taking, and armed opposition was usually the most effective resistance to foreign domination. The most famous effort at resistance in Alaska was made by the Tlingits at the Battle of Sitka. In two conflicts in 1802 and 1804, the Sitka Tlingits fought for weeks against the Russians who had come to South-East Alaska to build a fort and establish a base of operations and trading.

Other Native groups, too, resisted commercial and religious intrusions by foreigners; blood was shed by white men and Natives alike as outsiders penetrated Alaska in an effort to gain a foothold. Colonial governments established their supremacy and traders set up commercial ventures, while missionaries worked to eliminate traditional religions and establish various forms of Christianity. The new systems of belief involved many concepts which were quite foreign and even antithetical to Native cultures and demanded significant changes in Native ways of life. The religious figures

who instigated the change believed, ofcourse, that they were improving the lives of the people they encountered and further, that the new religion would ensure eternal well-being. Missionaries undertook campaigns to eliminate any practice they felt conflicted with Christianity. They worked hard to alter or eradicate culturally important ceremonials which often played an essential role in the process of hunting and acquiring food and involved participation and sharing by the entire community. Potlatches and messenger feasts - celebrations involving enormous generosity and giving by the richest to the poorest - were discouraged and even outlawed.

Various churches and sometimes individual missionaries differed in their interpretation of what should be 'allowed' and what should not. For example, some churches forbade all Native dancing- or dancing of any sort - while others permitted it, provided that it had no religious significance. The traditional art form of mask-making languished, since mask-dancing was discouraged in nearly all cases.

There was widespread misunderstanding of Native beliefs and customs when these differed from those of the Western world. For example, spousal exchange was an important part of the traditional Inupiaq and Yupik kin system, serving to establish valuable social and economic ties with other families, often in distant villages. The failure to understand this custom led outsiders to condemn it merely as adultery, which is expressly forbidden by most Western religions, and has been the result of bad feeling and misunderstanding which endures to this day. There has been considerable change in Alaska over the past couple of centuries, and the effects on Native life have been profound.

When the Americans took control of Alaska in 1867, they did not make their presence really felt for about two decades. It was not until the 1890s that some segments of the Native population began to feel the profound effect of the American presence, as the fishing industry and canneries developed in southern coastal areas and mining operations appeared in many parts. Around the turn of the century, there were two major gold rushes, one to the interior near Fairbanks and another to the Seward Peninsula around Nome. Commercial whaling grew in importance on the Arctic Coast. These developments brought large influxes of outsiders, in addition to the destructive effects of epidemics and alcohol. In the same period, church missions began schools for Native Alaskans under the administration of the Presbyterian missionary Sheldon Jackson, Alaska's first commissioner for education, who opposed the use for Native languages in education (Krauss, 1980).

Some churches accepted Native languages and used them for services and religious instruction; even this relatively positive stance, however, was mainly a practical approach to the evangelization of Natives rather than support for Native language and culture as such. Like the earlier Russian Orthodox missionaries, many Catholics and some Protestant denominations recognized that the most effective way to communicate their religion

to Native Alaskans was to do so in a language that the people understood. This approach was fairly progressive for the time, not because any of the missionaries accepted Native culture as it was -their goal was to transform it radically-but because some were willing to regard Native languages as valid, useful and adequate systems of communication. On the other hand many early educators stated quite clearly that they considered Native languages to be 'useless old tongues.. . (full of) superstition and sin' (Young, 1927). The value of communicating with Native Alaskans in their own language was not officially recognized by the education system until the early 1970s when bilingual instruction began; before then, children who knew no English heard nothing but English from schoolteachers and were often punished harshly for using their own language. Some early religious efforts may therefore be credited with the realization that Native people had 'real' languages that were in no way tied to traditional religious practices.

Although the gold rushes of the early twentieth century brought tens of thousands of outsiders to areas of Alaska, thereby overwhelming the local Native populations, most of the newcomers soon departed, leaving the territory's population still predominantly Native up until World War II. During the war major battles were fought in the Aleutians, and military installations were constructed in a number of locations; the Alaska-Canada Highway was built to connect Alaska by road to the rest of the United States. Like the gold rushes, these events brought thousands of people to Alaska, many of whom stayed on after the war. Towns like Fairbanks and Anchorage with large non-Native populations grew significantly in size and increased further after Alaska gained statehood in 1959. Today, although Native Alaskans still predominate in many so-called outlying or rural areas, they now compose less than 15 per cent of the total population of the State.

Native Groups and Languages

If we regard the Arctic as the area north of the Arctic Circle, we have an area where the majority of the population is Inuit, who call themselves Inupiat in Alaska. Some Athabaskan Indians of the Koyukon and Gwichin groups also live inside the Arctic Circle, although Athabaskans live for the most part in the sub-Arctic regions (Fig. 4). As in Canada and Greenland, Inuit predominate in the Arctic, and they are the people I will write about here.

First a word about names. In the Eastern Arctic there is a clear preference for the Native name 'Inuit' over 'Eskimo', which comes from an Algonquian Indian word which probably meant 'snowshoe netter', although some consider the original meaning to be 'eater of raw meat'. 'Eskimo' is still common in Alaska, however. Only in Northern Alaska, Canada, and Greenland is Inuit used to mean 'people'. Most Alaskan Eskimos use the word *yuk* to mean 'person' and are usually known as *Yupiks*. I retain the term

'Eskimo' to refer to Yupiks and Inuit together. We also use 'Eskimo' to refer to languages, since again 'Inuit' properly refers only to the Eastern branch of Eskimo languages and people. Even though the Yupiks do not live within the Arctic Circle, their languages are closely related to that of the Inuit and are also discussed in this article.

A number of different Eskimo groups live in Alaska. On the Arctic Coast and in Northwestern Alaska as far south as Norton Sound live the Alaskan Inuit or Inupiat. Inuk, meaning person, can take the suffix *piq* meaning 'real or genuine' to give Inupiaq 'real person' or Inupiat in the plural. The Inupiaq dialects are part of the Inuit language spoken across the North American Arctic and Greenland. Often Inupiaq is spelled Inupiaq, with a palatalized *q* as pronounced in the North Alaskan dialect group. The other major Alaskan dialect group, Seward Peninsula, has a plain *n*.

Along with the Inuit, there is a second branch of Eskimo people, the Yupiks, which include three major groups: Central Alaskan Yupiks, Siberian Yupiks and Pacific Yupiks or Alutiiqs. The Central Yupiks live south of the Inupiat on the Alaskan mainland along the coast, from Bristol Bay north all the way to Norton Sound and along the lower drainages of the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers. Like 'Inupiaq', 'Yupik' also means 'real person', composed of the stem *yuk* meaning 'person' and the *suffix -piq* for 'real'. Although in reality many Central Alaskan Yupiks use the name 'Yupiaq' with the same suffix found in 'Inupiaq', and others use 'Cupik', since their word for person is *cuk* (with *c* pronounced like English *ch*), the name Yupik includes all these sub-groups. In Central Yupik, the *p* in Yupik is pronounced geminate (long) and spelled with an apostrophe as *Yupik*.

The Siberian Yupiks live on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, and in several locations along the shore of the Chukchi Peninsula of the Soviet Union. Here too, Yupik means 'real person' (but is never spelled with an apostrophe since the *p* is not geminated). Siberian Yupiks belong to different groups, the largest of which includes Yupiks from both St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, and Chaplino on the Soviet mainland. A smaller group is the Naukan or East Cape people, originally from Cape Dezhnev on the western shore of the Bering Strait, but now living in other locations on the coast of the Chukchi Peninsula. Lastly, there is (as of 1988) one person remaining in the Soviet village of Sireniki who can still speak the nearly extinct Old Sireniki, believed to be a separate Yupik language. Although the United States and the Soviet Union halted travel across the Bering Strait in the late 1940s, the growing climate of openness between the two countries has already allowed some travel and may soon permit renewed international visits by Eskimos and others.

The third Yupik language, commonly known as Pacific Yupik or Pacific Gulf Yupik, is called Alutiiq by the people themselves (pronounced with what sound like a long *u* vowel and a short *i* vowel because of complex phonological processes). The Alutiiqs live south and east of the Central Alaskan Yupiks, along the northern shores of the Alaska Peninsula, on

Kodiak Island, the southern tip of the Kenai Peninsula, and around the Prince William Sound as far east as Cordova. Although closely related in culture and language to the other mainland Yupiks, this group uses the word *suk* rather than *yuk* for 'person' and calls itself Aleut in English - Alutiiq, in their language -rather than Eskimo. This situation came about when the Russians expanded their colonization of Alaska from the Aleutian Islands to Kodiak Island and continued to use the name Aleut for the Native people they encountered, even though they were aware of the linguistic and cultural differences between the Aleutian Islanders and the Kodiak Alutiiqs. For the sake of clarity, Aleut here means the people and language of the Aleutian Islands, and Alutiiq is used for the southernmost Yupik group.

Aleuts live on the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands of Alaska as well as the Commander Islands in the U.S.S.R. The Aleut language is related to the Eskimo languages and forms one branch of the Eskimo-Aleut language family. There are no proven relationships between Eskimo-Aleut and other language families, although some linguists believe that there may be a relationship to Uralic languages or the Siberian languages of Kamchatka and Chukotka.

Currently, the number of Alaskan Natives is about 60,000, of whom perhaps 36,000 are Eskimos. Of these there are about 18,000 Central Alaskan Yupiks, forming the largest single Native group in the State. The Inupiaq population numbers around 13,000, Siberian Yupiks (St. Lawrence Islanders) 1,100, and Alutiiqs 3,000. Figuring the Inuit population of Canada at 23,000, that of Greenland at 42,000, and adding about 1,300 Yupiks in the U.S.S.R., we arrive at a figure of just over 100,000 for the world Eskimo population. Of this number slightly over one third are in Alaska.

Alaska's importance to the Eskimo world is more than numerical. Archaeological excavation began in Alaska in the early part of this century and revealed the existence of the Old Bering Sea culture on the shores of Western Alaska with its centre in the area of Bering Strait. This culture is believed to be older than any other Eskimo culture discovered so far. It appears likely that this region is in fact the homeland of the Eskimos, i.e. the place where Eskimo language and culture evolved probably 5,000 to 6,000 years ago. The ancestors of the Native peoples of the Americas are believed to have crossed from Asia between 10,000 and 20,000 years ago, at the time when the two continents were joined by a wide bridge of land that later became covered with water when the sea-level rose. These population migrations probably lasted over a period of several thousand years, and it seems extremely likely that the last groups to reach North America were the ancestors of the Eskimo-Aleuts. These people were not Eskimos or Aleuts *per se*. They did not yet speak an Eskimo or Aleut language, nor was their culture of a type that is considered Eskimo-Aleut, although it developed in that direction over the aeons. For this reason it is believed that what we know as Eskimo culture began in the New World, probably about 6,000 or 7,000 years ago.

Inupiaq Villages and Population

In this section we list Alaskan Inupiaq villages and towns along with their Inupiaq populations, grouped according to the region of the State where they are located, and to their dialect area. We give both English and Inupiaq village names where appropriate.

A. North Slope Villages

Anaktuvuk Pass (Anaqtuuvak or Naqsraq)	191
Atkasook (Atqasuk)	99
Beaver	29
Barrow (Utqiagvik)	1700
Kivalina (Kivaliniq)	237
Barter Island or Kaktovik (Qaaktugvik)	145
Nuiqsut (Nuiqsat)	181
Point Hope (Tikigaq)	433
Point Lay (Kali)	63
<u>Wainwright (Ulguniq)</u>	<u>372</u>
Total	3450

B. Northwest Alaska - Malimiut Dialect

Ambler (Ivisaappaat)	155
Buckland (Kaniq)	161
Deering (Ipnaitchiaq)	137
Kiana (Katyaaq)	325
Kobuk (Laugviik)	59
Kotzebue (Qikiqtagruk)	1549
Koyuk Kuuyuk)	180
Noatak (Nuataaq)	257
Noorvik (Nuurvik)	463
Selawik (Siilivik or Akuligaq)	350
<u>Shungnak (Isinnaq or Nuurviuraq)</u>	<u>-178</u>
Total Malimiut	3814

C. Seward Peninsula (not broken down further into Qawiaraq and Bering Strait dialects because village populations are mixed; the villages of Unalakleet, Golovin and White Mountain also include Central Yupik speakers, while Shaktoolik and Unalakleet include Malimiut speakers).

Brevig Mission	138
Golovin (Sigik)	42
Little Diomedes Island (Inaliq)	136
Nome (Sitnasuaq)	1340

Shaktoolik (Saktuliq)	159
Shishmaref (Qiqiqtaq)	368
Teller	193
Unalakleet (Ugalaqniit)	537
White Mountain (Nasirvik)	116
Total	3029
Total Inupiaq village population	10,415
Estimated population of Inupiat in cities and areas not listed above	2,500
Total Inupiat	12,915

Life in a Changing Environment

The Inupiat live mostly along the coast of northern and north-western Alaska with the exception of the Kobuk River people and the so-called Nunamiut who live in the Brooks Range just south of the North Slope. Traditionally, the coastal people lived by sea mammal hunting, fishing, and also caribou hunting which often required travelling inland. Inland Inupiat hunted caribou and fished as their primary source of food and also traded for sea mammal meat and oil with coast dwellers, sometimes travelling to the coast themselves to hunt seals and whales. Some inland people spent large parts of the year on the Arctic coast, especially during the whaling months, when they travelled to places such as Barrow and Hershel Island.

This century has brought great changes to the social and economic situation of all Alaskan Natives, largely because of the introduction of a cash economy. With the introduction of new technologies and tools, hunters found they needed cash to buy boats, motors, guns, ammunition and other hunting equipment they could not make themselves. To obtain the necessary cash they often trapped or hunted for furs, fished or sold ivory carvings. As new technology becomes available, many Inuit, like people anywhere, find the products attractive and need money to buy them. Motor vehicles - motorcycles and all-terrain vehicles, trucks and cars in places, snowmobiles almost everywhere -as well as boats, television sets and even airplanes are becoming more and more common in Inuit areas. Many - not to say most -houses are now oil-heated and have electricity and telephones. All these conveniences require a constant cash flow, as does air-plane travel which is the principal means of transport.

Economic changes have made it desirable to hold a paying job, but the commitment of time which steady employment requires makes it difficult to hunt and pursue other traditional activities. Employment is also a new source of status, replacing to some extent traditional signs of importance such as success at hunting, exceptional ability at sewing, preparing skins,

etc. Many paying jobs, especially in villages, are held by women, working as school aides and instructors, secretaries, office workers and store clerks. Women now bear much of the responsibility of providing for the family that was traditionally held by men.

A new educational system has also brought important changes in the social structure; when school is in session it is nearly impossible for most families to move to the locations where their various subsistence activities take place. Whereas in the past, Inuit might spend long periods in different areas for seasonal hunting, most now remain in the villages so that their children may attend school, except in summer when many families still go to hunting and fishing camps. The village school is an important institution, and some villages were formed around a school, for example, Point Lay, on the Arctic Coast. Other villages have been depopulated partly because of the closing of a school, for example, King Island.

Inuit children in Alaska now spend time at school which their parents or grandparents would have spent receiving a traditional Inuit education by way of hunting, fishing, food preparation and storage, making tools, boats, trapping, dressing carcasses, preparing skins or making clothing, to name but a few activities. Many children therefore have a very different type of educational experience to their parents and grandparents.

It is often said that Inupiaq children are being brought up in two different cultures, i.e. the so-called mainstream white culture and their Native culture. The values and attitudes of the two cultures are in many cases very different. For instance, Inuit are considered more group-oriented, helping provide for those around them, and especially their extended family with whom ties may be very close, while whites are seen as more individualistic. Anthropologists and others have written about the difference in attitudes of the two groups as well as their different styles of communication and interaction with each other.

Many of today's Inuit children are said to be bi-cultural, having experience both of the Inuit world and of groups and cultures outside their sphere. One advantage of this situation is that people now have access to the wisdom of two worlds and two educational systems, knowing at firsthand that life can be approached from different cultural perspectives and that there is not just one 'right way'. Many bi-cultural youngsters also report feeling the pull of two distinct and often contradictory societies and experience difficulty in reconciling the two which emphasize different values and make different demands. This situation is widely discussed in Alaska today because of its great impact on the lives of young Inupiat and their relationship to family, community and society.

Many of the same forces which shape American society in general also affect the Inupiat. Television, for example, has made significant changes in the American family over the past generation and has also changed Inupiaq home life. Time now spent watching television would previously have been spent in any number of ways. In some villages, it is said that people do less

Eskimo dancing since the coming of television; a traditional form of entertainment has been replaced by a new one. Inupiat enjoy making social visits to friends and relatives, and it is highly likely nowadays that the television will be switched on. As everywhere in the world, television brings interesting new information in addition to questionable ideas and behaviour that may be in conflict with the culture of the group receiving it.

At this point in history many Inupiat feel concern for their coming generations, largely because of changes in their traditional life-style and encroachments on the land which has always been fundamental to their survival. People fear that the ability to hunt will diminish if their food supply is not protected from depletion by outsiders and from regulations which may limit their hunting unduly. Serious efforts are being made to control these resources, and to instil traditional values into young people by teaching them to respect the environment that feeds them. Inuit are known for their ability to adapt to difficult situations, and the twentieth century may pose one of their greatest challenges yet.

System of Arctic Languages

Alaska is home to two great language families of the Arctic and Sub-Arctic: Eskimo-Aleut and Athabaskan. Both families appear to have had their beginnings in Alaska and spread east from there, with Eskimo-Aleuts migrating across the Canadian Arctic all the way to Greenland and Athabaskans going to Canada and down the west coast of North America as far as what is today the southwestern United States.

The Eskimo-Aleut language family has two branches, Eskimo and Aleut. The Eskimo branch is further subdivided into Yupik and Inuit, sometimes known as Western and Eastern Eskimo respectively. Yupik comprises four distinct languages - Central Yupik, Alutiiq, Siberian Yupik and Sireniki - and is found only in Alaska and the U.S.S.R. The Inuit language, on the other hand, is generally regarded as a single language, being in reality a chain of related dialects which change gradually in the Arctic from Western Alaska across Canada to Greenland.

The Inuit language poses a problem when it comes to deciding whether we are dealing with separate languages, or else with dialects of one language. According to the principle of mutual intelligibility, closely-related varieties whose speakers can communicate with each other reasonably easily may be considered as dialects of one language. This is clearly the case, for instance, of the Inupiaq spoken on the North Slope of Alaska compared to that of Kobuk River. Inupiaq speakers from these two areas can communicate easily, even though they recognize clear differences in the sounds, vocabulary, and grammar of the other persons' speech. Clearly, we are dealing with two dialects of one language. For example the North Slope word

for 'dog' is *qimmiq*, while the Kobuk word is *qipmiq*; minor sound differences such as this do not normally impede communication, although lexical differences often must be learned. Totally different words are sometimes used in the two dialects as in the case of the word for 'moose': in Kobuk, the word is *tiniika* borrowed from Koyukon Athabaskan, whereas the North Slope word is *tuttuuak* derived from *tuttu* meaning 'caribou'. Sometimes the same word changes meaning from one dialect to another: *tupiq* means 'house' in Kobuk, but 'tent' in the North Slope dialect.

The Kobuk and the North Slope dialects are easily classified as being two of several Inupiaq dialects, but the problem becomes more complex when there is greater linguistic - and usually geographical - distance between two varieties. An Alaskan Inupiaq may have considerable difficulty speaking with someone from Eastern Canada or Greenland, and within Alaska itself the Seward Peninsula dialects are often quite difficult for a mainland Inupiaq to understand.

Perhaps the problem relates to the use of the labels 'dialect' and 'language', since in their natural state - that is, without regard to political boundaries such as national borders - language can be seen to change over a geographical area, sometimes fairly gradually, e.g. in Inupiaq, and sometimes with an abrupt break as between Yupik and Inupiaq. Since the change within Inuit dialects is fairly gradual, and the grammar and vocabulary is on the whole quite similar, we regard them as one language. Inuit speakers, who are exposed to a different dialect generally grasp the differences from their own way of speaking within a short time, given practice. Beyond linguistics, political considerations also unite the Inuit people and their dialects.

An Inupiaq who tries to talk with a Yupik, however, will find language differences so great as to make communication nearly impossible, although related words may become apparent. For instance *arnaq* is the word for 'woman' used by nearly all Eskimos.

Alaskan Inupiaq includes two major dialect groups. The first of these is North Alaskan Inupiaq, which comprises the North Slope dialect spoken along the Arctic coast as far south as Kivalina and the Malimiut dialect spoken south of there in the region of Kotzebue Sound and along the Kobuk River. Some time around the beginning of the last century, people from the south shore of Kotzebue Sound moved south to the head of Norton Sound, extending Malimiut Inupiaq to the present-day villages of Koyuk, Shaktoolik and Unalakleet, territory which was formerly occupied by the northernmost Yupiks, who call themselves Unalit.

The second Inupiaq dialect group is Seward Peninsula Inupiaq, spoken traditionally throughout the Seward Peninsula (which extends westward from the mainland of North-western Alaska toward the Bering Strait) except for the northeast corner which is Malimiut and the southeast shore which was originally Unaliq Yupik. The two Seward Peninsula dialects are Qawiaraq, found in the interior especially along the Kuzitritin River and

along the southern shore of the Seward Peninsula. Around the beginning of this century, Qawiarraq moved with the reindeer industry to the head of Norton Sound where they joined Malimiut Inupiat in an area that was once exclusively Unaliq Yupik. The second Seward Peninsula dialect is Bering Strait, with the four sub-dialects of Shishmaref-Wales, Ring Island, Diomedede and Teller. The dialects of the Seward Peninsula have some characteristics which are especially interesting to linguists, since they retain some very old features of Eskimo languages and also show more similarity to Yupik than any other form of Inuit, which is to be expected because of the close proximity of Yupik in the eastern Norton Sound.

The Bering Strait-Norton Sound area of Alaska is particularly interesting because it is the borderland between the Yupik and Inuit peoples and their languages. It is probably also the original Eskimo area, where the ancestral culture of Eskimos evolved and whence they migrated to other areas of the Arctic and Sub-Arctic.

Now considered remote and inaccessible, Little Diomedede Island sits in the middle of the Bering Strait only a couple of miles from Big Diomedede across the International Date-Line in the U.S.S.R. In earlier times, the Diomededes must have been centrally located, when travel through the Bering Strait was frequent, and both Yupiks and Inuit would stop at Diomedede, as well as at Wales on the Alaskan mainland, on their way to Siberia to trade with Chukchis and Siberian Yupiks. Today, the houses on Little Diomedede face west away from the Alaskan mainland and toward Big Diomedede Island in the U.S.S.R. where the people's close relatives lived.

Since the Bering Strait-Seward Peninsula area has long been a crossroads of different Eskimo groups, there have also been a number of different languages present and in contact with each other. The southern Seward Peninsula and eastern Norton Sound area is home to Inupiat speakers of both the Malimiut and Qawiarraq dialects, Unaliq Yupiks, as well as Central Yupiks from Nelson Island who moved into the region. With all these languages and dialects in the same area, it is not surprising that they influenced each other linguistically or that bilingualism and even multilingualism became common. Even today in villages such as White Mountain and Unalakleet, many people know both Yupik and Inupiaq. In White Mountain most of those who speak an Eskimo language have Qawiarraq Inupiaq as their first language and learned Unaliq Yupik through contact with the people of nearby Golovin and Elim, which are predominantly Yupik. In Unalakleet with Malimiut and Qawiarraq Inupiaq in addition to Yupik, most older people are at least bilingual, with a passive knowledge of the third language, although some appear to be quite fluent in all three. The Bering Strait Inupiat have a similar tradition of bilingualism, since there was trade and communication for a long time with Siberian Eskimos, especially the Naukan people of East Cape, the eastern extremity of the Chukchi Peninsula.

Bilingualism seems to be traditional in many areas where different Native groups traded or lived side by side. The Inupiat along the upper Kobuk River have long communicated and intermarried with Koyukon Athabaskans of the upper Koyukuk River, and some Inupiaq families have moved to the Athabaskan area. Until recently, a number of Inupiat spoke fluent Koyukon in addition to their own language, and the presence of both groups in this area is revealed by place names in both languages. Similarly, the upper Kuskokwim River is home to both Athabaskans and Yupiks, and bilingualism exists there to this day. Cases of bilingualism where a person speaks more than one Native language are becoming increasingly rare, and today the vast majority of Native Alaskans who are bilingual speak English in addition to a Native language.

Given the well-established tradition of multilingualism in North-western Alaska, it seems ironic that many educators and missionaries of this century have done so much to promote monolingualism in English. Despite the fact that many Native groups throughout Alaska have demonstrated a capacity for learning and using the language of a neighbouring group in addition to their own, those promoting Western education and theology have in many cases gone to great lengths to discourage the use of Native languages in Alaska and replace them with English. For many, it was not sufficient that children learn English at school in addition to a Native language at home. Many educators encouraged children to learn English as their first and only language. Even today, many teachers and persons in positions of influence have a poor understanding of bilingualism and fail to see the educational value of learning more than one language. Their views may be imparted to parents, who as a rule do not accord Native language an important role in their children's education. Changing that attitude would be a significant step in support of Native languages in Alaska.

A Note on the Language Itself

All Eskimo languages are considered by linguists to be polysynthetic, which means that long words may be created from a single base or stem. Words begin with a stem whose meaning is expanded upon or transformed by the addition of suffixes, also called postbases. With a single exception, Eskimo languages have no prefixes. Since the articles on Canadian and Greenlandic Inuit in this volume contain grammatical overviews, I will not repeat the process for Inupiaq which is very similar in most grammatical features to the rest of Inuit. We note instead some distinctive aspects of Alaskan Inupiaq, however, since these differences are crucial to understanding among speakers of the various dialects. With contact among many Arctic groups increasing as a result of international efforts, Inuit desire very much to be able to communicate with each other in their own language rather than

a common language such as English which has been used to a large extent. In some cases a series of fairly simple rules will assist in converting one's own dialect to a neighbouring one and increase the ability to understand other Inuit. This sort of process is commonly employed by people attempting to deal with a language close to their own, for example, Spanish speakers trying to speak or understand Portuguese or Italian. Probably, elder Inupiat did something of the kind when they encountered other dialects of their language, unconsciously learning sound rules which accounted for correspondences between the dialects. No simple set of rules can be entirely effective in converting one dialect to another, but they can come close and greatly aid in understanding. I also mention some of the features which set Yupik languages apart from Inuit.

Sentence structure, or syntax, is very similar among all Inuit dialects and even among the Eskimo languages. Within Inuit, dialects are defined primarily by differences in lexicon, phonology and actual suffixes or morphology. In terms of phonology, Alaskan Inupiaq tends to be more conservative than Canadian and Greenlandic Inuit. The Western Inupiaq dialects - Malimiut and Seward Peninsula - show a great deal of differentiation within consonant clusters, which are subject to processes of assimilation as one moves further east. For instance, the word for 'fire' is *ikniq* in Western Alaskan Inupiaq, with a glottalized stop *k* preceding a nasal, a sequence which does not occur farther east (with the exception of the Ummarmiut and Netsilik dialects of Canada). Beginning with North Slope Inupiaq, assimilation rules operate regressively and limit differentiated consonant clusters, so that West Greenlandic has only one possible cluster, *ts*. Similarly, *qipmiq* 'dog' in Western Alaska shows a consonant cluster where other Inuit dialects have a geminate in this word, which comes out *qimmiq*. These consonant clusters of a stop plus continuant reflect historically differentiated clusters in Proto Eskimo as can be deduced from comparison with Yupik languages, which evidence *qikmiq* as the original stem from which modern forms derived.

Alaskan Inupiaq also retains many more traces of the original Proto Eskimo four-vowel system than any other type of Inuit. Historically, Eskimo had a schwa vowel (*a*) in addition to *a*, *i* and *u*, and Yupik languages retain this system. Most Inuit dialects changed the schwa to *a* or *i*, but many sub-dialects of Seward Peninsula Inupiaq still maintain a phonetic schwa in certain contexts. In fact, Diomedes has the full four-vowel system, with schwa in words like *emeq* 'water' and *ene* 'house, place', where other Inuit have *imiq* and *ini*.

Another modern reflection of the historical vowel system is found in the consonant palatalization which occurs in North Alaskan Inupiaq. When most of Inuit changed schwas to *i*, the language was then left with two 'types' of *i*, one derived from historical *i* and the other from schwa. In many dialects the two *i*'s are distinguished by their phonology. For example, following historical *i*, assibilation - a change from *t* to *c* or *s* - occurs, for example,

in the word *sisamat* 'four', which is *sitamat* in dialects that lack assibilation, e.g. Seward Peninsula Inupiaq. North Alaska Inupiaq also has palatalization of alveolar consonants (t, n, l, I which become s /ch, n, l, t) following historical *i*. Some velars (*k, g, n*) also become palatalized in the Malimiut dialect. Although assibilation is widespread, palatalization is found only in Alaska.

Seward Peninsula Inupiaq is distinguished by its processes of consonant weakening, which are prosodically motivated, resembling the consonant phonology of neighbouring Unaliq Central Yupik. Consonant weakening results in the lenition or deletion of many consonants: stops may turn to fricatives, and fricatives, in turn, become glides or drop completely. For example, 'meat' in Seward Peninsula is *nigi* rather than *niqu* as elsewhere. 'Sinew' is *iwalu* or *ialu*, rather than *ialu* as found in dialects without this process. Consonant weakening is most pronounced and regular in the Bering Strait dialect.

Many Alaskan Inupiaq dialects have undergone changes in the quality of their diphthongs or vowel clusters, and this phenomenon is most notable in the Kobuk dialect. There *au* and *ua* have merged in most people's speech, and both sound like a long *o*. Thus, in this dialect *qauq* 'forehead' and *quaq* 'frozen meat or fish' are pronounced identically. Similarly, *ai* and *ia* have merged to give a long *e* sound, so that the verb stems *qia-* 'cry' and *pai-* 'stay behind' rhyme. In addition the *iu* diphthong has come to sound like *ii*, so that *niu* 'leg' rhymes with *sii* 'shee fish'. The orthography, however, continues to reflect the distinction between diphthongs as found in other dialects.

Besides sound differences, it is largely vocabulary or lexical differences that distinguish Inuit dialects from one another. Often basic lexicon differs as with the word for 'sun' which is *masaq* in Seward Peninsula Inupiaq and *siqiniq* throughout most of the rest of the language. Similarly, 'walk' is *agui-* in Seward Peninsula dialects and some form of the stem *pisuk-* in the rest of Inuit. Despite such differences, Inuit languages nevertheless have a very large percentage of common vocabulary, and a vast number of word stems are found throughout a majority of dialects with the same, or a closely-related, meaning. For example, *agnaq* means 'woman' throughout Inuit, although in some dialects it has the additional meaning of 'mother'. Similarly, *nigi-* is used for 'eat' virtually throughout Inuit.

A more complex issue involves the suffixes or postbases which are added to the end of word stems, changing their meaning or adding to it. Although suffixes may differ a great deal from one dialect to another, the same suffix sometimes occurs in several dialects with a change of meaning. For instance, *nnuaq* lends a sense of make-believe to nouns in Inupiaq, as in the word *umiannuaq* 'toy boat', whereas in West Greenlandic it means 'dear little' as in *nuliannuaq* 'dear little wife'. Future time is indicated by a suffix in Inuit, but the actual suffix often changes with the dialect. In North Alaskan Inupiaq future time is indicated by *-niaq*, while in Seward Peninsula the future suffix is *-tiuq* and in West Greenlandic *-ssa* is an example of the type

of change that occurs across dialects. Other suffixes retain the same form and meaning throughout Inuit, such as *-qpak* which means 'big' almost everywhere.

The sort of differences I have described distinguish one Inuit dialect from another and limit intelligibility between them, except where speakers develop a familiarity with dialect differences and learn to understand Inuit from other areas easily. In Alaska there are many Inuit, especially older people, who can speak and understand dialects besides their own. Many Inuit feel that multi-dialectalism should be encouraged so that Inuit from different areas are not forced to resort to a common foreign language such as English in order to communicate.

The Yupik languages are quite different from Inuit and, although there are lexical similarities between these two branches of Eskimo, there is virtually no mutual intelligibility. Phonologically, Yupik is characterized by retention of the full four-vowel system from Proto Eskimo including the schwa, which is restricted in its distribution in Yupik and cannot occur long or cluster with another vowel. Yupik languages all have a prosodic system of stress assignment, which typically causes alternate syllables to be stressed. Yupik prosodic phenomena are varied and change with the dialect and language. In the Central Alaskan Yupik word *nerciqsugnczrquq* 'he will probably eat', the first syllable (*ner*) and the third (*sug*) are stressed according to the alternate syllable principle. Final syllables never receive stress. When stressed, a short vowel in an open syllable will lengthen. For instance, *qayani* 'in the kayak' has stress on the second *a*, which is automatically lengthened. Central Alaskan Yupik also has a process of consonant gemination which occurs before long vowels, so that *qayaani* 'in his kayak' has a geminate (long) *y*. Siberian Yupik lacks consonant gemination entirely and, instead, the same word has an overlong vowel in the second syllable. Alutiiq phonology is characterized by complicated syllable adjustment rules which cause consonants to become fortis or lenis and may shorten long syllables. The distinctive prosodic processes which occur throughout Yupik have given rise to the related phenomenon of consonant weakening in neighbouring Seward Peninsula Inupiaq, as discussed above.

Yupik also differs from Inuit in terms of morphology, and suffixes are often quite different. One notable difference is the lack of a separate ablative noun case ending in Yupik, which uses the modalis/instrumental case to cover this function. Where Inuit distinguishes between *-min* 'from' and the instrumental *-mik*, Yupik uses *-mek* for both.

Eskimo languages offer fruitful ground for comparative studies, and a joint project between the Alaska Native Language Center in Fairbanks and the Institute for Eskimology of the University of Copenhagen is currently under way to produce a dictionary comparing stems and suffixes in all Eskimo languages.

Written and Literary Languages

The earliest writing of Native languages in Alaska was by explorers who sometimes compiled lists of words in the languages they encountered. The lists that have come down to us today vary in quality and therefore also in their usefulness. They typically contain words in a European language accompanied by a translation in a Native language, sometimes in more than one dialect. The Native language entries are often written in a rather haphazard orthography - either Cyrillic or Roman - depending on the language of the writer, making them frequently difficult to interpret. Sometimes Native language entries can be understood quite clearly when their legible and orthographic symbols are given relatively standard values. The first written record of Central Yupik, for example, is a clearly written list of words made by a member of Captain Cook's expedition of 1778. Word lists may reveal old forms of words still in use or even old words which have gone out of use but may still be remembered by someone. On the other hand some lists have many entries which are incomprehensible to those familiar with the modern language, suggesting either a sweeping change in the language since the list was compiled, or more likely, an orthography so unsystematic as to be undecipherable.

Following the explorers, missionaries began to write down many Native languages in Alaska, largely for the purpose of disseminating literature. This writing was intended to be read by Native people themselves and an attempt was made to develop systematic spelling which could be used with some ease. Aleut and Alutiiq were written in a fairly accurate Cyrillic orthography devised by Father Veniaminov. Russian Orthodox missionaries also did some writing in Central Yupik, although most was done by Moravians and Catholics. During the 1890s, the Yupik shaman Uyaquq, also known as Helper Neck, was converted to Christianity by Moravians and began to write his language. Beginning with a rather crude set of pictographs, he changed it into a phonetic writing system of remarkable linguistic accuracy, translating large parts of the Bible. By Uyaquq's original principle, words which sound the same are written with the same pictographic symbol. This pictographic writing spread and was used as far north as the Kotzebue Sound area, where a few old people still remember some of it.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Moravian Protestants and Catholics came to south-west Alaska and devised Yupik orthographies, using the Roman alphabet, in order to translate religious works. The religious writing also sparked a modicum of secular literacy. Some public notices were posted up in Yupik, but reading continued to be associated with religious texts for the most part. A tradition of letter-writing in Yupik developed, however, as Yupiks left their home villages to receive medical treatment for tuberculosis or else to attend one of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' secondary boarding schools. Those who could not write Yupik often

wrote in English, relying on someone to translate. Letter-writing has decreased today since most villages are connected to the outside world by telephone and have their own high schools, so that teenagers do not have to leave home to be educated. We have no examples of creative writing or diaries in Yupik.

Modern phonemic orthographies were not developed for Alaska's Eskimo languages until the middle of this century. In contrast, West Greenlandic has had an accurate and efficient writing system since Samuel Kleinschmidt's grammar was published using his orthography in 1851.

In 1947 Roy Ahmaogak, a North Slope Inupiaq, worked with a linguist named Eugene Nida to develop the modern Inupiaq orthography which is still in use today in a somewhat revised form. They developed the system in order to translate religious materials, and Ahmaogak and Webster published the Inupiaq New Testament in 1966 (the Inupiaq orthography is described below.)

Central Yupik did not get its current writing system until the early 1970s when Irene Reed, Osahito Miyaoka, Michael Krauss, Paschal Afcan, Martha Teeluk and Elsie Mather worked together on the language at the University of Alaska. The Alutiiq orthography was designed by Jeffry Leer in the 1970s. St. Lawrence Island (Siberian) Yupik was written in the 1960s by David Shinen, a missionary to the island, and then revised by Michael Krauss. Siberian Yupik has been written in the Soviet Union since the early years of that nation's existence when minority languages were studied in order to teach them in schools alongside Russian. From 1932 to 1936 Soviet Eskimo writing used the Roman alphabet, but this was replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet the following year.

While high rates of literacy are reported for Inuit in Greenland and Eastern Canada, literacy is not particularly widespread among speakers of Eskimo languages in Alaska, due, apparently, to multiple factors. In comparison with Alaska, Greenland represents a single language community with a large number of speakers, who can all be served by common broadcast and print media, since West Greenlandic is accepted as the standard dialect for use in official capacities. Alaska, on the other hand, has twenty Native languages, and Inupiaq has fewer than 5,000 speakers, compared to Greenland's 45,000. Lacking a standard dialect, Inupiaq has significant dialect variation, and many Inupiaq speakers do not readily understand - or readily accept - materials or broadcasts in dialects not their own. While writing in Greenland and Eastern Canada began with missionaries just as in Alaska, it came to have secular uses early on, so that today the written language is used in a variety of ways like other written languages. The writing of Eskimo languages in Alaska, however, remained associated almost exclusively with religion until the advent of bilingual education in the early 1970s. The use of writing in the classroom has meant increased literacy ability among school-age children, although the practice of writing Native languages has still not spread significantly to domains

outside the church or school. For example there has been little literary production by writers and poets in them, nor does any newspaper use a Native language (the newspaper of Bethel at the heart of the Central Yupik area, where many Yupik monolinguals still live, is in English.) The writing of Native languages for personal, non-public reasons is a subject of some interest. There was at one time a fair amount of letter-writing in Central Yupik, for example, although it appears to have decreased with the rise of English literacy and probably also because of a general decrease in personal written correspondence, e.g. because of increased use of telephones which are now available in most villages.

Inupiaq writing system

Consonants

p	t		ch (ty)	k	q	(?)
	s	sr (r) 1	l w	kh (xl)	qh (X)	h
	z	r (r)	l(ly)	g (Y)	g (k)	
m	n		ii	n		
w			Y			

(Where the value of a symbol may not be evident, the equivalent IPA symbol follows in parentheses. z and w are found only in Seward Peninsula dialects. Palatal consonants other than y - ch, j , l, n - are not found in Seward Peninsula.)

Short Vowels

a i u

Long Vowels and Diphthongs

aa ii uu
ai ia au
ua iu ui

Inupiaq orthography is linguistically quite accurate and relatively simple to learn, lacking the complicated conventions and rules of Yupik, for example (see below). Despite its straightforward nature, Inupiaq writing has the disadvantage of differing seriously from other Inuit languages in its use of several crucial symbols. Inupiaq uses g where other Inuit use r (for the voiced uvular fricative), Inupiaq uses n for others' ng and has y where other Inuit have, to name some of the major differences. Special symbols not found on standard typewriters or computers make Inupiaq hard to type or print and difficult for other Inuit to read. The lack of standardization in

writing, bemoaned by some Inupiat who propose to change the orthography, is counterbalanced by the fact that Inupiaq writing was designed by a well-loved North Slope Inupiaq and stands as something of a memorial to his life and work. This orthography appears in the translation of the New Testament. In addition the special symbols 'look Inupiaq' and are virtually unique to the language. While many older people feel sentimental about the current writing, which they worked long and hard to learn, many younger people are eager to increase communication and exchange among all Inuit and have proposed a revised orthography which corrects the difficulties noted above. If the new writing is adopted, it need not replace the old system all at once but can be introduced gradually as was done in Greenland in the 1970s when orthographic reform was instituted.

Although problems with Inupiaq orthography are largely political, a few linguistic complications do exist. Principal among these are the case of diphthong levelling in the Kobuk dialect, where pairs of diphthongs (ai and ia, au and ua) have lost their distinctness and are now pronounced in the same way by most people (in addition iu has become identical with ii). On this point the orthography deviates from its basic phonemic principle, which would dictate that these identical sounds not be distinguished in writing. In the interests of maintaining standardized Inupiaq writing throughout Alaska, the diphthongs are kept distinct in writing just as they are in other dialects, where they are also distinct in pronunciation. The result is that Kobuk Inupiaq must depend on memorization, morphological segmentation and recognition of several phonological processes to tell the correct written form of a diphthong.

By comparison with Inupiaq, writing in Central Yupik presents a different picture altogether. Since this language is not spoken outside Alaska, there are no serious problems of international standardization. Yupik and Inuit are very different languages, and similar orthographies would not do much to facilitate communication between them. All modern Yupik writing systems in Alaska were developed with a view to their printability, so they have no special symbols beyond those found on a standard keyboard. As with all phonemic orthographies, dialect differences pose problems to standardized writing, but as with Inupiaq these have not been insurmountable. Yupik writing appears to be more difficult to learn than Inupiaq, however, because of regular prosodic phonological processes which alter sounds depending on their position in a word. For instance in Central Yupik, consonant gemination is usually regular before a long vowel. Long vowels may be either basic-in which case one writes a double vowel - or prosodic in the second of two short, open syllables -in which case one writes a single vowel, because the length is predictable. *Kiiq* 'heat' has basic vowel length, but in *ilumun* 'truly' the first u is lengthened by the prosodic rule. Many voiceless consonants are written double in Central Yupik (e.g. *rr* in *aturru* 'sing it!'), but since a consonant is necessarily voiceless when next to another voiceless consonant, it is 'undoubled' in its spelling (e.g. *r* in *aturtuq* 'he is singing'). Such 'automatic' sound rules are typical of Yupik languages.

Native Language Maintenance and Survival in Alaska

The twentieth century has brought major changes to all of Alaska's Native peoples, due especially to the arrival of large numbers of outsiders and to technological advances of the era such as the air-plane and television. The changes have strongly affected language along with other areas of culture. Native languages have changed to reflect the changing cultural situation by coining and borrowing words to describe new items. In Inupiaq, for example, words for 'air-plane', 'flour', and 'chewing gum' came into use over the past century. With most Native language speakers now bilingual, it is common to hear English words sprinkled throughout a conversation in an Eskimo or Indian language. Even grammatical changes based on English may occur, especially among those whose English is very fluent.

The impact of English extends far beyond linguistic changes, however, and today the Native languages of Alaska are severely threatened in their very existence by the rising tide of English, which in many areas has begun to replace the Native language. Because of this encroachment by English, in most Native communities of the State, the youngest speakers of the Native language are aged between 30 and 50. This is the case of Inupiaq, although with some variation. A couple of villages, e.g. Wainwright on the North Slope, have fluent Inupiaq speakers in their twenties and possibly in their teens. At the other end of the scale are towns like Unalakleet, Nome or Kotzebue, which are home to Inupiat who are well into their fifties but only speak English. Whether the age of the youngest speaker of a language is 25 or 55, the effect is essentially the same, and the future viability of the language is placed in grave doubt, since as older speakers die off, there are no new ones to take their place. By all indications, no Inupiat children are learning Inupiaq as their first language.

The conditions which have brought Alaska's Native languages to this precarious position are numerous and fairly complex. They resemble the conditions which have produced similar situations with minority languages in other parts of the world. Of the factors which have brought about a decline in the languages, one is clearly increased access for Native Alaskans to the outside English-speaking world due to frequent and easy transport out of the village, especially by air-plane. Jet flights to bush Alaska now make it easy to go to the cities of Anchorage or Fairbanks, even for a weekend. Of course, air-planes afford increased access to Native villages for others.

The effects of modern communications and media on Native languages have been mixed at best. On the one hand, devices such as telephones and citizen-band radios have become common, and their use is not associated with any particular language. On the other hand, mass media by their very nature serve large groups and are difficult to adapt for Native language use in a State that has twenty Native languages. In the Inupiaq area, for

instance, radio programmes are broadcast locally from centres such as Barrow, Nome and Kotzebue. Inupiaq is often heard on the radio in Barrow and Kotzebue, whereas it is rare in Nome, which has a large non-Native population and a listening area that includes speakers of three Eskimo languages. Television is a much greater problem when it comes to Native language use, since most programmes are made entirely outside the State. There is almost no local programming done in the Inupiaq areas of the State, and the proliferation of televisions in Inupiaq homes, where they often remain switched on for a large part of the day, means a virtual barrage of English in the very living rooms which were once solidly 'Inupiaq-speaking territory'. The exception here is station KYUK in Bethel which serves a largely Yupik-speaking population and provides some television and radio programmes in Yupik, notably a newscast and some entertainment programmes, including a game show. KYUK provides the only Native language television broadcasts in Alaska.

With few if any alternatives to English programming in most of the State, the overall effect of television is to provide a constant background of English language in Native Alaskan homes, a fact which cannot help but work in favour of the increased use of English. The influence of the content of television programmes on the viewing audience has been a topic of much discussion in recent years as it pertains to the American population at large. The impact is undoubtedly greater insofar as the culture represented on the screen and the language used differ from those of the viewer; the 'culture gap' between an Alaskan village and a Hollywood television studio is obviously tremendous. The vulnerability of children to the cultural influence of television is considerable, and for Alaskan children it must be significant that they see their heroes speaking English **or** hear their favourite music sung in English. Popular (Western) music in Native languages is quite rare in Alaska, although not in Canada and Greenland.

Another important factor in the decline of Native languages is the institutions which favour or use only English. Most offices, for example, conduct most of their business in English. Although Native corporations may use some Native language in intra-office dealings, writing and communication with other organizations is in English. Many churches still include Native languages in their services to varying degrees, although it is usually older people who participate in the singing of hymns and the reading of prayers or sermons in Native languages. While many churches have made significant efforts to translate their message into Native languages, access to most religious materials is still through English, and most priests and ministers do not speak a Native language.

Schools, public and parochial, have long been regarded as bastions of the English language, as discussed in the Introduction above. So great was the desire of teachers and officials to teach schoolchildren English that, in their zeal, they punished children who spoke a Native language in the school grounds. With teachers who spoke only English -the few Native teachers

there were could be dismissed for speaking to the pupils in their own language - children who knew only a Native language often understood very little of what transpired in the schoolroom. The harsh and degrading treatment, and the confusion of receiving instruction in a language they did not understand, are bitter memories for many Native adults today.

This attitude has changed significantly in recent years, and ill-treatment has ceased. Bilingual education programmes are now provided in many schools, which are no longer controlled by the Federal Government but are organized in local school districts and run by local school boards, whose membership is chosen in open elections. Faced with the possibility of teaching Native languages as part of the school curriculum, many communities have chosen this option, although many others have not. All Inupiaq schools have instruction in Inupiaq language and culture (see Edna MacLean's article for a description of the role of Native language in education).

Native languages in Alaska today enjoy a considerable degree of official encouragement. The State legislature has created and funded the Alaska Native Language Center at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, for the purpose of documenting and perpetuating Native languages in the State. Other organizations have also been created with public money to deal with matters concerning Native language use in schools and society at large. For example, the North Slope Borough -the governing body of the Arctic coast and adjoining areas -has established a Commission on Language, History and Culture. Several school districts in Native areas maintain centres devoted to the production of school materials dealing with local language and culture.

While organizations concerned with Native language and culture serve to document Native culture and produce written works, it is not at all clear that their efforts can ensure maintenance of the oral language. In the Inupiaq areas of Alaska, for example, attrition of the language continues in spite of efforts to counteract this trend. The reasons are complex and not always well understood. It is clear, however, that most people feel the need to learn English. Most, if not all, regard the need for their children to learn English as paramount, hoping thereby to spare them the difficulties and inconveniences that may arise when living in the United States with only limited English, or none at all.

Practical concerns, in other words the requirements of the educational and legal systems and of society as a whole make English a language of great importance in Alaska which virtually everybody desires to learn. In addition, modern American culture, with its technology, consumer goods and entertainment industry, also makes English appear desirable and even glamorous, since it is used in the mass media and advertising. While these factors make knowledge of English appear essential to the conduct of daily life and may seem to dwarf the importance of Native languages by comparison, there is an additional factor which may influence the decline of Native

languages in many areas of Alaska. Many of the institutions which came into early contact with Alaska's Native population, churches and schools, for instance, placed little value on the cultures and languages of the peoples they encountered. Their negative attitude was evident from the extent to which they attempted to change Native people and replace traditional language, religion and various aspects of culture. Many Native people were doubtless influenced by the negative portrait painted by the outsiders, which placed high value on the new ways being introduced and little on the old.

Although Native languages are in grave danger of disappearing in some areas of Alaska, they remain strong in others. Central Yupik is spoken by almost the entire Native population along the lower Kuskokwim River, in the villages of the Bering Sea coast north of the mouth of the Kuskokwim as far as Scammon Bay and in some villages in the Bristol Bay area. Along the Yukon and middle Kuskokwim Rivers, however, Central Yupik is no longer spoken by many children. On St. Lawrence Island the vast majority of people of all ages speak Siberian Yupik as their first language. In many places where the language is used by all age groups, some people, especially children or young adults, cannot speak it, mainly because they grew up in an English-speaking environment far from the village. Those involved in Native language survival are concerned about this group, because English speakers often cause others around them to speak in English out of courtesy and so facilitate communication. The effect is then to introduce more English into a community which would otherwise use only Yupik. Some people believe that the use of the language is weakened when people who would otherwise converse in Yupik use English with each other.

Regarding the future of Alaska's Native languages, we should consider the status of Yupik in the areas which retain it as their primary language. Will these Yupik languages remain entrenched for some time to come, or will they go the way of many other Native languages in North America and begin to fade? Several possibilities emerge. Firstly, the vigour of Yupik among certain groups maybe due to particular historical and cultural factors which have helped to maintain the languages. Secondly, communities may become aware of the value of maintaining their language and take measures to maintain them. According to these scenarios, the attitudes of speakers toward their language and cultural situation will help to preserve the languages, whether these attitudes are traditional or new, since they are based on heightened awareness of the precarious situation of many minority languages like their own,

Another possibility is that Yupik language maintenance is due not to any enduring cultural attitudes or recently increased understanding of the situation but merely to the fact that the factors that have worked against Native languages in other areas have taken longer to penetrate and operate in these Yupik areas. The relatively large number of central Yupik speakers and the self-contained isolation of St. Lawrence Island may account for a

different 'timetable' of cultural change and language shift, even though the same changes may eventually take place in these areas as elsewhere. According to this scenario, the factors that have preserved Yupik cannot continue to do so for much longer, and these languages are in fact only fifty or sixty years 'behind' other languages in the shift to English.

A few facts shed further light on the situation of Yupik. First, there appear to be cultural attitudes among some Yupiks that apparently work in favour of language preservation. Many Central Yupik speakers regard Natives who only speak English as 'kassamirtuq' or 'imitating white men', and this practice is regarded as undesirable. There is a negative value placed on speaking too much English and, to some extent at least, Central Yupik children are taught to believe that Yupik is the best language for them. For a long time, the heavily Yupik-speaking Kuskokwim region has been considered the poorest in Alaska and this fact too may have some relevance for language preservation, since people in this area have been less exposed to outside influence than others.

St. Lawrence Island also appears to be culturally conservative in certain ways. It remains a major locale of whale and walrus hunting, and Yupik dancing and festivals are still to be found. Many St. Lawrence Islanders recognize the threat to their language from English, being fully aware of the plight of Inupiaq on the mainland, and desire very much to see Yupik maintained as the principallanguage of their island. St. Lawrence Islanders have full control over their island and have taken steps to limit visits by outsiders, motivated by considerations far beyond those of language. Although almost no one wants to see his language die out, there are a number of St. Lawrence Islanders for whom language preservation is not an abstract issue and who therefore maintain Yupik as their home language, being well aware of the large number of Alaskan Native homes that have shifted to English.

Traditional attitudes and values, added to isolation and greater awareness of the language situation, probably work in favour of language maintenance on St. Lawrence Island. However, it is not possible to turn these points around and say that areas where children do not speak the Native language lack these elements. Certainly, many areas of Alaska are isolated and fairly conservative culturally, e.g., Little Diomed Island where Inupiaq is hardly spoken by anyone under the age of forty. Exactly what distinguishes one situation from another remains unclear.

Even in the Yupik areas where the language is considered strong, English has made significant inroads. For instance, in the mainland village of Chevak, many children no longer speak Central Yupik although the language was considered vigorous up to a decade ago. In the Kuskokwim villages, as well as on St. Lawrence Island, there is now a small minority of Yupik children who speak only English or whose English is better than their Yupik. Such children may be considered a threat to the Native language, since they lead those around them to use English in their presence. The example is then set for Yupiks to speak to each other in English in their own

village. The sheer quantity of English spoken has increased in nearly all Alaskan villages over the past decade with the advent of television.

Clearly, the influence of Western culture on the life of Alaska's Native population is great and is increasing with the growth of such technology as television, video machines and jet aircraft. There is of course no reason *a priori* why Native culture and language cannot exist alongside any sort of modern technology, since in principle any group can take over technology and institutions and use them to good advantage. An insidious enemy of Native languages in the United States is probably the mind-set of so many English-speaking Americans which causes them to disregard the regular use of languages other than English or even to be openly hostile to it. The principle of the melting pot, whereby immigrants from all over the world came to the United States and assimilated the culture and language of those around them, is strong in the minds of many Americans. Some perceive a threat to the supremacy of English from other languages and have formed organizations to support the adoption of English as the official language of the country and to put an end to the use of other languages in bilingual education and other services for non-English speakers, e.g. ballot translations. This movement is directed against 'foreign' languages, and not Native languages, and is the product of a minority which is not yet active in Alaska. Nevertheless, discouragement of Native languages has marked Alaska's history and is still felt. Even though some have changed their attitudes, many people continue to discourage or disregard languages other than English.

In his article 'The Teachings of Eskimo: Alaska Native Languages in Transition', Pekka Sammallahti proposes elements for a language policy to favour the maintenance of Alaska's Native Languages and encourage their use among the younger generations. He states that 'the continuation of the Native languages and cultures, as well as their development, rests heavily on decisions made for the following aspects of life: school, mass media, administration. Few languages, if any, are able to survive and serve their speakers in the long run if any of these three aspects is neglected.' Here are his main points regarding language policy:

1. The benefits of bilingualism should be stressed, despite the tendency of many Americans to avoid childhood bilingualism.
2. The educational system should encourage language development, seeing Native language as a resource rather than an obstacle and making it both an object of study and a tool of learning. Bilingual education will further serve to bridge the gap between school and home experience by providing for the use of the Native language in both contexts.
3. Official status should be accorded to local Native languages, which will serve a variety of functions besides communication on a personal level.
4. Native organizations should govern the use of mass media in their areas and produce programmes locally.

If Sammallahti is right, then Alaskans who support the continuation of Native language will need to concentrate their efforts on the role of the schools as well as on the use of Native language in the media, official functions and community services.

Culture and Change for Inupiat and Yupiks of Alaska

Edna Ahgeak MacLean

Cultural Heritage of the Alaskan Inuit

The forces of nature determined the life-style of the forebears of the Inupiat and the Yupiks, i.e. the Inuit (Eskimo) people of Northern and Western Alaska. Their ancestors lived along the coast of the Arctic Ocean and the Bering Sea in some of the most severe environmental conditions known to humankind. They survived and flourished by harvesting their food and fuel and the raw materials from which they made clothing and housing and the implements of culture on land and sea. The resourcefulness of those forebears and the cultural legacy that they have left are a source of pride to their descendants. The latter are determined that the culture that they bequeathed will not disappear from the earth.

According to Inupiaq legend, Inuit migrated from Siberia to Alaska to escape from other warring groups. It is said that a large group of Inuit settled in a place called Utuqqaq, along a river which they also called Utuqqaq (located near Wainwright, in northern Alaska). Warring groups descended upon them periodically and some of the Utuqqaq people, wanting to live in a more peaceful environment, uprooted themselves once more and went further east. They settled in a place called Pinguksragruk (the exact location is unknown to the author. The translation of the Inupiaq name indicates an area containing protuberances from the ground; there are areas with many pingos, large mounds formed over the frozen cores of former lakes, such as in the Tuktoyaktuk region of the Mackenzie River Delta in Western Canada.) No one knows how long the early Inuit remained in Pinguksragruk. Each time a warring society reached their domain they moved, eventually populating the Arctic sea coast. It is said that this is how the Inuit

people reached Greenland (Ahmaogak and Webster, 1968). Modern Greenlanders say that they are descendants of people of Utuqqaq. So they are told by their tradition bearers, the elders.

The Inuit who migrated northwards and eastwards developed a culture based primarily on whaling, hunting seals and walrus in the coastal areas, and hunting for caribou and fishing in the interior. The wealth of the sea enabled them to establish fairly large, permanent communities centred around Point Barrow (Nuvuk) and Point Hope (Tikiraq) on the North Slope, and at Cape Prince of Wales (Kinigin) on the east coast of Seward Peninsula.

Activities within the whaling communities were centred in the whaling captains' traditional communal organization called *the qargi* in Inupiaq. *Uqaluktuat* 'life experience stories' and *unipkaat* 'legends' were told in the *qargit* (plural form of *qargi*). Here people learned their oral history, songs and chants. Young boys and men learned to make tools and weapons while they listened to the traditions of their forefathers.

The lives of the Inuit revolved around the seasons and the abundance and availability of resources that changed with them. During the dark period from November to January, when the sun does not rise above the horizon, the Inupiaq people had fun dancing and feasting in the *qargit*. After the joyful activities, the men worked on their hunting weapons and the women sewed new clothing while waiting for the two-star constellation *Aagruuk* (the Morning Star) to appear on the horizon in late December. The appearance of *Aagruuk* indicates that the daylight hours will soon grow longer. After *Aagruuk* had firmly established itself in the skies, the men began going to their winter hunting areas where they hunted polar bears and seals. In early January the Inupiaq people cleaned their homes and ice cellars and put new wicks in their seal oil lamps.

In late January and February, when the days had become longer and homes and ice cellars had been cleaned, they donned their new clothing and held competitive games outside. They played games of skill and endurance. There was a keen sense of competition for excellence among men in each *qargit*. Groups went from house to house shouting 'Hii! Hii!' It was a celebration of the renewal of light and of life.

In March the whaling captains and their crews began preparing their whaling implements and boats. The old skin of the whaling boat was removed and put outside to dry and be bleached by the sun. The boat frame was prepared to receive a new covering the following month.

Ice cellars are cleaned in early April. In a whaling community the ice cellars must be cleaned to ensure that the whale which the captain will receive has a clean place to put its *atigi* (parka). The meat and the *maktak* (skin with blubber) of the whale is referred to as the *atigi* which is given to the whaling captain by the whale. Out on the ice, when the whale is being butchered, the head is removed and returned to the ocean. This allows the soul or spirit of the whale to return to its home and don a new parka. Much respect is given to the whale, as it is to all of the animals that give themselves to the Inuit people.

During the month of April, too, the whaling captain's wife is busy supervising other women while they sew on a new skin cover of at least five **ugruk** (bearded seal) skins for the whaling-boat frame.

In April smaller Arctic seals give birth to their young out on the Arctic ice. The female polar bears have already left their winter dens with their cubs the previous month. In the interior it is time to hunt the caribou that migrate north for the summer. The land is awakening. In late April, the whaling crews go out on the ice and put up camp to wait for migrating whales.

In May, the whaling season is at its peak. Many whales migrate along the open leads and under the ice. There is great anticipation and waiting; when a whale is caught, there is joy and excitement. The whole community is one in spirit and there is jubilation. The seals, with their young, sun themselves on the ice. Eider ducks begin their migration eastward along the arctic ice. Everything is alive. The ice on the rivers loosens and begins to break up. There is no darkness, for the sun never dips below the horizon.

The whaling season ends in the first week of June, as the sea ice begins to grow soft and unsafe. Many families go goose-hunting in late May and June to gather the newly-laid eggs but hurry back to be part of the whaling celebration called **Nalukaitaq**, which is still a central part of Inupiaq culture. Each successful **umialik** (whaling captain) prepares and offers a feast for the entire village, sharing the meat and **maktak** of the whale with all the people. To be a successful **umialik** and to offer a **Nalukataq** to the village is to occupy the most prestigious position in Inupiaq society.

In Point Hope the **Nalukataq** feasting and dancing usually last for three days. In Barrow each feast lasts a day. The celebration takes its name from the traditional activity of tossing people into the air on a blanket made of four bearded seal skins sewn together. Men and women hold the blanket which has loop handles all around the circumference. A jumper gets on the blanket and allows the people to stretch the blanket tightly and then forcefully propel the person into the air. The people admire the acrobatic feats of the jumpers and laugh good-naturedly at their failures. During this activity and throughout the whole day of feasting, men and women sing songs for the **Nalukataq**. During **Nalukataq** everyone receives new boots and parka covers.

After the whaling celebrations in late June, many families go camping. They harvest fish, caribou and ducks. In Point Hope, it is time to gather eggs from the sea bird colonies on cliffs along the coast. The tundra is dotted with families living in tents, enjoying life and harvesting the bounty of the land and sea which is so freely given during the summer season.

August is the time to dry meat and fish and fill the ice cellars in preparation for the winter to come. Walrus-hunting, which began in July, is still in season. At this time the walrus hide and blubber is set aside to ferment into **urraq**, a delicacy which is an acquired taste. The sun begins to dip below the horizon each evening. At this time the caribou shed the velvet

from their antlers. The ocean fog rolls in and out. And there is mist in the air. It is all very beautiful.

Frost comes in late August and early September. The young eider ducks and other birds begin their migration south. It is the time for fall whaling. The shore ice has long since drifted away, so the whaling boats leave from the shore and wait for the returning bowhead whales to pass. Now people make nets and snowshoes for use later on in the fall.

The ground, lakes, rivers, and lagoons freeze over and are covered with snow in October. Many people go ice fishing. The caribou are rutting, and it is getting darker. The people who spent summer in tents scattered along the Arctic coast have returned to the villages. Winter is settling in.

After the separation of the summer months the villagers begin socializing with other village groups. During the latter part of December and early January a social and economic gathering may be held in one of the villages. This gathering is called *Kiugiqsuat*, the Messenger Feast. The *umialit* (whaling captains) and their crews host these gatherings. An *umialik* and his crew usually spend a few years preparing for *Kivgiquat*. Food is gathered and stored, gifts are made or hunted for, new clothing and numerous other preparations are made for the gathering. During *Kivgiquat* partners from different villages exchange gifts. The *umialit* show the extent of their wealth and power through *Kiugiqsuat*, the celebration which brings Inupiat from different villages together and strengthens their social ties (Spencer, 1959).

The last Messenger Feast on the North Slope of Alaska was held in Wainwright (Alaska) in 1914. Presently the people of arctic Alaska are revitalizing the tradition of the Messenger Feast. January 1988 saw the first celebration of the Messenger Feast in Barrow in eighty years. True to the spirit of *Kivgiquat* several pledges were made that were directly related to social and political alliances. Additionally, one village vowed to use the memories of their elders to enhance the celebration for the following year. This cultural revitalization can only add to the richness of the lives of contemporary Inupiat.

Oral Literature through Legends, Accounts of Life Experiences and Songs

Our languages are reflections of our world views which are shaped by the natural and supernatural environment in which we live. Oral literature reflects what is important to us. In the absence of a written record, oral literature contains the history and transfers the wisdom of society.

Much of Inupiaq and Yupik oral literature focuses on the interaction between the natural and supernatural. Inupiaq oral literature falls into two

categories. The *unipkaat* (legends) are accounts of the travels and lives of people at a time when humans could become animals and vice versa, and such transformations are a recurring theme of the *unipkaat*. The main characters of the legends usually have shamanistic powers. *unipkaat* may contain episodes of *anatkut* (shamans) changing themselves into animals or birds, thus acquiring the attributes (e.g. strength, flight and even appetite) associated with each animal.

The second category of oral literature consists of stories and life experiences in a more recent setting, called *quliaqtuat* (those that are told). They may also contain episodes of humans becoming animals, but their characters can be identified through genealogies of modern Inupiat.

The themes of grandparent and grandchild, of the young woman who refuses to marry, of the orphan and of successful hunters are found throughout Inupiaq and Yupik stories. Legends and life experience stories tell of preferred modes of behaviour, the consequences of misbehaviour or non-adherence to taboos, and also entertain. The legends are the oral history of the Inupiat and the Yupiks. Many of the stories contain songs which were used by the shamans when performing their feats. Shamans were active well into the twentieth century. The following account was given by an old Inupiaq man in the early 1960s. He observed the activities of at least four shamans in Barrow while a young boy.

Then in one of the nights Masapiluk and Atuqtuaq, two of the more powerful ones (shamans), with Kuutchiuraq as their third, all went out. We did not know why they went out, leaving Igalaq behind. They were gone for quite a while; then they began returning one by one. When Kuutchiuraq and Atuqtuaq emerged through the *katak* (inner trapdoor in subterranean sod houses leading into the living area), Igalaq would call them by name and touch them on the crown of the head. Masapiluk did not return with the two.

Finally Igalaq said, 'Let him do as he pleases.' Then he left the *katak* 'trapdoor' area and came to sit on the sleeping platform. As we waited expecting him (Masapiluk), all of a sudden from the entrance hallway a polar bear began entering! It was growling! It stayed in the entrance hallway for a while then began coming towards the *katak*. I watched the *katak* intently. As I was watching it, a person's head began emerging. When it surfaced it was carrying pieces of blubber in its mouth! It was also carrying blubber in its arms. It was growling. Igalaq just watched him. He did not do anything. Finally it entered. After sitting down in the middle of the floor with its legs spread out, it placed all of the blubber it was carrying between its legs and began eating. As I recall, it ate a lot of blubber. Oil was dripping out through the man's labret holes. When he finished he went out. When he began entering again carrying blubber, Igalaq went down to the *katak* and gave him a good slap on the crown of the head. He disappeared into the entrance hallway and then emerged later without the blubber.

(Ahnatook, circa 1961, from Suvlu Tape collection of Inupiaq stories, currently being transcribed and translated by the author.)

Some times the shamans used their powers to entertain themselves and others.

One night, they tied Kuutchiuraq up with his head touching his feet and with his hands behind his back. He asked them to tie twine to him. When the lights were turned out we heard a loon rustling about making its characteristic call, but it was not leaving the house this time! It stayed in the house. We could hear it flying about. After some time had passed, we finally heard it landing. When the lights were lit, lo and behold! all the holes in the house were connected with the twine!
(Almatook, c. 1961, from Suvlu Tape collection of Inupiaq stories currently being transcribed and translated by the author.)

Drum singing and dancing are popular with the Inupiat and Yupiks. In the old days there were songs to appease the spirits of nature, call the animals and heal or do harm to others. Songs which told of individual experiences or group happenings were composed, choreographed and then sung in front of an audience. This tradition continues. Songs have been composed which tell of someone's first airplane ride, using an outboard motor for the first time or of someone's visit to another village. More recently, an Inupiaq dance group from the village of Wainwright, Alaska, travelled to California. A song and dance routine has been created telling of their trip.

Language as a Reflection of the Environment

The concept of interdependence stands out in the structure of the Inupiaq and Yupik languages. Each word has a marker which identifies its relation to the other words in the sentence. There is no set order of words in a sentence just as there is no way of determining what will happen next in nature. Man cannot control nature. But as each event happens, a causal effect occurs which creates special relationships between the components of the happening. The following Inupiaq statement *agnam aitchugaa anun suppunmik* - 'the woman is giving the man a gun' - can be said in an additional eleven ways without changing the meaning.

1. *Agnum anun suppunmik aitchugaa.*
2. *Agnum suppunmik aitchuguu anun .*
3. *Suppunmik anun aitchugaa agnam.*
4. *Suppunmik aitchugaa agnam anun.*
5. *Suppunmik agnam aanun aitchugaa.*
6. *Aitchugaa agnam anum suppunmik.*
7. *Aitchugaa anun agnam suppunmik.*
8. *Aitchugaa suppunmik agnam anun.*
9. *Aqun agnam aitchugaa suppunmik.*
10. *Arpln aitchugaa agnam suppunmik.*
11. *Anun suppunmik aitchugaa agnam.*

The word *agnam* 'woman' has the marker *m* which identifies it as the subject of the sentence. The word *aitchugaa* 'she/he/it gives her/him/it' has the ending *au* which indicates that it is the verb and that the number and person of the subject is singular and is in the third person, and that the number and person of the object is also singular and is in the third person. The word *anum* 'man' has no marker and, since the verb is transitive, is identified as the direct object. The word *suppunmik* 'a gun' has a marker *mik* which identifies it as the indirect object.

The Inupiaq and Yupik cultures of today's citizens are very different from those of their grandparents and great-grandparents. They lived in sod and snow houses and their main means of transport were the *umiaq* 'skin boat', *qayaq* 'skin-covered kayak' and *qimmit* 'dog teams'. Today people live in wooden frame-houses and travel in snow machines, cars and airplanes. Their great-grandparents depended wholly on the animals of the land and the mammals and fish of the sea for sustenance. Today, although they still use traditional natural resources, they rely heavily on the products and technology of Western culture. The Inupiaq and Yupik cultures have changed drastically and are still changing as more and more non-Inupiaq or non-Yupik tools and materials are used. Instead of bows and arrows or bolas, guns are now used. But although a seal may be killed with a rifle, it is still retrieved with a traditional tool known as a *manaq*.

The vocabularies of the Inupiaq and Yupik languages are constantly changing, reflecting changes in lifestyles. As activities change, so do languages. The Inupiat have developed new words such as *suppun* which means 'gun'. *Suppun* is based on the stem *supi-* which means 'to gush out, flow out'. Thus the literal translation of *suppun* is 'means of gushing out, of flowing out'. The gun releases compressed air, whence its Inupiaq name. The word *suppun* has been added to the language whereas the word *qilumitaun* 'bola' will soon be forgotten through misuse. On the other hand, the meaning of the word *kangut*, which traditionally means 'a herd of animals or a large assemblage of people', has been extended to include the concept of a corporation. A subsidiary of a corporation is then called a *kannuuraq*. The suffix *uraq*, which means 'small', is added to create a new word meaning subsidiary. It was necessary to expand the meaning of the word *kanguq* to include the concept of a corporation following the establishment of thirteen regional and more than 200 village corporations under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971. The Inupiaq and Yupik languages are flexible and can easily adapt to encompass new concepts.

Since much of the Inupiaq and Yupik world is covered with snow and ice for long periods of time, and accurate, detailed knowledge of snow and ice is essential to the success and survival of a hunter, the language is rich in terms for different types of snow and ice. A sample is given below (a more complete list may be found in the forthcoming comprehensive dictionary being prepared by the Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alaska, U.S.A.)

ICE	
<i>aayugaq</i>	ice ridging, or crack across a shallow lagoon or bay
<i>agiuppak</i>	a smooth wall of ice along the edge of landfast ice formed by other moving ice
<i>aisitaq</i>	cracked ice made by force of moving ice
<i>alliuiniq</i>	ice that was under another piece of ice which resurfaces smooth and dirty
<i>aluksraq</i>	young ice punched by seals forming a seal blowhole
<i>anaglu</i>	black ice
<i>arguqtagniq</i>	newly formed thin ice collecting on the downwind side of a polynya or lead
<i>ataiguik</i>	shore ice patch on coastline
<i>ataitchuaq</i>	shore ice cut close to the coast
<i>atigniq</i>	new ice forming a smooth apron around pre-existing ice
<i>auganaruaq</i>	ice thrust up at an angle (approximately 45 degrees)
SNOW TERMS	
<i>aluktinniq</i>	snow cliff
<i>aniu</i>	packed snow
<i>aniuvak</i>	snow bank, snow patch
<i>apiqqaagun</i>	first snow
<i>apun</i>	snow
<i>aqilluq</i>	light snow, deep for walking
<i>aqilluqqaq</i>	soft snow
<i>auksalaq</i>	melting snow
<i>auksiqlaq</i>	snow that melts almost instantly
<i>iksiaksraq</i>	snow to be melted for drinking water
<i>kaataq</i>	block of snow which will be used in the construction of a snow house
<i>kaniq</i>	frost which collects indoors
<i>mapsa or mavsa</i>	cornice, overhanging snow, an overhanging snowdrift that is ready to fall

People use their language to organize their reality. Inupiaq and Yupik cultures are based on dependence on the land and sea. Hunting, and therefore a nomadic way of life, have persisted. The sea and land that people depend on for their sustenance are almost totally devoid of landmarks. These languages have therefore developed an elaborate set of demonstrative pronouns and adverbs which are used to direct the listener's attention quickly to the nature and location of a particular object. In place of

landmarks, words serve as indicators for the location of an object. Each stem gives information about proximity, visibility or vertical position and implies whether the object is inside or outside, moving or not moving, long or short. For example, Inupiaq has at least twenty-two stems which are used to form demonstrative pronouns in eight different cases and demonstrative adverbs in four cases. American English has two demonstrative pronouns, *this* and *that* (plural forms *these* and *those*) with their respective adverbs *here* and *there*. As an illustration of the richness of demonstratives in the Eskimo languages, here are a demonstrative pronoun and an adverb and the various cases in which they can be used. All of the following forms derive from a single stem.

Absolute pronoun: *igna*, dual *ikkuak*, pl. *ikkua* 'that one over there, visible, and not moving, lengthy nor expansive'
 Relative pronoun: *iktuma*, dual *ikkuak*, pl. *ikkua* 'of that one over there, visible, and not moving, lengthy nor expansive'
 Pronoun in locative: *iktumani*, dual *ikkunanni*, pl. *ikkunani* 'located with/in/at that one over there, visible, and not moving, lengthy nor expansive'
 Pronoun in ablative: *iktumanna*, dual *ikkunnanna*, pl. *ikkunanna* 'from that one over there, visible, and not moving, lengthy nor expansive'
 Pronoun in terminalis: *iktumuna*, dual *ikkunnuna*, pl. *ikkununa* 'to that one over there, visible, and not moving, lengthy nor expansive'
 Pronoun in modalis: *iktumina*, dual *ikkunnina*, pl. *ikkunina* 'with/of that one over there, visible, and not moving, lengthy nor expansive'
 Pronoun in vialis: *iktumuuna*, dual *ikkunnunna*, pl. *ikkunuuna* 'via that one over there, visible, and not moving, lengthy nor expansive'
 Pronoun in similaris: *iktumatun*, dual *ikkugnaktun*, pl. *ikkunatitun* 'like that one over there, visible, and not moving, lengthy nor expansive'
 Adverb: *ikka* 'over there, visible and restricted in area'
 Adverb in locative: *ikani* 'located over there, visible and restricted area'
 Adverb in ablative: *ikanna* 'from over there, visible and restricted in area'
 Adverb in terminalis: *ikuna*. 'to over there, visible and restricted in area'
 Adverb in vialis: *ikuuna* 'via over there, visible and restricted in area'

Language as a Reflection of Perceptions and Intellectual History

An attribute of Inupiaq culture evident in the language and literature is the fact that the roles of women and men were not stratified. The type of role undertaken depended on a person's ability and capability. One of the legends told by an outstanding historian, Uqumailaq, runs as follows:

Once there lived a large number of people and their chief along a river in the interior. Their chief had a daughter. She did not mature slowly. She had a bow and arrow as she grew up. She hunted like a man using the bow and arrow. When she saw a wolf she would stalk it and would eventually kill it with her bow and arrow. She did likewise with wolverine. Although she was a woman she was a skilful hunter. (Uqumailaq, *circa* 1961, from Suvlu Tape collection of Inupiaq stories currently being transcribed and translated by the author.)

Woman as hunter is not a common theme in the oral literature, but the presence of such themes indicate that the society of the ancestors was an egalitarian one. In fact, one cheerful little Inupiaq elder-woman told the author of the present paper that she had belonged to a whaling crew, and that the only reason she had never struck a whale was because she was so tiny. She laughed and said that she did not have the strength to strike the whale with sufficient force. From the legends and more recent accounts, we learn that men and women had equal status and that a person was limited only by his or her abilities.

The equality of roles for men and women is reflected in the Inupiaq and Yupik languages. The words for woman *agnaq* and for man *anun* cannot be used to designate humanity. The Inupiaq and Yupik languages have a word *inuk* or *yuk*, respectively, which refers to a human being without specifying gender, and the same word refers to humanity.

The concept of focusing on the whole situation with one or many participants is reflected in the Inupiaq language. Take for instance the English sentence, 'there are squirrels', and the Inupiaq sentence *siksriqaq-tuq*. One is a translation of the other. In English the focus is on the individual squirrels, whereas in Inupiaq the focus is on the one situation. This focus is clearly shown by the number of the verb. 'Are' in English is plural while *tuq* in Inupiaq is singular. The interdependence of actors regardless of number in a given situation is emphasized. An individual does not stand alone.

The Christian religion has been embraced strongly by many Inupiat and Yupiks. This is not difficult to understand because the Inupiat and Yupiks are very spiritual people. Secondly, the Christian concepts of resurrection and a person's ability to perform 'miracles', and the story of creation pertaining to a period of darkness and then of light, were already part of the spiritual beliefs and realities of the traditional system of beliefs.

In Christianity, resurrection occurred in three days, whereas in the Inupiaq religion resurrection had to occur within four or five days of death, depending on the sex of the person involved.

Although some concepts such as resurrection and the focus on an individual figure who performs miracles are common to both religions, there are some differences with respect to the creation of man.

According to the Inupiat, 'Long before day and night had been created, or the first man made his appearance, there lived an old woman, indeed very old, for the tradition of her having had a beginning, if there ever was such

a one, had been lost. We must bear in mind that during the first stage of the world everything remained young and fresh; nothing grew old. The old woman was like a young girl in her appearance and feelings, and being the only inhabitant of the earth, naturally felt very lonesome and wished for a companion. She was one time chewing 'pooya' (burnt seal oil residue) when the thought arose in her mind that it would be pleasant to have an image to play with, so, taking her 'pooya', she fashioned a man, then by way of ornamentation placed a raven's beak on his forehead. She was delighted with her success in making such a lovely image and on lying down to sleep placed it near her side. On awakening her joy was great, for the image had come to life and there before her was the first man' (Driggs, 1905).

Inupiaq legend tells of the *tuluniksraq*, the Raven-Spirit who is also a man. He is credited with having secured land and light for humanity. According to Inupiaq legend there was a period of darkness before there was light. This was the time when humans did not age. The Raven-Spirit *tulutiksraq* secured the land and the source of light from an old man and his wife and daughter. Light appeared only after the Raven-Spirit stole the source of light from them. As he was fleeing, the Raven-Spirit dropped the source of light which then exploded and dispersed units of light throughout existence.

This concept is reinforced by the analysis of the Inupiaq word for sun *siqiniq*. The stem of *siqiniq* is *siqi* which means 'to splatter, to splash outwards', and the ending of the word *niq* indicates the result or end-product of an activity. So, the Inupiaq word for sun *siqiniq* and the legend of the Raven-Spirit accidentally dropping the source of light which then exploded supports the concept of the big-bang theory of the origin of the universe in which the sun is only one of many.

The Inupiaq word for 'star' *uulugiaq* indicates that light travels from the 'star', that there is a path that the light from the star takes to arrive on earth. The stem of the Inupiaq word *uulugiaq* is *uvluq* which means 'daylight'. The suffix *iaq* indicates 'a pathway or trajectory' that permits movement from one point to another.

The language and culture of a people are a source of pride and identity, and the oral literature of the ancestors sends messages based on their experiences and their interpretations of these.

Contact with Other Cultures

The first white men that the Inuit encountered were explorers and whalers who did not always seek to change the lifestyles of the indigenous peoples that they met in their travels. Those explorers who spent lengthy periods of time with the Inupiat or Yupiks learned their language in order to communicate with them.

However, they introduced diseases such as German measles, syphilis, chicken pox and influenza which killed many Inupiat and Yupiks. The death toll was particularly high among the Inupiat because the people lived close to each other along the coast. The Yupiks were widely scattered along the rivers and were therefore less accessible to the explorers and their diseases (Vanstone, 1984).

The Russian explorers traded with the Yupiks who, in turn, traded with the Inupiat. From the Yupiks, the Inupiat obtained iron buckets, knives and tobacco. One bucket traded for two wolverine skins (Ahmaogak and Webster, 1968).

The second wave of white men to reach the Yupiks and Inupiat were Christian missionaries. They were different. They were relentless in their self-righteousness, and considered it their divinely-inspired obligation to disrupt the social, educational and religious activities of the Yupik and the Inupiat. The first missionaries in northern Alaska were often medical doctors or school teachers or both and had to contend with the shamans.

Many early missionaries learned the Inupiaq or Yupik languages in order to translate Christian hymns, scriptures and the catechism into them. Inupiaq and Yupik could be spoken in churches but not in schools. The language policy for the schools at the turn of the century under the direction of a Presbyterian missionary, Sheldon Jackson, the first Commissioner of Education for Alaska from 1885 to 1908 (Krauss, 1980), is summed up in this quotation from the *North Star*, Sitka 1888:

The Board of Home Missions has informed us that government contracts for educating Indian pupils provide for the ordinary branches of an English education to be taught, and that no books in any Indian language shall be used, or instruction given in that language to Indian pupils. The letter states that this rule will be strictly enforced in all government Indian schools. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs urges, and very forcibly too, that instruction in their vernacular is not only of no use to them but is detrimental to their speedy education and civilization. It is now two years and more since the use of the Indian dialects was first prohibited in the training school here. All instruction is given in English. Pupils are required to speak and write English exclusively; and the results are tenfold more satisfactory than when they were permitted to converse in unknown tongues.

Then in 1890, the following was issued by the Department of the Interior:

The children shall be taught in the English language, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, oral history, physiology, and temperance hygiene. No text-books printed in a foreign language shall be allowed. Special efforts shall be put forth to train the pupils in the use of the English language.

Thus began the destruction of the indigenous languages of Alaska. The native peoples of Alaska were taught that their languages were not important, their religion was bad and that they should become like the white man as quickly as possible.

The missionaries had a relatively easy task of assembling followers for their churches in northern Alaska. The diseases brought by the explorers and Yankee whalers wrought havoc in many families. The Inupiat had no immunity to such diseases. Consequently many died, including many heads of households. The father and usually the eldest son, although stricken, had to go out and procure food for the family. Even if they fell ill they could not rest and recuperate. Their state would grow worse and they would die. Consequently, the widows and their children had no one to turn to except the white traders who had established themselves along the Arctic coast. That was the origin of the paternalistic relationship between Alaska's First People and the white man.

Although there was some resistance to the changes imposed on them by missionaries, doctors and teachers, the majority of Inupiat and Yupiks followed the rules that were being laid down. On the insistence of teachers and school officials, many Inupiaq and Yupik parents, although not able to communicate effectively in English, began trying to speak English to their children, so that children spoke English at home as well as in school. Educators persuaded the parents that education was essential for their children to succeed in the changing world. But opportunities for education were limited in traditional villages. It was necessary for children to leave their home communities to attend boarding high schools in distant parts of Alaska or even the southern states. At this crucial time in their lives, adolescents were removed from their homes, culture and the traditions of their people. Often a child would leave the community in the fall; a young adult would return in spring, but without any parental assistance in this most difficult transition of life. At a time when young adults should be learning the skills, tools and traditions of their culture, they were learning to make napkin holders and aprons in distant, government schools.

The late Eben Hopson, the first mayor of the North Slope Borough in northern Alaska, described Alaska's indigenous peoples' experience of the western educational system.

Eighty-seven years ago, when we were persuaded to send our children to western educational institutions, we began to lose control over the education of our youth. Many of our people believed that formal educational systems would help us acquire the scientific knowledge of the western world. However, it was more than technological knowledge that the educators wished to impart. The educational policy was to attempt to assimilate us into the American mainstream at the expense of our culture. The schools were committed to teaching us to forget our language and Inupiaq heritage. This outrageous treatment and the exiling of our youth to school in foreign environments were to remain as common practices of the educational system.

The Inupiaq and Yupik Situation Today

The pace of development in the Alaskan north is fast. The changes that have occurred in the lifetimes of our elders almost defy belief. Most of the time there is no time to react, no time for comprehensive planning. Because change has occurred so suddenly, there are many things which should have changed that have remained the same under a different name. And there are changes that have been so radical and destructive that we have not **begun** to emerge from their consequences. Western societal systems and norms, however well-intentioned, have undermined and displaced the traditional societal systems that supported our people for thousands of years. The disruptive effects of rapid social and cultural change have wrought havoc on Alaskan Native families and communities. This is reflected in a depressing array of social problems including a high suicide rate among young Alaskan Natives, a high incidence of alcohol and drug abuse, the foetal alcohol syndrome, the breakdown of the extended family and clan system, loss of children to the welfare system, loss of language, lack of transmission of cultural knowledge and values, apathy, depression, low academic achievement and high drop-out rate, transitional problems between village and cities and the dilemma of integrating traditional and non-traditional economic systems (subsistence versus cash-based lifestyle).

When Alaska became a State in 1959, it was allowed to select federal lands within Alaska to aid it in its economic development. Alaska Native leaders, seeing that their traditional lands were being claimed by the State of Alaska, began insisting on a settlement of land claims of the Alaska Natives from the United States Government. In 1966, the U.S. Secretary of the Interior froze further State land selections, pending resolution of Alaska Native land claims.

The United States Government had long known that the North Slope of Alaska has large reserves of oil. The Government laid claim to much of northern Alaska as a petroleum reserve, in the name of national defense; however, the shortage of oil in the world market led the U.S. to encourage the oil companies to explore for oil in Alaska. An enormous oilfield was found at Prudhoe Bay in 1968.

The discovery of the Prudhoe Bay oilfield made the North Slope very attractive to the State and Federal Governments and private industry. Development of the oilfield would interfere directly with traditional uses of the land, so resolution of the Native land claims was necessary. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act became law on 18 December 1971, clearing the way for construction of facilities to extract the oil from the ground and market it. This Act affected all the Native people of Alaska, not just those in the oil-rich lands of the north.

Oil development has transformed the lives of Alaskan Inuit in a number of ways. The direct influence is surprisingly small. While some Native people are employed in the oil industry, the great majority of workers are

migrants from other parts of Alaska or other States. However, the Native Claims Settlement Act, passed to allow oil development to proceed, has affected the lives of all Alaskan Natives. The Act provides for the establishment of Regional and Local corporations to manage and invest the land and money given to the Native communities in exchange for the subsurface rights to natural resources on traditional native lands. Alaskan Natives are shareholders in their Regional and Local corporations. For the first time Alaskan Natives are a significant economic force. In addition, a local government, the North Slope Borough, was established in Arctic Alaska, with powers of taxation of property in the oilfields. The revenues support the provision of a wide variety of services to the residents of the Borough, who are mainly Inupiat. As one example, the North Slope Borough has established and funded a Commission on History, Language and Culture to support and encourage activities to preserve, foster and promote the traditional language and culture of the Inupiat. The Commission was instrumental in revitalizing the Messenger Feast. The North Slope Borough, in cooperation with the State of Alaska, has constructed regional high schools in all the villages of the North Slope, so that it is no longer necessary for young people to leave their homes to obtain secondary education. Since the school curriculum is, to a significant extent, under the control of a Borough School Board, it is responsive to community desires as never before.

Alaskan Native Languages and Education

For 100 years, Alaska's indigenous languages and cultures have faced a steady onslaught of institutional discrimination which called for their eradication and replacement by the English language and cultural norms. The very core of a young child's identity, the language and culture of the parents, was undermined in the schools. Needless to say, this policy has been extremely detrimental to the indigenous groups in Alaska. Attitudes of rejection or ambivalence about the worth of one's language and culture have developed and are, in varying degrees, still prevalent among the adult population. These attitudes have played an important role in the success of retention or maintenance programmes for Alaska Native languages.

The linguistic and cultural heritage of Alaska Native societies is threatened with extinction. This looming loss is distressing to many members of the Alaska Native community. The situation affects the education of the children who need to feel secure and comfortable in a schooling process in order to reach their potential of academic achievement.

Bilingual and bicultural education in Alaska began with the adoption of a Bill in 1972 by the Alaska State Legislature declaring that '... a school which is attended by at least 15 pupils whose primary language is other than English shall have at least one teacher who is fluent in the native language

of the area where the school is located. Written and other educational materials, when language is a factor, shall be presented in the language native to the area' (State of Alaska, Seventh Legislature, Second Session, 1972).

At the same session another piece of legislation was passed directing the University of Alaska to establish an Alaska Native Language Center in order to: (i) study native languages of Alaska; (ii) develop literacy materials; (iii) assist in the translation of important documents; (iv) provide for the development and dissemination of Alaska Native literature, and (v) train Alaska Native language speakers to work as teachers and aides in bilingual classrooms.

In 1975, an Alaska State statute was enacted directing all school boards to '... provide a bilingual-bicultural education programme for each school . . . which is attended by at least 8 pupils of limited English-speaking ability and whose primary language is other than English.' The new language in the statute addressed all languages other than English, and thus expanded bilingualism equally to immigrant languages.

The ultimate aim of all bilingual & cultural programmes in Alaska is to promote English language proficiency. Inupiaq and Yupik language and culture programmes are seen as contributing to the enhancement of academic achievement which is measured in the English language. Depending on the assessment of the schoolchildren's language proficiency, each district designs a language development educational programme which best meets its needs. In regions where children still speak their Native language, the language of instruction from Kindergarten to Fourth Grade is usually in that language. After Fourth Grade, instruction in the Native language is usually reduced, for various reasons including shortage of bilingual teachers, lack of curricular materials and, most importantly, lack of commitment by the community and school to promote the growth and enrichment of the Alaska Native language *per se*.

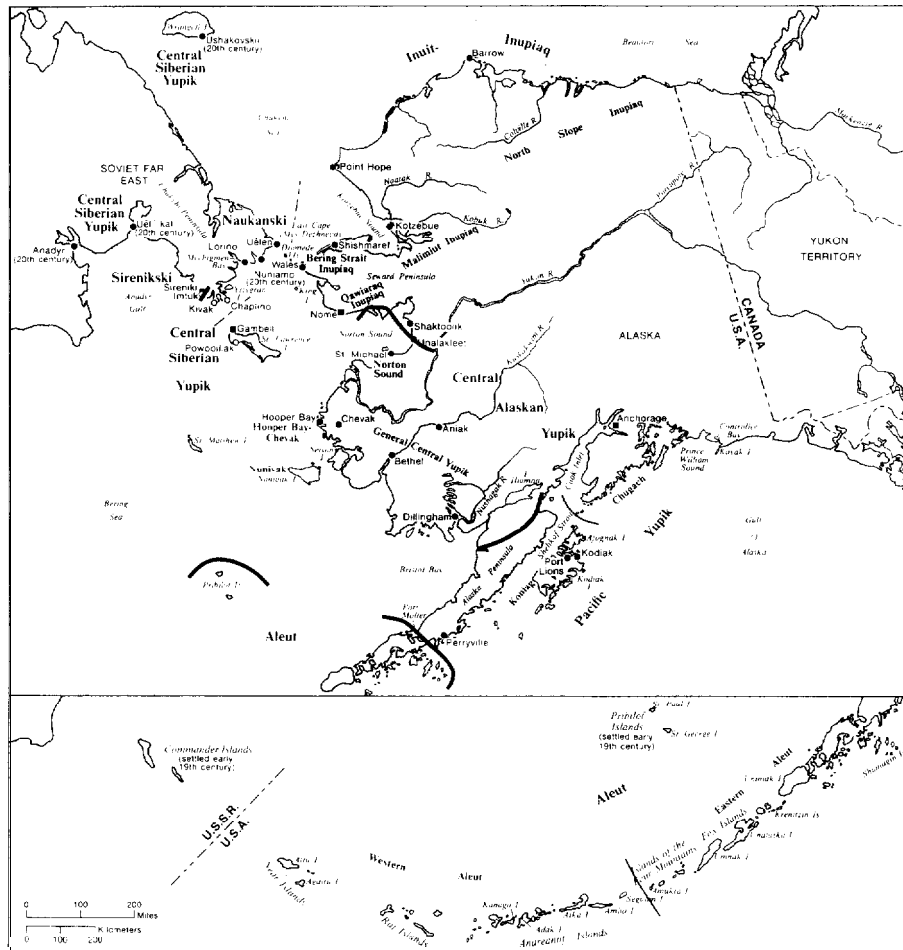
In the 1987-8 school year, the Alaska Department of Education, through the Office of the Commissioner, and in collaboration with members of the Alaska Native community, initiated a process to establish an Alaska Native Language Policy for schools in Alaska. The proposed policy acknowledges that Alaska's indigenous languages are unique and essential elements of Alaska's heritage, and thus distinct from immigrant languages. It recognizes that although some children learn their Native language in the home and community, many Alaska Native children do not have the opportunity to learn their heritage languages in this way. The proposed policy further states that schools have a responsibility to teach and use as the medium of instruction the Alaska Native language of the local community to the extent desired by the parents of that community.

This is the first attempt by the educational system to establish a process whereby Alaskan Natives can make decisions concerning their heritage languages. The revitalization of Alaska Native languages will occur when

Alaska Natives celebrate themselves and their heritage, and insist on being active participants in the education of their children in the home, community and schools.

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MAP 5. Distribution of Eskimo-Aleut languages and dialects in the Soviet Far East and Alaska in 1980 (after Krauss 1975, 1982). Reprinted, by permission, from the Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 5, Arctic, ed. D. Damas, gen. ed. W.C. Surtevant. Eskimo and Aleut Languages by Anthony C. Woodbury. Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1984, p. 50.

The Aleut Language of Alaska

Knut Bergsland

The Present-Day Aleuts

The term 'Aleuts' in this article refers to the people calling themselves Unangan or (Atka dialect) *Unangas*. The name Aleut, which is of disputed origin, was introduced by Russian fur traders (*promyshlenniki*) who, from 1745 onwards, conquered the Aleutian Islands and the mainland to the east (Map 5); in this way, it was extended to the Pacific Eskimos who today call themselves *Alutiit sg. Alutiiq*.

Of the present-day Aleuts, some 350 live in seven villages from Sand Point in the Shumagin Islands in the East (160° 30' W, 55° 17' N) to Atka Island in the West (174° 13' W, 52° 13' N), another 900 in two villages on the Pribilof Islands (about 170° W, 57° N), and a considerable number in Anchorage and other cities outside the original Aleut territory. The exact number of Aleuts is difficult to assess, because in the official census they are not distinguished from the Pacific Eskimos, and many of their villages include many non-Aleuts.

Survey of Aleut History

When Russian fur traders began their conquest of the Aleutian Islands in the 1740s the Aleuts may have numbered between 12,000 and 15,000 people in a large number of villages or communal houses all along the range and the western part of the Alaska Peninsula, known in Aleut as *Alaxsxa* or *Alaxsxi*, adopted by the Russians *Alyaska* and now the name of the whole

State of Alaska. At that time the Aleuts were divided into several social groups or 'tribes' with the following names, from west to east: *Sausignan* - the people of the Near Islands [Blizhnie Ostrova] (nearest to Kamchatka where the Russian merchants started their expeditions), including Attu (173° 15' E, 53° N); *Qaxun* - the people of the Rat Islands [Krys'i Ostroval; *Naahmigus* - the people of the Delarof Islands and Tanaga; *Niigugis* - the people of the Andreanof Islands [Andreyanovskie Ostroval including Atka; *Akuugun or Uniig'un* - the people of the Islands of Four Mountains [Chetyresopochnie Ostroval; *Qawalangin* - the people of the western part of the Fox Islands [Lis'evskie Ostrova], i.e. Umnak and the western part of Unalaska; *Qigiigun* - the people of the eastern part of the Fox Islands, viz. the eastern part of Unalaska and the Krenitzin Islands; and *Quguun Tayagungin* - the people of the Farther East, including several subgroups eastward to Port Moller on the north side and Kupreanof Peninsula on the south side of Alaska Peninsula, the traditional boundary between the Aleuts and the Pacific Eskimos whom the Aleuts (Unangan) call *Kanaagin*, the Koniags.

The Aleuts, exploited by the Russian merchants as hunters of fur animals, suffered atrocities and disease and by 1820 there were only two or three thousand of them left, including so-called Creoles, people with a Russian father and an Aleut mother. Russian rule then became firmer, with a new imperial charter being granted to the Russian American Company, and increased activity on the part of the Russian Orthodox Church to which nearly all Aleuts (including Pacific Eskimos) now belong.

The people, then completely dominated by the Russians, were concentrated in a comparatively small number of villages. Their territory was divided into two administrative districts for the exploitation of the region's fur resources, chiefly sea otters, foxes and fur seals. The eastern district, known as the Unalaskan District, had its main church in Unalaska Village (Iluulux in Aleut) and included the Qawalangin, Qigiigun and the Qagaan Tayagungin (the Akuugun had been destroyed in 1764) as well as the Pribilof Islands, discovered by the Russian navigator Gerasim Pribylov in 1786 and settled with Aleuts from the eastern groups by the Russians in the 1820s. The western district, known as Atkan, had its main church in the chief village of Atka (then on the north side of the island) and included the Niigugis, Naahmigus, Qaxun (soon to be removed from their islands) and Sasignan as well as the Commander Islands [Kommandorskie Ostrova] discovered by Vitus Bering in 1741 and settled with Aleuts from the western groups by the Russians in the 1820s.

A turning-point in the history of the Aleut people was the arrival in 1824 of the first Orthodox priest of Unalaska, the illustrious Ivan Veniaminov, recently canonized as Saint Innocent (Innikentiy). In or around 1826 he designed an alphabet for Aleut - a modified form of the Cyrillic alphabet - and subsequently translated, with the help of his Aleut informants, several religious books into Eastern Aleut (primarily the dialect of the Qigiigun)

with Atkan notes by the Creole priest of Atka, Iakov Netsvetov. His successors were native speakers of Aleut, and so were the teachers in the schools run by the church where Aleut children became literate in their own language.

Following the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867, commercial exploitation of the fur resources of the Aleutian Islands was taken over by American firms, while the Pribilof Islands with their fur seals were placed under Federal rule. The Russian Orthodox Church remained, however, and continued its teaching of Aleut and Russian until 1912, when the last of its schools, at Unalaska, was closed by education officials opposed to the use of native languages. In the decades that followed, the American administration and school system were strengthened. The fishing industry developed in the eastern parts of the area, with Unalaska as a centre, while fox-trapping gained in importance on the western islands, in view of the fact that the hunting of sea otters had been prohibited in 1911.

In June 1942 the Aleutian Islands were attacked by Japanese forces. The people of Attu were taken prisoner and transferred to Japan where many died, while the rest of the Aleut groups were evacuated to different places in Southeast Alaska where many of the older people died. After the war, the surviving Attuans (25 people) were resettled on Atka together with the Atkans (then about 70 people) because the islands to the west of Atka had been made into a restricted military zone. The Eastern Aleuts were returned to their villages, but some of the latter were soon abandoned or were increasingly dominated by commercial fishermen and companies from outside.

In the 1960s the native organizations gained in importance and official policy underwent a change. In 1967 a Federal Bilingual Education Act was passed, permitting instruction in languages other than English for children in American public schools. In 1971 the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act was passed, followed in 1972 by a bill requiring that children be introduced to education in their native language. Accordingly bilingual and bicultural programmes were also offered to several Aleut villages and have been implemented with considerable success, especially on Atka.

Aleut as a Factor of Cultural Identity

Since 1972 the Aleut heritage has greatly stimulated the social and cultural activity of the people. Assessing the Atka language programme, Moses L. Dirks, a native teacher of Aleut, recently stated that it has the full support of parents and that 'students take real pride in learning to speak and retain their language and culture'. He said that Aleut students now have something they can cherish and take pride in as their cultural identity. In villages where the children do not master the Aleut language sufficiently, schools

concentrate mainly on Aleut arts and crafts with the help of older people who can supply Aleut terminology as well.

Contemporary Aleut Society and Economy

The Aleut economy today is based primarily on commercial fishing, dominated by non-Aleut companies; in some Eastern Aleut villages, the Aleuts are now in the minority. In the summer many of the able-bodied men leave their villages to work on fishing ships, most of which are owned by non-Aleuts, thereby furthering the use of English at the expense of Aleut. The main industry on the Pribilof Islands used to be the slaughtering of fur seals, which attracted Aleut workers from several islands, but this business recently ceased. However, local subsistence fishing and hunting (e.g. for seals and sea lions) is very active, besides being important for community life. The Russian Orthodox Church is still a key factor of social integration, whereas the introduction of the TV (now found in every home) has had quite the opposite effect.

Characteristics of Aleut

The Aleut language, *Unangam tunuu*, is related to the Eskimo languages and includes two main dialects, Eastern Aleut (with several subdialects) and Atkan Aleut; Attuan, still spoken on Atka in the 1950s, is now dead.

The most striking phonological peculiarity of Aleut is the absence in words other than Russian loan-words of labial stops and fricatives (*p*, *b*, *f*, *u*). The *p* of the Eskimo-Aleut protolanguage has in Aleut become an *h* in initial position (later lost in Eastern Aleut) and an aspirated *hm* between vowels, while the *u* has merged with *m*. As in Eskimo, there is a distinction between uvular (back velar) and velar stops and fricatives, in Aleut written respectively *q* and *k*, *x* and *x* (voiceless fricatives) and *g* and *g* (voiced fricatives). Aleut also has a dental fricative, written *d*; aspirated nasals and continuants, written *hm*, *hn*, *hng* (*ng* is a velar nasal), *hl*, *hw*, *hy*; a palatal affricate, written *ch*; an *s*, and, in Atkan, a voiced *z*. There are three short vowels, *i* a *u*, and three long ones, *ii* au *uu*, but no diphthongs.

An Aleut word may contain one or several (perhaps seven or eight) suffixes but no prefixes. As compared with Eskimo, the set of local cases is reduced, being largely replaced by postpositions (positional words). Tense and mood are marked by suffixes as well as by auxiliary verbs. There is a fundamental distinction, marked by different person suffixes, between constructions with a fully specified complement (e.g. an object) or without a complement, and constructions with an anaphoric complement, e.g. *tayagux*

qax qakux 'the man is eating (or ate) the *fish*' vs. *tayagum qakuu* 'the man is eating (or ate) it'.

In a clause, the verb comes last, the dominant order being S O V, as in the sentence just quoted. In a complex sentence, the final clause carries the temporal and modal marking of the whole sentence, however long. A characteristic feature of Aleut narrative is the formation of very long sentences, containing up to forty clauses.

The Aleut lexicon includes a large number of Russian loan-words (about 600 have been recorded) adopted before and after 1867, but today regarded by most speakers as Aleut words. However, the structure of the language too has great potential for word formation, e.g. *achixaalux* 'teaching place' for the Russian loan-word *skuulax* or (Atkan) *skuulix* 'school'; *alugasix* 'means of writing' for the Russian loan-word *karandaasix* 'pencil'.

Contemporary Language Situation

Practically all Alaskan Aleuts are fluent speakers of English. Passive knowledge of Aleut is widespread, yet the number of active speakers barely exceeds 500. Russian, once the second language of many Aleuts, today is probably spoken only by the Aleut priests.

Active speakers of Eastern Aleut are mostly middle-aged or older people, numbering about 450. About one third of the 600-650 people of St. Paul, Pribilof Islands, are reported to speak Aleut, and about one half of the 250 people, including some younger persons, of St. George, the more isolated of the Pribilof Islands, are also reported as speaking the language well. In the small village of Nikolski, Umnak Island, there are about two dozen fluent speakers of Aleut, while the few children speak only English. In Unalaska village, once the capital of the Eastern District but now completely dominated by the fishing industry, there are about a dozen active speakers left, likewise in the small village of Akutan. The once numerous Aleuts of the Alaska Peninsula too are represented by a dozen elderly speakers now settled in the busy fishing town of Ring Cove. The Aleut once spoken on the Shumagin Islands is now dead.

Almost all of the 80 people of Atka, including children, are active speakers of Aleut, although English is also used in the home. The impact of English shows up in the frequent use of English words with Aleut suffixes in colloquial speech. English higher numerals and expression of time are especially common, even in the Aleut speech of older persons.

Written and Literary Aleut

As mentioned above, the first Aleut orthography was set down in or around 1826 by Ivan Veniaminov. To the ordinary Cyrillic alphabet he added a stroked *k* for the uvular stop, hatted *r* and *g* (*x*, *g*) for the uvular fricatives, and a ligature of *n* and *g* for the velar nasal. For the initial *h* he used a spiritus as in Greek, and for vowel length and/or stress ambiguous accents.

Between 1834 and 1840, Veniaminov published several religious books translated into Eastern Aleut using his orthography, among them the Gospel according to St. Matthew, a primer, a short Biblical history and a catechism, with Atkan notes by Iakov Netsvetov, which were all reprinted in the 1890s in St. Petersburg. In 1898 and 1902-3 there followed Eastern Aleut translations published in New York, notably the Gospels according to St. Luke and St. John and the Acts, translated in 1860-70 by the Aleut priest of Unalaska, Innokentiy Shayashnikov. These books are still read by elderly Eastern Aleuts.

In 1972, to implement the Bilingual and Bicultural Programme instituted that year, a Roman orthography for Aleut was designed by this writer and approved by the Atka school board, and later adopted too by Eastern Aleut villages. For practical reasons of use alongside English, the palatal affricate is written *ch* and the velar nasal *ng*, the cluster *n+g* being written *n'g*. As indicated above, the notation of the uvular consonants was taken over from Cyrillic as *q*, *x*, *g*. The aspiration naturally is written *h*, and long vowels are written double, thereby removing the ambiguity of Veniaminov's Cyrillics. Schoolbooks using this orthography have been in use since 1973 (see below).

Legal Status and Social Function of Aleut

The legal status of Aleut resides in the use of the language in the public-supported schools. Outside the schoolroom the Aleut language serves the everyday interaction of the people within the village, whereas more official business, such as school board meetings, are conducted in English. Until a few decades ago, Aleut was still being used in the Orthodox Church too, hand in hand with the liturgy in Slavonic, but has now been replaced by English.

Aleut in Education

Aleut is now taught at Atka school (by Moses L. Dirks) in 45minute classes 5 days each week during the school year, classes being divided into three levels. The first of these, from kindergarten to third grade, groups pupils

who are just beginning to learn to read and write Aleut. The second consists mostly of 4th to 8th graders, most of whom read and write Aleut fluently, and are taught Aleut grammar and some reading. The third group consists of 9th to 12th graders, most of whom are fluent in Aleut and are taught mainly Aleut grammar and history and various aspects of Aleut life.

Aleut was first taught at Atka in 1973. In the following years the teaching of Eastern Aleut was initiated with the aid of local teachers in schools in Nikolski (Umnak), Unalaska, Akutan, St. Paul and St. George, but was later discontinued. The present Eastern Aleut programme, one in Unalaska School District and two others in the Pribilof Islands School District, concentrate primarily on Aleut arts and crafts. A reorganization of the Aleut school districts is presently in preparation.

The first Aleut school-books using Roman orthography were produced at Atka in summer 1973 by a workshop sponsored by the Alaska State-Operated School System with the participation of Moses Dirks, the late Nadesta Golley, Sally Snigaroff, and the present writer as a consultant linguist. The chosen norm was an Atkan Aleut language acceptable to parents, who were kept informed as the work proceeded. A total of 18 booklets were produced, including an Atkan primer (*Niigugin Aazmukaa*), several readers written by the staff and by younger people of the village, narratives by older villagers recorded on tape, a description of Atkan plants by Nadesta Golley, a description of Atkan fish and a simple arithmetic book by Moses Dirks, elements of Atkan Aleut grammar, and a geological description of the volcanic island, 'The Building of Atka Island', written by visiting vulcanologist Bruce D. Marsh and translated into Atkan Aleut by Moses Dirks, undoubtedly the first of its kind to appear in Aleut.

Since 1973 several other booklets in Atkan Aleut have been produced for use in the schools by the National Bilingual Materials Development Center (NBMD), Rural Education Affairs, University of Alaska, Anchorage, and include a description of Atkan Birds (*Atxam Sangis*) and Atkan Food (*Niigugin Qalgadangis*) and several other booklets by Moses Dirks, Atkan Readings (*Niigugin hilaqulingis*) by the late Nadesta Golley, and Russian stories (*Kasakam uniikangis*) told by the late John Nevzoroff of Atka and transcribed from tape by Bergsland and Dirks. A description of Atkan mammals is being prepared by Moses Dirks at present. In 1986 a re-edition of Atkan Historical Traditions (*Niigugis Maqaxtazaqangis*), as told by Cedor L. Snigaroff in 1952, and recorded and first published in 1959 by Bergsland, was published by the Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

For Eastern Aleut, Ismail Gromoff, an Aleut priest of Unalaska, wrote an 'Aleut for Beginners' and a reader, published by the Unalaska City School in 1974-5. In 1975 Iliodor Philemonof and Olga Mensoff translated a number of primary readers into Eastern Aleut, which were then published by the Alaska State-Operated Schools, and these were followed in 1977 by several others, including an original reader (*Akutanax*) by Olga Mensoff, repro-

duced by NBMDC for use in schools. In 1978 the Aleut priest of St. Paul, Michael D. Lestenkof, wrote two primary readers, both of which were published by the Pribilof School District.

In 1978 Bergsland and Dirks compiled an 'Introduction to Atkan Grammar and Lexicon' and an 'Eastern Aleut Grammar and Lexicon'- the latter with the help of Agnes and *Sergie* Sovoroff and Olga Mensoff- which were reproduced for use in the schools by NBMDC, followed in 1980 by a more comprehensive Atkan Aleut-English Dictionary compiled by Bergsland, and in 1981 by an Atkan Aleut School Grammar written by Bergsland and Dirks.

Contemporary Studies of Aleut

A comprehensive Aleut dictionary is now being prepared by Bergsland as a part of the Alaska Native Language Dictionary Project launched in 1979. It includes less recent material, such as vocabularies from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the writings of Veniaminov and later Aleut priests, and the folklore texts and lexical file collected in 1910-11 by the Russian ethnologist Waldemar Jochelson [Vladimir Il'ich Iokhel'son] (1855-1937), field notes from the 1950s by Gordon H. Marsh (Eastern Aleut) and Bergsland (Atkan), and the results of later field-work conducted by Bergsland and Dirks at Atka and in Eastern Aleut villages (Nikolski, Unalaska, Akutan, King Cove and St. Paul). Additional Eastern Aleut field-work is being carried out by the young Japanese linguist Minoru Oshima.

An edition by Bergsland and Dirks of the Aleut tales and narratives collected in 1909-10 by Waldemar Jochelson, with the re-edition in an appendix of Aleut Lore published in 1840 and 1846 by Ivan Veniaminov, is now being prepared for publication by the Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

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The Canadian Inuit and their Language

Louis-Jacques Dorais

Introduction

Canada's North is home to various native peoples" At least a dozen Indian groups occupy the sub-Arctic forest - or taiga -in the northern regions of seven provinces (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and Newfoundland-Labrador) and the southern parts of two federal territories (Yukon and the Northwest Territories). From west to east, these groups are as follows (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985): Kutchin, Loucheux (Eastern Kutchin), Nahani, Beaver, Dogrib, Hare, Slave, Yellowknife, Chipewyan, Woodland Cree, Naskapi and Montagnais. One must add to this list a few clusters of Western Metis, who originally emigrated from southern Manitoba and central Saskatchewan.

The first nine groups belong to the Dene Nation and all speak languages of the Athapaskan family. The last three (Woodland Cree, Naskapi and Montagnais) speak Algonkian languages. As for the Metis, their mixed - Indian and European- ancestry is reflected in a knowledge of Cree, French and English.

North of the Sub-Arctic taiga lies the tundra, a land without any trees. This is the genuine Canadian Arctic, thought of, by many Southerners, as a cold, bleak and unforgiving area. One group of people, however, consider it to be their home. For the Inuit - formerly known as Eskimos - the country lying north of the tree-line constitutes the principal habitat. For many centuries, they have occupied and used this territory, having successfully adapted to its demanding characteristics. Thus they may truly be regarded as the one and only Canadian Arctic people.

That is why this chapter is devoted to the Inuit, notwithstanding the fact that a description of the linguistic situation of other northern people would have been just as interesting. In the following pages, I shall try to draw a general picture of the Inuktitut - the name most Canadian Inuit give to their language (it means 'the Inuit way') - in all its aspects: dialectology, phonology, grammar, lexicon, sociolinguistics and ethnolinguistics.

It should be noted that the author of these lines is not an Inuk. Twenty years of anthropological and linguistic research in the Canadian Arctic may have enabled him to grow familiar with the culture and language of the Inuit, but his point of view is still different to that of any native northern citizen of Canada. His observations, then, should be considered as an independent and respectful examination of a very fascinating people and their language, rather than as an official opinion on Arctic problems or an insider's view of the North.

The Inuit: The People of Canada's Arctic

The first Inuit all lived on an island called Milliujaq in Hudson Strait...It happened that because of their increasing weight, this island slowly began to sink into the sea. People flew into a panic and amongst them an old woman, made afraid by the scarcity of available space, suddenly exclaimed: 'Tuqu Tuqu' ('Death! Death!'). 'Unataa Unataa' ('War! War!')...Death then happened, and also war, and the Inuit were scattered far away, in all directions (Saladin d'Anglure, 1977, p. 85).

This myth recorded in Igloodik, in the Canadian Eastern Arctic, shows the power of words. According to the Inuit, the first human beings never died. The population increased continuously, which endangered the stability of the universe. It was finally the language -through the intervention of a frightened old woman - which established the alternation between life and death, as it was later to set up the daily rotation between light and dark:

Among the earliest living beings were the raven and the fox. One day they met and fell into talk as follows: 'Let us keep the dark and be without daylight', said the fox. But the raven answered: 'May the light come and daylight alternate with the dark of night'. The raven kept on shrieking: 'qaurng, qaurng!' And at the raven's cry, light came, and day began to alternate with night (Rasmussen, 1929, p. 253).

So, for the Inuit, language cannot be divorced from the cosmic order. Without it, there would be no life and death, no day and night, and even no difference between men and women, as told in another myth (Rasmussen, 1929, p. 252). It is impossible, then, to think about humanity without referring to its language, because only language has permitted people to live a normal existence.

Naturally enough, all those myths are symbols. They express the way the old Inuit used to explain the universe in which they lived. But these symbols are interesting. They show how the people of the Arctic imagine their relations with their environment.

First of all, they consider themselves as human beings. This is the meaning of the word Inuit (singular Inuk). But this does not mean that they think they are intrinsically superior to other people. On the contrary, as a fourth myth tells (Saladin d'Anglure, 1977, p. 889), the Inuit, the Indians (allait), the Europeans (qallunaat) and the mythical *jjiqqat* (invisible beings) are all children of the same mother. Moreover, as we have seen with the story of the fox and the raven, even the animals (*uumajuit*) were formerly able to speak, just like human beings.

A second important point is that the Inuit think that they are capable of having an influence on their milieu. As intelligent beings - expressing themselves through language - they have had the means to work out an elaborate technology, individual social structures and a symbolic system. These have permitted them to use all available resources, in order to survive in a particularly hostile environment.

And hostile it is. From the Mackenzie Delta, the Arctic Coast and the flat barren grounds west of Hudson Bay, to the mountains of Baffin Island and the hills of Arctic Quebec and Labrador, the Canadian Arctic is characterized by three main features: the harshness of its climate, the paucity of its vegetation and the scarcity of its life-forms.

Winter is the longest season. According to latitude, it lasts from seven to ten months. The sea is usually frozen over from October to July. Winter temperatures often drop below -40 °C, while in summer they rarely exceed 10 °C. Because of these conditions, the vegetation is very poor. Trees cannot grow, except at the very southern fringe of Inuit territory. The only vegetal life-forms are mosses, lichens and grass, to which may be added, in some sheltered locations, low bushes and berry patches. Land animals are not very diversified: caribou (the North American reindeer), polar bear, musk-ox and a few small mammals. However, migratory birds, fish and, above all, the various species of sea mammals (seal, walrus, whale) are much more numerous. Altogether, they furnish the food, fuel and raw materials necessary to the reproduction of human life.

Truly they, the people formerly called 'Eskimo' ('raw meat eaters' or 'strangers' in the Algonkian Indian languages), have demonstrated that humanity can survive in the most adverse conditions. This is why they really deserve to be called by their own name: Inuit, the human beings.

Inuit Settlements and Language Groups in the Canadian North

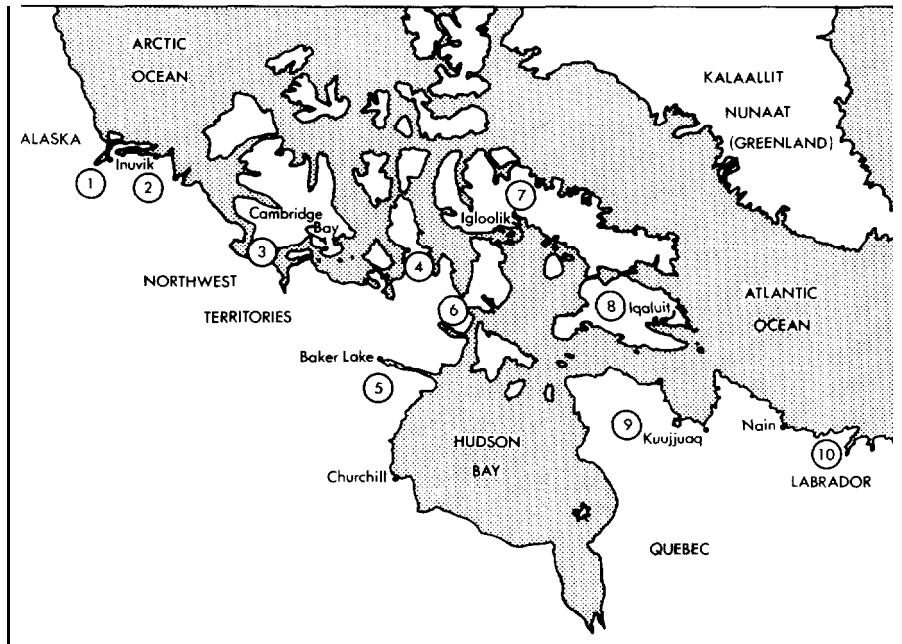
According to the federal census of 1981, there were 25,390 Inuit people living in Canada. They accounted for a little more than 0.1 per cent of the total Canadian population, or about 5.2 per cent of all Canadian natives (Priest, 1985).

Most of them were residents of the Northwest Territories (15,910), but sizeable groups of Inuit also lived in the provinces of Quebec (4,875 people), Newfoundland-Labrador (1,850) and Ontario (1,095). The other seven provinces and the Yukon Territories comprised a total of 1,660 Inuit people.

As can be seen on the accompanying map (Map 61, however, the area which constitutes the aboriginal territory of the Inuit is more circumscribed. Commonly referred to by its native inhabitants as *Inuit nunangat* (or *Inuit nunaat*), 'the land of the Inuit', it includes the northern and eastern sections of the Northwest Territories (administratively: the Inuvik, Cambridge Bay, Keewatin and Baffin regions), Arctic Quebec north of the 55th parallel of latitude and northern Labrador (province of Newfoundland-Labrador), on the Atlantic Coast. *Inuit nunangat* is not a political, legal or administrative entity. The word simply refers to the areas where the Inuit used to dwell before the arrival of the Europeans (and where they generally still form the majority of the population), plus some villages on the fringe of these areas, in which they constitute a significant minority.

There also exist small Inuit communities in some of Canada's southern cities, such as in Ottawa - the federal capital - Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver, as well as in Yellowknife and Fort Smith, two administrative centres of the Northwest Territories. These consist mostly of students, civil servants and other employees, temporarily residing 'down south'. Very few people have taken up permanent residence outside their native territory.

Since the end of the 1960s, all Canadian Inuit live a sedentary life in permanent year-round settlements. These are scattered over an area of some 3,500,000 square kilometres, with an east-west extension of more than 3,000 kilometres. The westernmost Canadian Inuit settlement, Aklavik, at 135° W. longitude, lies less than 200 air miles from the Alaskan border, while Cape Dyer (61° W.), on the east coast of Baffin Island, faces western Greenland. The north-south extension of the territory is of a similar size. There are 2,500 kilometres between Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador (53°15' N., the same latitude as Liverpool, England, Szczecin, Poland and Minsk, U.S.S.R., more to the south than Edmonton, Copenhagen or Moscow), where the southernmost permanent Eskimo community in the world lives, and Grise Fiord, Ellesmere Island, Northwest Territories (76°10' N.), which lies on the same latitude as northern Novaya Zemlya.



MAP 6. Inuit territory and language groups in Canada: (1) Uummarmiutun; (2) Siglitun; (3) Inuinnaqtun; (4) Natsilik; (5) Kivallirmiutun; (6) Aivilik; (7) North Baffin; (8) South Baffin; (9) Arctic Quebec; (10) Labrador. Source: Reproduced by permission of the author, L-J. Dorais.

In 1981, the population of these villages and small towns ranged between 6,690 (Happy Valley-Goose Bay) and 60 inhabitants (Bay Chimo on the Arctic Coast). In most of the small communities, the percentage of Inuit population generally exceeded 90 per cent, but in the larger agglomerations it was much smaller (Robitaille and Choinière, 1984). In Iqaluit (Map 6), for example (population 2,335), only 63.2 per cent of the total population was of native origin. Nevertheless, with 1,475 Inuit, this town, formerly known as Frobisher Bay, constituted - and still does - the most populous Inuit concentration in Canada. In Inuvik (population 3,125), 20.5 per cent of the inhabitants were Inuialuit (the local self-appellation), while in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, they were only 2.5 per cent of the population (170 persons). It should also be noted that most northern Labrador settlements harboured smaller percentages in Inuit than Northwest Territories and Quebec communities. Tables 2 and 3 list, for 1981, the total population and the population of ethnic Inuit origin in each of the fifty-five settlements then included in *Inuit nunangut*. A fifty-sixth village, Umiujaq (on the Hudson Bay coast of Arctic Quebec), has been opened since then, but, as we have no statistics for it, it does not appear in the tables.

Forty-six of those fifty-five settlements have an Inuit majority, while in nine of them the Arctic natives constitute a minority. Five of these last (Happy Valley, Northwest River, Rigolet, Makkovik and Davis Inlet) are in Labrador. Two of them (Inuvik and Nanisivik - a North Baffin mining town) -lie in the Northwest Territories, one in Manitoba (Churchill) and one (Chisasibi) in Quebec. In seven communities, the Inuit share the territory with Canadian Indians: Dene (Inuvik and Aklavik), Dene and Cree (Churchill), Cree (Chisasibi and Kuujjuaraapik), Montagnais (Northwest River) and Naskapi (Davis Inlet). The only totally non-Inuit agglomerations, within *Inuit nunangat*, are a few mining camps (such as Purtunig and Polaris), meteorological stations and radar bases (the DEW line).

Tables 2 and 3 also give the dialectal (language group) affiliation(s) of the Inuit population of each settlement. If the language of the Inuit - Inuktitut -is indeed the Same throughout the Canadian Arctic, there none the less exist quite important regional variations. The exact number of speech forms recognized by various authors may differ somewhat, but most specialists would appear to agree on a total of ten dialects or language groups. Their approximate locations are indicated on Map 6.

Table 4 gives the list of these dialects, together with: (a) the number of their speakers living in *Inuit nunungut*, (b) the total number of persons of Inuit ethnic origin who, in 1981, were residents of each dialectal area, and (c) the percentage of speakers. As there are no systematic data on dialectal distribution, the number of speakers given per dialect is simply an appraisal based on local inquiries and information. The total number of speakers for *Inuit nunungut*, i.e. 16,420 or 76.5 per cent of the total Inuit population residing in the area, is consistent with the census data which show that 18,770 individuals, or 74 per cent of a total of 25,390 persons of Inuit ethnic

TABLE 2
Inuit Nunangat settlements in 1981 (Northwest Territories)

Settlement	Total Population	Inuit Ethnic Origin	Language Group Affiliations
Aklavik (Aklarvik)	705	370	Uummarmiutun
Inuvik (Inuuvik)	3,125	640	Uummarmiutun/Siglitun
Tuktoyaktuk (Tuktuujaqtuuq)	770	690	Siglitun
Sachs Harbour (Ikaasuk)	160	145	Siglitun
Paulatuk (Paulatuuq)	175	165	Siglitun
Holman Island (Uluksaqtuuq)	300	275	Inuinnaqtun
Coppermine (Qurluqtuq)	810	745	Inuinnaqtun
Bay Chimo (Umingmaktuuq)	60	60	Inuinnaqtun
Cambridge Bay (Iqaluktuuttiaq)	815	610	Inuinnaqtun
Gjoa Haven (Uqsuqtuuq)	525	500	Natsilik
Spence Bay (Talurjuat)	430	400	Natsilik
Pelly Bay (Arviligjuaq)	255	240	Natsilik
Repulse Bay (Naujat)	355	340	Natsili/Aivilik
Chesterfield Inlet (Igluligarjuk)	235	220	Aivilik
Coral Harbour (Sagliq)	430	400	Aivilik/Arctic Quebec
Rankin Inlet (Kangiqliniq)	1,110	850	Aivilikf/Kivallirmiutun
Baker Lake (Qamanittuaq)	950	855	Kivallirmiutun
Whale Cove (Tikirarjuaq)	190	175	Kivallirmiutun
Eskimo Point (Arviat)	1,025	965	Kivallirmiutun
Hall Beach (Samirajaq)	350	340	North Baffin
Igloolik (Iglulik)	745	710	North Baffin
Resolute Bay (Qausuittuq)	165	155	North Baffin/Arctic Quebec
Grise Fiord (Ausuittuq)	105	100	North Baffin/Arctic Quebec
Arctic Bay (Ikpiarjuk)	375	350	North Baffin
Nanisivik (Strathcona Sound)	260	105	mixed
Pond Inlet (Mittimatalik)	705	660	North Baffin
Clyde River (Kangiqtugaapik)	445	430	North Baffin/South Baffin
Broughton Island (Qikiqtajuaq)	375	365	South Baffin
Pangnirtung (Pangniqtuuq)	440	790	South Baffin
Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay)	2,335	1,475	South Baffin/North Baffin
Lake Harbour (Kingmiruk)	255	230	South Baffin
Cape Dorset (Kinngait)	780	740	South Baffin
Sanikiluaq (Belcher Islands)	385	365	Arctic Quebec
Total Northwest Territories	20,545	15,455	

Sources: Robitaille & Choinière, 1984; Dorais, 1985.

TABLE 3
Inuit Nunangat settlements in 1981
(Quebec, Newfoundland-Labrador and Manitoba)

Settlement	Total Population	Inuit Ethnic Origin	Language Group Affiliation(s)
Arctic Quebec			
Chisasibi (Mailasikku)	2,220	45	Arctic Quebec
Kuujuaraapik (Great Whale River)	1,070	630	Arctic Quebec
Inukjuak (Inujjuaq)	660	645	Arctic Quebec
Povungnituk (Puvirnituk)	745	735	Arctic Quebec
Akulivik (Akullivik)	255	255	Arctic Quebec
Ivujivik	195	195	Arctic Quebec
Salluit (Saglouc; Sugluk)	480	465	Arctic Quebec
Kangiqsujuaq (Maricourt-Wakeham Bay)	230	220	Arctic Quebec
Quaqtaq (Koartac)	145	140	Arctic Quebec
Kangirsuk (Bellin-Payne Bay)	270	260	Arctic Quebec
Aupaluk	100	100	Arctic Quebec
Tasiujaq (Baie aux Feuilles)	80	70	Arctic Quebec
Kuujuaq (Fort Chimo)	805	660	Arctic Quebec
Kangiqsualujuaq (George River)	150	140	Arctic Quebec
Total Arctic Quebec	7,405	4,560	
Labrador			
Nain (Naini)	935	690	Labrador
Davis Inlet (Ukkusitsalik)	240	75	Labrador
Hopedale	425	305	Labrador
Makkovik (Maquuvik)	345	85	Labrador
Rigolet (Tikiraqsuarusik)	270	45	Labrador
Northwest River	490	55	Labrador
Happy Valley-Goose Bay (Vaali)	6,690	170	Labrador
Total Labrador	9,395	1,425	
Manitoba			
Churchill (Kuugjuaraaluk)	1,305	10	Aivilik

Sources: Robitaille and Choinière, 1984; Dorais, 1985.

TABLE 4
Distribution of language groups in Inuit Nuunangat (1981)

Speakers' Language Group	Total Number of Speakers	Number of Inuit Ethnic Origin	Percentage of Inuktitut Speakers
Uummarmiutun	175	690	25.4
Siglitun	215	1,310	16.4
Inuinnaqtun	585	1,690	34.6
Natsiik	1,240	1,440	86.1
Kivallirmiutun	1,825	2,245	81.3
Aivilik	875	1,100	79.5
North Baffin	2,900	3,150	92.0
South Baffin	2,815	3,070	91.7
Arctic Quebec	5,160	5,330	96.8
Labrador	630	1,425	44.2
Total	16,420	21,450	76.5

Sources: Dorais, 1976 and 1985; Osgoode, 1983; Robitaille and Choiniere, 1984.

origin, have Inuktitut as their mother tongue (the language they first learned and still understand). This indicates that among the 3,940 people living outside *Inuit nunangat*, the rate of language retention - or preservation of Inuktitut as a mother tongue - is somewhat lower (60 per cent > than in the native territory).

This rate of retention varies greatly from one dialect to another. Generally speaking, as one moves in an easterly direction, it tends to increase. If only 25.4 per cent and 16.4 per cent of all Inuit speak Uummarmiutun and Siglitun, 96.8 per cent of Arctic Quebec natives use their own dialect (this ratio includes the users of the Arctic Quebec dialect who reside in Sanikiluaq, Coral Harbour, Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord). With only 44.2 per cent of speakers, Labrador Inuttut, the easternmost Canadian dialect, is an exception in that part of the Arctic. As we shall see below in the section on the contemporary language situation, the rate of preservation of Inuktitut as a first language is higher in areas where intensive contacts with the outside world are more recent. In the Western Arctic, for instance, the language is spoken only by some middle-aged and elderly people who led a traditional land-oriented life in their youth. There follows a description of the ten Canadian dialects.

Uummarmiutun ('like the people living where there is vegetation') was still spoken, in 1981, by about 175 people (out of a total of 690) living in the Mackenzie Delta communities of Aklavik and Inuvik. It is, in fact, an Alaskan speech form, akin to the North Slope Inupiaq dialect:*

* In this chapter *Inupiaq* and *Inupiat* are written with a palatized n' as pronounced in the North Alaskan dialect group' (see Kaplan, page 136).

The Uummarmiut dialect varies in many respects from other Canadian Eskimo dialects. Its vocabulary and phonological, morphological, and grammatical structures make it unique in Canada. Contemporary speakers of this dialect are actually descendants of people who migrated from Alaska to Canada at the beginning of this century. The linguistic data tend to indicate that the majority of these people originated in the Anaktuvuk Pass area. Others, less numerous, came from various places along the Alaskan North Slope (Lowe, 1984, p. xv).

Siglitun (like the Siglit people) was spoken in 1981 by 215 persons in the communities of Inuvik (Mackenzie Delta), Tuktoyaktuk and Paulatuk (Mackenzie Coast) and Sachs harbour (Banks Island). Recorded as early as 1876 by the French missionary Emile Petitot (Petitot, 1876; see also Savoie, 1970), it was later considered by the scientific community to have totally disappeared due to epidemics and migration at the beginning of this century. Linguists were astonished to discover in the early 1980s that it was still spoken by about 16 per cent of Mackenzie Coast Inuit (Dorais and Lowe, 1982). Quite peculiar in form, this dialect differs in many instances from both its western (Uummarmiutun and Alaskan Inupiaq) and eastern (Inuinnaqtun) neighbours.

Inuinaqtun (like the real Inuit) was spoken in 1981 by 585 persons on the Arctic Coast, in Central Arctic, by people (known to anthropologists as Copper Inuit) living in the following settlements: Holman Island (where it is known as Kangiryuarmiutun), Cambridge Bay on Victoria Island and Coppermine and Bay Chimo on the mainland. Like its two western neighbours, it has suffered severely from linguistic contacts with the outside world and is now spoken by only 43 per cent of all those of Inuit ethnic origin living in the area.

Natsilik ('where there are seals') was originally spoken around Chantry Inlet and Pelly Bay, at the base of Boothia Peninsula, in the Central Arctic. In the twentieth century, many Natsilik people have moved across Rae Isthmus to the northern waters of Hudson Bay, and in particular at Repulse Bay. Nowadays, the Natsilik (1,240 speakers in 1981) are found in four communities: Gjoa Haven, Spence Bay, Pelly Bay and Repulse Bay.

In this last settlement, they have all but replaced the original population (and language group), the *Aivilik* ('where there is walrus'). These have migrated to Southampton Island, opposite their original territory, and along the coast of Hudson Bay, to the villages of Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet, where they are in the majority. The ten or so Inuit living in Churchill (Manitoba) in 1981 are also Aivilik. This speech form, which is a sub-dialect of North Baffin rather than a dialect *suigeneris*, was still spoken then by 875 people.

Kiuallirmiutun (like the people of Keewatin) is spoken in Baker Lake, Whale Cover, Eskimo Point, and, partly, Rankin Inlet, on the western coast of Hudson Bay (1,825 speakers in 1981). Most of these people originally lived inland where their mainstay was caribou meat (hence one of their former

names: Caribou Eskimos). Nowadays, only one of their communities, Baker Lake, does not lie on the seacoast.

The *North Baffin* dialect is spoken (by 2,900 persons in 1981) on the northern half of Baffin Island, at Igloolik and its southern neighbour Hall Beach and, following migrations in the 1950s and 1960s, in Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord (High Arctic Islands), and in Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay), the main administrative centre of the Eastern Canadian Arctic.

The *South Baffin* dialect is spoken (by 2,815 persons in 1981) on the southern half of Baffin Island. Local populations often distinguish between the South-east Baffin sub-dialect (spoken in Lake Harbour, Iqaluit, Pangnirtung, Broughton Island and, partly, Clyde River) and the South-west Baffin speech form (Cape Dorset and, through migration, Iqaluit).

The *Arctic Quebec* dialect is spoken, as its name indicates, in this area of *Inuit nunangat* lying within the Province of Quebec. Arctic Quebec speakers have also emigrated, at different periods, to the Belcher Islands (village of Sanikiluaq), in the south-eastern quarter of Hudson Bay, Southampton Island (village of Coral Harbour), Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord. Some Quebec Inuit also reside in Iqaluit. All in all, in 1981, about 5,160 people spoke this dialect, the most important-numerically speaking -in Canada. Local populations distinguish between two sub-dialects: Tar-ramiut (Kuujjuaq and north-eastern Arctic Quebec) and Itivimiut (eastern shore of Hudson Bay).

The *Labrador* dialect, or Labrador Inuttut, is spoken on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, in the village of Nain and, sporadically, in six more communities south of it. With about 630 speakers in 1981, it was then known by less than half the total local Inuit population. This is due to the fact that northern and central Labrador is the only part of *Inuit nunungut* where people of Inuit ethnic origin constitute a minority. They share their territory with Naskapi and Montagnais Indians, long-term residents of European origin (the Settlers) and newcomers from Newfoundland and the rest of Canada. Known for over a century-the first dictionary of Labrador Inuttut was published by Erdman in 1864 - this dialect includes a peculiar form, in use in Rigolet, which stands out because of its archaic features (Dorais, 1977).

It is not appropriate to describe here the specific characteristics of each dialect. Let us simply observe that the main differences between them concerns phonology (pronunciation) and affixes (speech-parts which follow the basic element-or radical -of the word). The grammar and vocabulary, although not exactly the same, do not differ much from one area to another.

On the respective bases of percentage of shared affixes and phonological features, two authors, Fortescue (1985) and Dorais (1986) have concluded that the Canadian dialects should be divided into two broad categories: Western Inuktitut (Siglitun, Inuinnaqtun, Natsilik and Kivallirmiutun) and Eastern Inuktitut (Aivilik, North Baffin, South Baffin, Arctic Quebec and Labrador). Uummarmiutun stands apart. As we have seen, it is actually

linked to the North Slope dialect and, for this reason, belongs to the Alaskan Inupiaq group.

Western Inuktitut is characterized by conservative phonological and grammatical features, while Eastern Inuktitut is much more innovative. Examples are given in the section on phonology and grammar below. Within each group of dialects - particularly in Eastern Inuktitut - intercomprehension between each individual speech form is possible, although between the Eastern and Western forms it is more problematic. With Greenland too, mutual comprehension is difficult, even if one Greenlandic dialect, that of Thule, is relatively close to the Central Arctic dialects (Inuinnaqtun and Natsilik). As we shall now see, this situation is a result of prehistoric migrations.

Traditional Culture and History of the Canadian Inuit

Prehistoric Migrations

About 1000 A.D., the ancestors of the present-day Inuit, small bands of hunters originating in northern Alaska, began to migrate along the coast of the Arctic Ocean toward what was to become the Canadian Arctic. As they progressed relatively rapidly, it took them one or two centuries to occupy most of the area lying between the Mackenzie Delta, in the north-west, and Labrador, to the south-east. It seems that their migration may have been triggered by the increasing availability (due to climatic changes) of whales in the Central Arctic (McGhee, 1984).

These hunters were not the first inhabitants of the northern regions. Some 2,000 to 3,000 years earlier, another wave of people from Alaska - later to be called the Dorset culture - had entered Canada and had settled over most of its Arctic and-in some cases - sub-Arctic sections. They and the later arrivals were from the same original stock: an Asian population which had migrated to Alaska between 9000 and 8000 B.C., but:

The Dorset people, developing in an apparent 3,000-year isolation from the Norton and Birnirk populations of Alaska, must have spoken a different dialect, followed different social customs, and certainly had a different technology and economic adaptation from that of their Alaskan relatives (McGhee, 1984, p. 369).

In fact, the newcomers -whom archeologists call the Thule people - possessed a far more advanced technology than their predecessors. They were particularly expert at sea-mammal hunting, knowing how to build kayaks (one-man skin boats). On entering the Canadian Arctic, they had

also been able to modify some social patterns, the better to adapt to their new environment. For example, they gathered in villages of a smaller size, in areas where the yearly catch of whales was inferior to what it had been in northern Alaska. In some areas, they also abandoned the traditional winter dwelling - the stone and sod hut - to replace it by the snowhouse, until then used only as a temporary travel shelter.

Archaeological and linguistic evidence shows that the main migration route east of the Mackenzie Delta led through Victoria Island - passing north of present-day Cambridge Bay - to the northernmost islands of the Canadian Arctic: Devon and Ellesmere. From this last, some Thule people entered Greenland by its north-west corner. This explains why, from a grammatical point of view, the Greenlandic dialects are more akin to Western Inuktitun than to other Canadian Inuit speech forms, and why Northwestern - or Thule - Greenlandic is quite close to Natsilik and Inuinnaqtun (Fortescue, n.d.).

From the north Arctic islands, secondary migrations led to the Igloodik area and, thence, to the Aivilik region, south-west Baffin and Arctic Quebec. Another migration route went along the eastern coast of Baffin Island. Some of the migrants settled in south-eastern Baffin where, as phonological evidence seems to suggest, they mixed with people who had gone through the Igloodik route. Other groups seem to have bypassed the present-day Iqaluit area, and to have crossed Hudson Strait (which joins the Atlantic Ocean with Hudson Bay) toward the northern tip of Labrador. From there, they went down the Atlantic coast eventually reaching Hamilton Inlet, in central Labrador. This would explain why, despite some rather peculiar features, Labrador Inuttut shows a morphology of affixes more akin to that of the North Baffin dialect than to the Arctic Quebec speech form.

The Kivallirmiut people, who now live on the west coast of Hudson Bay, probably migrated there from the Arctic Ocean (Inuinnaqtun and Natsilik areas) in the not too distant past. This explains why they speak a main-trend Western Inuktitun dialect, even if their present territory lies outside the principal axis of migrations.

Because of their superior technology, the Thule people completely eliminated the Dorset population, whose last vestiges date back to 1400 A.D. It is possible that small Dorset groups remained on some Hudson Bay islands (mainly Southampton and Belcher) until the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, but there is no absolute evidence. The Dorset have, however, survived in the legends of the present-day Canadian Inuit who have a lot to tell about the Tuniit (or Tunrit), those tall human beings, strong but stupid, who were ever the butt of Inuit cunning and practical jokes.

Traditional Culture

From the eleventh century on, the Thule people progressively diversified their culture in order to adapt to each of the local sectors of the Canadian Arctic. This means that by the time of the first important contacts with Europeans (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), they were subdivided into eight or nine groups, corresponding approximately to present-day dialectal divisions. Yet despite their surface diversity, upon entering written history, all these Inuit tribes still shared a common cultural and linguistic background.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century ethnographers described in some detail the principal elements of this culture, at a period when it was not yet too strongly influenced by European contact. From west to east these classical ethnographies deal with the Siglit of the Mackenzie Delta and Coast (Petitot, 1876), the Copper (Inuinnaqtun speakers) of the Arctic Coast (Jenness, 1922), the Natsilik (Rasmussen, 1931), the Igloodik North Baffin speakers (Rasmussen, 1929), the Caribou Kivallirmiutun (Birket-Smith, 1929), the South Baffin Inuit (Boas, 1888), the Arctic Quebec people (Turner, 1894) and the Labrador Inuit (Hawkes, 1916). For an up-to-date description and appraisal of the traditional culture of the Canadian Inuit, one should consult the 'Canadian Arctic' section of the *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 5, Arctic (ed. D. Damas, 1984).

We shall briefly describe here the main features of this culture as it existed in the Eastern Arctic (Baffin Island and Arctic Quebec). It will be seen that it was particularly well-adapted to Arctic conditions, and this at all three levels of social organization: economical, juridical and ideological.

From an economic point of view, traditional Inuit society may be characterized as based on a hunting-gathering mode of production. The climate and environment prevented any attempt at agriculture, and reindeer-herding never developed. Hunting, fishing and gathering activities were adapted to each season of the year.

In winter, the men used to wait for seals at their breathing holes (i.e. the holes the animals maintain in the sea-ice in order to be able to breathe). Usually a number of hunters would go together, each standing beside an individual hole (aglu). The wait could be long, but they had to remain watchful. When a seal appeared, a harpoon (unuaq) was immediately thrust at it. If the animal was very heavy - some species of seals weigh up to half a ton - the other hunters rushed to help haul it up onto the ice. After a day's work, the men came back to the camp, where the women had waited since morning, working at flensing animals already caught, sewing the family's skin clothes and doing other domestic chores, such as looking after the seal-oil stone lamp (qulliq).

If patches of ice-free water were found not too far from the camp, another technique consisted of waiting there for seals. The only means of transportation was the sled (*qamutiik*) pulled by a team of dogs. In Arctic Quebec and

South Baffin Island, the historic Inuit lived in houses called *igluvigaq*, made of snow blocks with an entrance tunnel (the famous igloo); but in north Baffin (as well as in Labrador, the Mackenzie Delta, Greenland and Alaska) they still used the Thule stone and sod hut (*qarmaq*).

During the spring - which in those latitudes begins in June - seals were hunted as they basked in the sun (*uuttuq*) on the sea-ice or, later in the season, when the landfast ice was disappearing, from the seashore (*utaqqivik*). The families then abandoned the winter igloos or stone houses and moved to other locations where they lived in skin tents (*tupiq*).

Spring rapidly turned to summer. The sea was now almost completely free of ice and the men went hunting in their one-man crafts or kayaks (*qajaq*). As in winter, they used the harpoon to catch seals or, much more rarely, whales. At the end of the season, whole families left the seashore, the women rowing upriver in their large skin boats, or umiaks (*umiaq*), while the men followed in their kayaks. Once inland, they spent two or three weeks hunting caribou. It was a collective undertaking. The women and children made a good deal of noise in order to frighten the animals into running towards the men waiting for them with their bows (*pitiksi*) and spears (*anguuigaq*). All the skins needed for new sets of winter clothes were obtained in this fashion.

Finally, fall was the season for walrus hunting in umiaks. Throughout the year, the men also hunted birds, while the women busied themselves fishing, or, in summertime, gathering berries or shells with the children.

The technical relations of production involved either individual or collective processes. Approaching basking seals on the sea-ice or hunting in kayaks - as well as fishing and bird hunting - were individual activities, while hunting caribou, walrus, whales or seals at the breathing hole were community tasks. Gathering food and hunting seals from the shore were either individual or group activities.

The social relations of production were egalitarian. Resources being scarce and hard to obtain, no surplus was ever accumulated. Normally, most of the animals caught were distributed in two stages: firstly among the hunters present at the catch and, secondly, to everyone who needed food or skins. Only in periods of severe shortage did these rules not apply.

The traditional Inuit lived in small family-based groups - or bands - numbering between 20 and 200 people, according to the season or the occasion. Larger aggregates would not have been functional in an Arctic environment. Naturally enough, such groupings were very mobile, both geographically and socially. Individual persons or families often moved from one location to another, joining or leaving their friends and relatives at will. There were no state bodies, nor even formal political organizations such as chieftains or group councils. The gifted hunters, family heads and shamans (i.e. persons able to communicate with the spirits) acted as natural leaders. Social and juridical order was maintained by systematically avoiding offenders, or, when their offense was particularly serious, by collectively

agreeing on their physical suppression. Personal vengeance was also common.

The system of beliefs and symbols was centred on the reproduction of life, both human and animal. It was very important to ensure that both man and game animals renewed their effective forces from one generation to the other. Various myths, taboos and rituals ensured that things happened as they should. For instance, it was commonly believed that the name a child received at birth permitted the individual(s) who had borne this name before to live again through him or her, thus ensuring the continuation of generations. Animals were treated with respect. When a seal was caught, fresh water was poured into its mouth, to relieve its thirst. People believed that its soul, when returning to the sea, would tell other seals about the good reception it had enjoyed, thus encouraging them to become prey to the hunters.

The principal interpreter and manipulator of cosmic forces was the shaman (*angakkuq*). He - or, more rarely, she - intervened when the natural harmony of the world was disturbed because of illness, bad weather or famine. He was helped in this task by his familiar spirit or spirits (*tuurngaq*), which he summoned when there was a need. To communicate with them, he used a special metaphorical language. Rasmussen published a list of shamanistic words from Igloolik in 1929. It includes such items as:

uqsuralik	'the one which is covered with fat'	polar bear
kumaruaq	'one like a louse'	caribou
aipat	'half-cooked food'	meat
auviraksaq	'which may be used as a frame'	the bones
inaaqtuq	'finishes something'	he/she sings
quatsiaq	'which is stiff'	a child

All these beliefs and rituals had ideological functions, i.e. to explain why the world was the way it was, thus rendering it a little more bearable. Even if their existence was generally very hard, the Inuit knew - and the shaman helped them remember - that life could and should reproduce itself. They also shared moments of joy and pleasure when they played, sang or listened to myths and tales.

Oral Literature

The traditional Inuit did not use any writing system, but they possessed an extensive oral literature handed down from generation to generation. It was composed of various types of stories and songs, often told or sung during winter night performances in the *qaggiq* (or *qadjgiq*), the community ceremonial igloo.

Much of this oral literature was later collected by ethnographers such as Boas (1888), Jenness (1922, 1924, 1925) and Rasmussen (1929). A considerable part of it has appeared in more recent anthologies such as those of Metayer (1972), Nungak and Arima (1969), or Pelinski et al. (1979). Records and cassettes of traditional Inuit music are also available (for an up-to-date overview, see Nattiez, 1985).

Eastern Canadian Inuit distinguishes between two types of tales: *unikkaatuq* and *unikkausiq*. The former is a long story, generally relating events that are recent or occurred in the not too distant past. *An unikkausiq*, for its part, is a legend or myth (the Inuit make no distinction between the two) that is either fictional or else -like the *Tuniit* stories - is set in the distant past. If one wishes to highlight the imaginary aspect of a tale, it may be referred to as a *unikkausinnuaq* ('an imitation of *unikkausiq*).

Ethnographers have subdivided Inuit *unikkausit* into various categories. In his 1924 anthology, Jenness uses the following divisions: bird and animal stories; man and the animal world; aetiological myths; quasi-historical traditions; giants and dwarfs; shamanism.

The so-called aetiological myths tell about the origin of various aspects of the universe we know: daylight, death, some animal species, etc. But no myth attempts to explain how the world and humanity came into existence. There are tales accounting for the advent of human races: the Inuit, Indians, *Qallunaat* (Europeans), but even these suppose that humanity already existed before it was divided into sub-groups.

At the beginning of time there were no men and only a single woman who mated with a dog and bore therefrom a litter of dogs and human beings. The latter increased in number and the woman proceeded to plant them out in different places. Some in one place became white men, others in another place Indians, while still others became Eskimos. In this way, the different countries were populated (Jenness, 1924, Myth no. 72d).

As we have already seen, Inuit mythology, instead of telling about the creation of the world, is above all interested in explaining how order has been progressively brought to an initially confused and disorganized universe. How, for example, daylight stepped out of continuous darkness, how a sexually undifferentiated humanity divided into men and women, how ethnic and racial diversity appeared, and so forth.

Some unforgettable characters arise out of these myths and tales: *Kaujjaarjuk*, the poor orphan, who was treated like a dog, but was able ultimately, and thanks to the help of polar bears, to take revenge on his tormentors; *Unigunasuittuq*, the girl who married her dog, was later drowned by her father and became *Sanna* ('the one down there'), the mistress of sea mammals, whom shamans must visit when hunting is poor; *Lumuaajuq*, the harsh mother, who was transformed into a narwhal, her long braided hair becoming the tusk borne by this species of whale; the girl and her incestuous brother, who respectively became the sun and the moon; and many more. All these characters have a lot to tell about the philosophy of the

traditional Inuit; i.e. badly treated children will finally punish their tyrants, brothers and sisters should not have sexual intercourse, and so on.

Some myths are organized in cycles which may be compared to epic poems-although all Inuit tales are in prose, sometimes mixed with a few sung verses -found elsewhere in the world. The Baffin people, for instance, tell many stories about **Kiviug**, a folk hero to whom many feats are attributed.

Besides stories and myths, the oral literature of the Canadian Inuit includes hundreds of songs. These may be divided into different categories: pisiit or hunter songs: composed by men about their hunting and other life experiences, often in an ironic mood;

katajjait or throat games: words and sounds coming from the throat, uttered simultaneously by two women facing each other;

aqausiit or lullabies for children;

illukitaarutit or juggling songs;

irinaliurutit or magical songs, etc.

Some songs were performed during the so-called singing duels which took place from time to time, specially in Arctic Quebec. Two strong men, generally informal leaders of their respective bands, would take turns at singing ironical songs of their composition in order to make fun of their opponent. The loser was the one who finally abandoned the contest when he was no longer capable of ridiculing the other.

Through oral literature, then, language played a primordial part in expressing traditional philosophy and preserving social order.

Contacts with Europeans

This system of technical notions, social values, beliefs and symbols, well-adapted to Arctic life, remained practically unchanged until the arrival of European explorers, traders, missionaries and administrators.

The first recorded encounter between white people and Canadian natives took place in northern Newfoundland in the early eleventh century. Viking explorers from Iceland and Greenland met people there whom they called **skraelinger**, either Dorset people or Beothuk Indians. They were followed by many others. In 1577, for instance, Sir Martin Frobisher, an English navigator with three ships, entered the bay that now bears his name on Baffin Island. Near present-day Iqaluit, he kidnapped three Inuit, a man, a woman and a child, and brought them back to England. In London, Queen Elizabeth I gave the man permission to hunt royal swans on the Thames (Oswalt, 1979, p. 32).

It was not until the eighteenth century, however, that Europeans became really interested in trading with the Inuit. Between 1700 and 1760, French merchants from Quebec City maintained semi-permanent fishing stations on the north shore of the Gulf of Saint-Lawrence. There they had frequent contacts, hostile or peaceful, with Labrador Inuit. A few of them

even noted down short Inuktitut word-lists, which, together with the few terms recorded by Frobisher 150 years earlier, constitute the first written testimonies of Canadian dialects (Dorais, 1980). At the same time, the British traders of the Hudson Bay Company (founded in 1670) tried to extend the Indian fur trade further north. They established bases in Churchill and Little Whale River (near present-day Kuujjuaraapik) on both sides of Hudson Bay, at the southern fringe of Inuit territory. Contacts were sporadic, and often very hostile, but European goods slowly began making their way into *Inuit nunangat*.

The first Europeans to settle permanently among the Canadian Inuit were missionaries belonging to the Moravian Brethren, a Protestant church based in Germany. In 1771 Jans Haven and a few companions founded a mission post at Nainin northern Labrador. They soon opened other religious centres: Okak (1776; closed in 1956), Hopedale (1782), Hebron (1830; closed in 1959), etc. New converts were encouraged to settle around the mission, so that by 1875, all Labrador Inuit were living in permanent sedentarized villages, each with a Moravian church, school and store. In some locations, Inuit shared their territory with European fishermen and trappers (the Settlers) who, since the middle of the century, had progressively begun to set up residence in the area.

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed continuous European penetration into *Znuit nunangat*. Details on the history of contacts with *Quallunaat* may be found elsewhere (Jenness, 1964; Crowe, 1974; Oswalt, 1979). Suffice it to say that the explorers were followed by missionaries, whalers (Mackenzie Coast and Baffin Island) and fur traders. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Hudson Bay Company multiplied its trading posts at the heart of Inuit territory, along with the French concern Revillon Frères and a few independent traders. From 1904 on, the Government of Canada cantoned several Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) detachments in the Arctic.

As a result of these events, by the end of the 1930s, most Canadian Inuit had been drawn into the capitalist mode of production. Their economy, now based on commercial hunting (with guns) and trapping—rather than being autarkic—was ruled, for a good part, by European and Canadian merchants established in Montreal, London or Paris. Even if the Inuit still lived a nomadic life (except in Labrador), their dominant social relations were those of petty commodity production.

Politically speaking, the presence of the RCMP in the North ensured a minimum of respect for Canadian law and order, albeit at some cost to native customs and leadership. Some policemen even went so far as to break up polygamous marriages, e.g. by deporting a man's co-wives to other areas. Such destruction of traditional Inuit society and culture was accompanied in the ideological field by the efforts of many missionaries who succeeded in replacing aboriginal beliefs, rituals and oral literature by Christian faith, religious practice and scripture.

These changes were accompanied by important population movements. Epidemics depleted large numbers of the Mackenzie Coast Siglit and Aivilik. The development of musk-rat trapping drew some northern Alaskan Inupiat to the Mackenzie Delta. In 1925 the Hudson Bay Company moved north-eastern Arctic Quebec trappers to Southampton Island. Some thirty years later, the Canadian Government acted in kind, sending western Arctic Quebec and north Baffin Inuit to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord in the High Arctic islands.

So, by the beginning of World War II, traditional life was already only a memory. Before investigating the contemporary history and social conditions of the Inuit, however, a word should be said about the relationship between their language, culture and identity.

Inuktitut as a Factor of Cultural Identity

Most anthropologists, sociologists and linguists agree that language reflects the culture of its speaker. Vocabulary, in particular, may be considered as a translation of the technical, social and philosophical knowledge shared by all members of a specific speech community. Thus, there exists a direct link between language and cultural identity.

With this perspective in mind, one is not surprised to find that Inuktitut contributes to the adaptation process which has permitted the Inuit to survive in an Arctic environment. Specialized words and semantic categories constitute very powerful intellectual tools, which add another dimension to material culture and social rules.

One of the most obvious -and best-known - specificities of Inuktitut is the great number of words used to designate snow. In the Arctic Quebec dialect, for instance, there exist no less than twenty-five terms indicating various types of snow (Table 5).

In a totally different domain, the Inuit system of demonstrative pronouns (demonstrative object words) and adverbs (localizers) is much more complex than the one that exists in English and in most other languages. Instead of simply opposing 'here' and 'there', the Inuit distinguish ten to fifteen - according to dialect - localizers (Denny, 1981): *uvani* ('right here'), *manni* ('around here'), *pikani* ('right up there'), *paani* ('around up there'), etc. Such distinctions really befit a hunting culture, where it is important to spot instantly the exact location of the game.

The importance of hunting also shows itself in the multiplicity of animal names. If, in English, any seal is called a seal, in Inuktitut, it may be a *natsiq* (ringed seal), an *ugjuk* (bearded seal), a *qairulik* (harp seal), a *qasigiaq* (freshwater seal), a *natsivak* (hooded seal), a *puvisuuq* (grey seal), etc. Moreover, the animal's identification may vary according to age, sex and time of year. For instance, an *ugjuk* (bearded seal) may be referred to as

TABLE 5
The various types of snow in Arctic Quebec Inuktitut

qanik	falling snow
qanittaaq	recently fallen snow
aputi	snow on the ground
maujaq	soft snow on the ground
masak	wet falling snow
matsaaq	half-melted snow on the ground
aqilluqaaq	drift of soft snow
sitilluqaaq	drift of hard snow
qirsuqaaq	re-frozen snow
kavirisirlaq	snow rendered rough by rain and freezing
pukak	crystalline snow on the ground
minguliq	fine coat of powdered snow
natiruvaaq	fine snow carried by the wind
piirturiniq	thin coat of soft snow deposited on an object
qiqumaaq	snow whose surface is frozen
katakartanaq	hard crust of snow giving way under footsteps
aumannaq	snow ready to melt, on the ground
aniu	snow for making water
sirmiq	melting snow used as cement for the snowhouse
illusaq	snow which can be used for building a snowhouse
isiriartaq	yellow or reddish falling snow
kinirtaq	damp, compact snow
mannguq	melting snow
qannialaaq	light falling snow
qanniapaluk	very light falling snow, in still air

Sources: Schneider, 1970 and 1985.

tirigluk (less than one year old), *pualulik* (between one and two years old), *sujielijjaq* (between two and three), *artuq* (adult), *aviurtuq* (rutting male), *avunilik* (mother without her baby), *saggalak* (moulting seal), etc. The whole zoological vocabulary is very rich. By contrast, the vegetal world is underdifferentiated, no distinction being made between flowers and grass, grass and moss, etc., except when it comes to the few useful plants: edible berries or vegetal fuel.

At a deeper level, Inuktitut reflects basic logical categories which may differ from those in use in other languages. For example, the Inuit seem to conceive of the universe in which they live as being organized along pairs of opposites: big/small, long/short, day/evening, winter/spring, etc. This binary structure appears throughout the language. There exists, for instance, an opposition between the words *ulluk* and *unnuk*, which are habitually translated as 'day' and 'evening', but which actually correspond to full daylight and to the beginning of the diurnal period of darkness. The other two divisions of the 24-hour day are, thus, expressed through lexemes

which, in their form and original meaning, proceed from the basic notions of *ulluk* and *unnuk*. These derivatives are *ullaq* (morning), 'the small *ulluk*', and *unnuaq* (night), 'the small *unnuk*'.

In the same way, the Arctic natives perceive a fundamental opposition between *ukiuq*, the time of the year centred upon winter solstice, and *upirngaaq*, the period revolving around 21 June. This word has been translated as 'springtime', because the season it designates generally witnesses the melting of the snow, but actually it refers to the fact that the summer solstice corresponds to the year's shortest nights. As was the case with the divisions of the day, all other 'seasons' are expressed through derivatives: *ukiaq* (fall), 'the small *ukiuq*'; *upirngasaq* (early spring), 'which shall become *upirngaaq*'; *aujaq* (summer), 'accelerated melt'.

Other examples could be given of such a linguistic expression of binarity. Inuktitut *commonly* uses a special affix (*-giik* or *-riik*) to translate the relationship between two persons or objects. This produces words such as:

<i>panigiik</i>	(a pair including a daughter) a daughter with one of her parents.
<i>ajjigiik</i>	(a pair of images) two things that look alike
<i>arnariik</i>	(a pair including a woman) a woman with her husband
<i>piqatigiik</i>	(a pair of friends) two friends together.

There also exist specific words which express a dyadic - rather than a multilateral - relation. For instance, the lexeme *aippaq* applies to either member of a pair - as distinguished from larger groups - whatever the nature of the pair: two similar objects, a married couple, two persons walking together, etc. Thus, the word *aippariik* ('a pair of pair-members') may cover many translations: a man and his wife, two companions, two objects that complement each other. The term *aippanga* ('his/her/its other, in a pair'), usually translated as 'the other one', may also mean 'his wife' or 'her husband'. When dealing with more than two elements, completely different words must be used.

In Arctic Quebec, a distinction is made between *iluunnatik*, 'all of them', and *tamarmik*, 'the two of them'. This distinction pertains to a more general linguistic phenomenon. In all Canadian Inuit dialects, as in Alaskan (but not in Greenlandic) speech forms, there exist three grammatical numbers: singular, dual and plural. For example:

<i>inuk</i>	one person
<i>inuuk</i>	two persons
<i>inuit</i>	three persons or more
<i>iglu</i>	one house
<i>igluk</i> (or <i>igluuk</i>)	two houses
<i>iglut</i> (or <i>igluit</i>)	three houses or more

<i>tulugaq</i>	one raven
<i>tulukkek</i> (or <i>tulugaak</i>)	two ravens
<i>tulukkat</i> (or <i>tulugait</i>)	three ravens or more
<i>kamak</i>	one boot
<i>kammak</i> (or <i>kamiik</i>)	two boots
<i>kamngit</i> (or <i>kamiit</i>)	three boots or more

This means that binarity is considered important enough to require the usage of its own grammatical category.

The main consequence of all this is that the language of the Inuit, because of its peculiar semantic and grammatical structures, contributes to giving the Arctic natives a very original vision of the universe. For instance, the linguistic expression of binarity complicates the formulation of some concepts which may seem obvious to speakers of European - and other - languages. The notion of middle term is one of these. Used to binary oppositions (small/large, short/long, etc.), the Inuit will spontaneously distribute any set of elements into two groups. For example, when asked to classify three objects according to their size, Inuit pupils tend to divide them into two categories: a large object on one side, a small and a smaller one on the other. They will not, generally speaking, rank them in three groups: large, middle-sized and small, as a European child would do.

So, it may be seen that Inuktitut possesses an objective value: its very structure and semantic categories reflect a specific logical system. It is interesting to note that at least one characteristic of this system, its binarity, also reveals itself, as we have seen, in traditional Inuit mythology.

Thus, the preservation and development of Inuktitut is far from being a mere sentimental matter. As a reflection of the most basic elements of the Inuit culture and world view, language plays a prominent part in building the Inuit cultural identity at its deepest level. Any attack, then, on Inuktitut may lead to the destruction, or, at least, the progressive erosion of an original semantic and cognitive structure which, in its integrity, is necessary to the maintenance of the Arctic people's collective identity. The disappearance or weakening of such a structure would have unfortunate and far-reaching consequences for Inuit individuals and communities.

Society and Economy in Arctic Canada Today

Contemporary History

In some areas of the Canadian Arctic, the cultural structure has already begun to weaken. As shown above, all the Inuit have long been more or less forcefully dragged into the dominant social and economic system. Moreover,

Christian ideology has almost completely replaced their aboriginal world view.

Until the Second World War, however, most Canadian Inuit still led a nomadic life. They congregated at trading posts once or twice a year, but their basic activities were autonomous - though not autarkic - and consisted of hunting, fishing and trapping. They spent winters in snow-houses and summers in canvas-rather than skin-tents. Knowledge was still directly transmitted from father to son and mother to daughter without any formal schooling, except in a few circumscribed areas such as Labrador and the Mackenzie Delta where Christian missionaries were operating boarding or day schools.

The war and post-war years were to change all those conditions, slowly at first and more rapidly after the start of the 1950s.

The allied effort in Europe required the establishment of a staging route, in order that American airplanes could reach British airports. Such a route passed through the Eastern Arctic. From 1942 on, air force bases were, accordingly, built at the fringe or right at the heart of *Inuit nunangat*: Goose Bay, Churchill, Southampton Island, Fort Chimo (Kuujuuaq) and Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit):

Thereafter dozens of ships steamed northward each summer to supply the new air-bases with food, fuel and other necessities; and radio and meteorological stations sprang up to speed the military planes from one staging post to another. In 1947 other radio and meteorological outposts arose in the High Arctic, centring upon an all-weather airstrip in Resolute Bay; and two long-range navigation stations, one at Cambridge Bay and the other at Kittigazuit in the Mackenzie River delta, carried belated ripples of the war into Canada's Western Arctic (Jenness, 1964, pp. 72-3).

This event deeply affected Inuit life in the Canadian North. Many natives moved to the bases, in order to seek employment in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs or, at least, to receive handouts from the military:

Irrespective, however, of the actual numbers of workers the air-bases engaged, their very proximity to Eskimo settlements, their overflowing supplies of every conceivable commodity, and the free-handedness of their personnel, profoundly affected the outlook of the local inhabitants and modified the pattern of their economy. (ibid., p. 73).

This trend continued through the early 1950s with the establishment of two complexes of early-warning radar stations in the Arctic: the Mid-Canada Line and the DEW Line. If the former reached Inuit territory in Arctic Quebec (Great Whale River) and Labrador only, the latter went right through *Inuit nunangat*, from Tuktoyaktuk (north of Inuvik) to Cape Dyer (north-east of Iqaluit). Seeking job opportunities or material benefits, many native families settled down in the vicinity of these stations.

But of greater consequence, perhaps, than the mere fact of Euro-American settlement in the Arctic, was the widespread interest for the North that now arose. Canadian and international public opinion suddenly discovered that there lived, far from southern cities and towns, a population which maintained almost no contacts with the rest of the country, and which received virtually no service from the Government, except for some welfare goods in time of famine and, after 1945, family allowances. At the end of the Second World War, a few detachments of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police still constituted the only official presence in the Arctic.

Things were to change. Recognizing its responsibility in the late 1940s, the Federal Government began delivering educational, medical and developmental services to the Inuit. Between 1948 and 1963, elementary schools were opened in all population centres of the Arctic, and existing missionary schools were gradually handed down to the Department of Northern Affairs. When Newfoundland-Labrador joined the Canadian Confederation in 1949, the Moravian educational system was transferred to the provincial authorities.

From 1949 on, medical teams visited each location at least once a year, sending persons suffering from tuberculosis or other serious diseases to southern hospitals. Nursing stations were also built and nurses stationed in the principal settlements. The government opened hospitals in Inuvik, Iqaluit and Happy Valley-Goose Bay.

In the late 1950s, so-called northern service and welfare officers were dispatched to all districts in order to supervise the economic development and improvement of living conditions of the Inuit population. Resource surveys were completed and the Department of Northern Affairs concluded that it was more convenient to group all Inuit in a few settled communities than to continue with a partly nomadic life. Accordingly, housing facilities, in the shape of prefabricated wooden huts, were awarded to those families willing to move to more definitive locations.

In fact, sedentarization had already begun ten years before. The schools, nursing stations, administrative headquarters, trading posts and even missions had become the core of permanent villages, where the snow-house/tent type of habitation had rapidly been replaced by makeshift wood and cardboard shacks. Thus, government initiatives merely consecrated and hastened an already on-going process. This explains why, as early as 1960, virtually all Inuit families were living in year-round communities rather than as nomads on the land.

These new living conditions had profound economic, social and cultural effects. In the smaller settlements, hunting, fishing and trapping still constituted the mainstay of the local economy, but, in larger agglomerations, natural resources were not plentiful enough to meet the needs of the entire population. Because of the lack of economic alternatives, many people had to rely on government welfare. Jobs were few and, generally, unskilled and part-time. Moreover, with the improvement of health conditions, the

population began to grow very rapidly (it still doubles every twenty years), which increased the employment problem. The development of a market for Inuit art, as well as the creation of cooperatives, only partly eased the economic difficulties.

Naturally enough, this situation led to all kinds of social problems: alcoholism, petty criminal offences and a widening gap between the older, more traditional, generation and the younger people brought up in the villages, etc. But the main obstacle lay in the dependency which now characterized Inuit social relations. The Arctic natives had no say in the matter of their living conditions and the development of their economy. All their medical, educational, material and social needs were catered for by benevolent, but autocratic, civil servants. All decisions regarding their present and future were taken in Ottawa, without them even being consulted. They had become completely dependent upon the Canadian economic and political establishment.

In the cultural field, the picture was no better. Most government authorities agreed that the Inuit way of life was antiquated and ill-adjusted to modern conditions. If they wanted to survive in the twentieth century, the Arctic natives had to change into average Canadians. This was to be done through formal education. Northern schools adopted the Ontario curriculum and Inuit pupils were introduced to trees, cows and trains, even if none existed in their country. In these conditions, there was no question of teaching Inuktitut. English was the only permissible language in the circumstances. By the mid-1960s, Inuit society and culture were at their lowest. Even an otherwise sensible and knowledgeable anthropologist such as Diamond Jenness was not ashamed to declare:

They (the Inuit) are a fragmented amorphous race that lacks all sense of history, inherits no pride of ancestry, and discerns no glory in past events or past achievements. . . Now at last, they are emerging; but with their long background of fragmentation it seems to me very doubtful that any school instruction, or any educational 'propaganda', can revive their drooping morale, or save their language from extinction -if in the end extinction is to be its fate (Jenness, 1964, p. 128).

Present-day Situation

Had he lived a little longer, Jenness would probably have been surprised to learn that twenty years after he had published these lines, the situation of the Canadian Inuit would be completely different to what he had expected. In 1984, far from being a 'fragmented amorphous race', without any sense of history or ethnic pride, the Arctic natives considered that they constituted a specific nation within Canada, a nation possessing inalienable territorial, political, social and cultural rights.

How had this come about? How had the various Inuit bands and local groups of the 1950s and 1960s developed a sense of pan-Inuit identity and solidarity that went far beyond their immediate surroundings?

Keith Crowe, a former federal civil servant who was actively involved in land claim settlements, attributes this process of ethnic awakening to four interwoven factors (Crowe, 1979, p. 32):

1. the growth of the native voice in Canada, as part of world-wide sensitization to minority rights;
2. the maturation of the first wave of school-educated northern natives;
3. concern for the environment and wildlife, threatened by various projects (such as the Mackenzie Valley pipeline or the James Bay hydro-electric development project); and
4. the example of native claim settlements in Alaska and southern Canada.

One could add to these some regional factors, such as the political competition, in northern Quebec, between Federal and Provincial Governments. This struggle to gain administrative control over that part of the Arctic reached its peak in the late 1960s. One of its side effects was to give the Quebec Inuit a very acute awareness of the strengths and weaknesses of the Canadian political situation.

Nor should we forget, as a factor of change, the phenomenal development everywhere in the Arctic of air transport and electronic communications.

What specialists will probably consider, some day, as a new era in the history of the Canadian Inuit began in 1970 with the creation in the Western Arctic (at Inuvik) of the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE). First representing the interests of all north-western native people, it gradually centred its focus and activities on the Mackenzie Delta and Coast Inuvialuit because resource development and exploration were very active in this region (Vallee et al., 1984). In 1978, COPE reached an agreement-in-principle with the Federal Government overland claims, and this was ratified six years later in 1984,

In 1971, two more associations were established: Inuit Tapirsat of Canada (ITC) and the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA). The first represented all Canadian Inuit, while the second was concerned with Quebec affairs. In 1972, NQIA representatives travelled to Nain in order to inquire whether the Labrador Inuit would be interested in establishing a regional association. Following further contacts with ITC officers, the Labrador Inuit Association was founded in October 1973 (Brantenberg and Brantenberg, 1984). In 1975, it agreed to include the Settlers (old stock of European dwellers) in its membership. LIA then sponsored a land-use study (Brice-Bennett, 1977) and started negotiating with both the Newfoundland and Federal Governments. In early 1986, they had not yet reached a land claims settlement.

At the national level, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada are now recognized as the sole representatives of Canadian Inuit. By virtue of this status, they send delegates to the international Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) and its sub-committees. Over the years, ITC has given birth to various regional organizations and special purpose corporations. The first comprise the Qitirmiut Inuit Association (representing the Arctic Coast Inuinnaqtun people), the Keewatin Inuit Association (western Hudson Bay) and the Baffin Region Inuit Association. The Labrador Inuit Association, the Makivik Corporation (which, as we shall see, has now replaced the Northern Quebec Inuit Association) and COPE have also joined ITC as regional components (Vallee et al., 1984).

The special purpose corporations include the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC), the Inuit Development Corporation (IDC) which helps Arctic natives with economic development, the Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) and the Inuit Committee on National Issues (ICNI).

In 1976, ITC proposed that the Federal Government divide the Northwest Territories into at least two parts. One of them, where the Inuit compose the majority of the population, would become a new Canadian province called Nunavut ('Our Land'). This proposal was grounded on a thorough study of Inuit occupancy in the Territories (Freeman, 1976). However, it was not immediately accepted by the federal authorities, but forwarded instead to various bureaucrats and committees for further examination. Ten years later, no definitive answer had yet been given to ITC on the subject, even though in 1982 a majority of Northwest Territories residents had approved, by referendum, the principle of a territorial division.

For the moment, then, the Inuit of the Northwest Territories are still governed by the same political and administrative institutions as the Dene and Euro-Canadian northern citizens. They participate in the Territorial Legislative Assembly whose twenty-two members are elected by the population. In 1980, nine of these were Inuit. Together with the one non-Inuit representative of an electoral district lying above the tree-line, they formed a separate Arctic caucus (Cairns, 1980). At the local level, all Inuit settlements have been granted municipality or 'hamlet' status and are entitled to elect their own mayor and alderman. The Northwest Territories residents send one Inuit deputy to the Federal House of Commons. Two Inuit senators also hold seats in Ottawa.

In Arctic Quebec, the NQIA had to fight the James Bay hydroelectric project from the start. In 1971, the Provincial Government proposed to build huge dams and powerhouses in the region east of Hudson Bay. Such a development would flood several thousand square kilometres of Cree and Inuit lands. Appeals to public opinion and legal resource finally forced the Quebec and Federal Governments to discuss the northern Quebec natives' territorial rights. An agreement was reached in November 1975 and was implemented two years later.

The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement recognized that Arctic Quebec Inuit had aboriginal rights over their territory. These rights were to be extinguished in exchange for a monetary compensation. A regional administration (Kativik Regional Government) and local municipalities were established. The NQIA was dissolved and replaced by the Makivik Corporation and its numerous subsidiaries (Air Inuit, Kigiak Builders, etc.) which were put in charge of economic development through the administration of the compensatory funds. At least a dozen committees were created which dealt with medical services, environment, hunting and fishing, etc. Special cultural and linguistic rights were granted to the Inuit, and they were allowed to operate their own educational authority (the Kativik School Board).

As a result of all this a few hundred jobs were created and the Inuit became fully participant in administering their own land. On the other hand, however, a huge bureaucracy suddenly appeared and many people felt alienated from the communal social relations to which they had been used until then. A dissident movement emerged: Inuit Tungavingat Nunamini ('The Inuit foundation in their own land'). Centred upon two villages (Povungnituk and Ivujivik) where the cooperative movement had always been strong, it claimed that territorial rights are not negotiable nor extinguishable, and its members refused to recognize the validity of the James Bay agreement (Saladin d'Anglure, 1984).

Recent developments in the Canadian Arctic, therefore, have had both positive and negative consequences. The Inuit have now acquired a real sense of unity and solidarity and occupy political and administrative positions which, in the not too distant past, were reserved for Euro-Canadians. Yet one cannot but wonder if the Arctic natives have really gained any real measure of autonomy. They are consulted on all matters, but even in Quebec, major decisions are still made by the same southern political and economic establishment. The Inuit may do as they see fit, but only as long as they respect a rather tight legal and administrative framework in the running of which they have no say. The economic situation is somewhat better than before, but the unemployment rate still attains heights unknown in even the poorest regions of southern Canada. Seal hunting has lost all commercial value due to the protests of European ecologists (Wenzel, 1985); and except for two or three small mines -which hire Southerners mostly - no important industry has ever been developed in the Canadian Arctic. Alcohol - and drugs - are still a problem. Moreover, traditional social homogeneity is now threatened by the emergence of a new middle class of young educated native bureaucrats, politicians and entrepreneurs.

Despite all these difficulties, the Canadian Inuit have maintained and even strengthened their ethnic and cultural identity. Besides, regular participation in federal-provincial constitutional conferences may herald the advent of significant political changes for them. With this in mind, we shall now turn more specifically to one important component of Inuit identity: Inuktitut, the language of the Canadian Arctic natives.

Phonology and Grammar of Inuktitut

The ten dialects of Canadian Inuktitut belong to the same language as Greenlandic Kalaallisut and Alaskan Inupiaq. Together with the Alaskan and Asiatic Yupik and Aleut languages, these speech forms constitute the Eskimo-Aleut linguistic family.

As we have already seen, the Canadian dialects may be grouped in two broad categories: Western Inuktitut (Siglitun, Inuinnaqtun, Natsilik and Kivallirmiutun) and Eastern Inuktitut (Aivilik, North Baffin, South Baffin, Arctic Quebec and Labrador). Uummarmiutun stands apart as an offshoot of Alaskan Inupiaq.

The main differences among these dialects are phonological and lexical, the grammar remaining more or less the same, except for some morphological innovations in Eastern Inuktitut. We shall now describe some characteristics of this language.

Phonology

The number of basic phonemes (minimal functional units of pronunciation) varies from sixteen to eighteen, according to the dialect. Table 6 shows all six configurations taken by phoneme distribution in the various speech forms.

It can be seen that differences are minimal. All dialects possess the same three vowels: a, i, u, which may appear either as single (short) or double (long):

takujatit	'you see them'
takujaatit	'he/she sees you'
<i>kina</i>	'who?'
<i>kiinaq</i>	'a face'
<i>inuk</i>	'one human being'
<i>inuuk</i>	'two human beings'

The consonants may be divided into three general categories, according to their mode of articulation: stops, nasal diaphones and continuants. In all ten dialects, phonemes belonging to the first two categories are the same:

	bilabial	alveolar	velar	uvular
stops	p	t	k	q
nasals	m	n	n(ng)	

In fact the only differences in the distribution of consonants lie within the third category, that of continuants.

TABLE 6
Distribution of single phonemes among the Canadian dialects

Uummarmiutun Natsilik (18 phonemes)	vowels:	i		a		U
	stops:	p	t		k	q
	nasal:	m			n	
	continuants:	v	1L		Y	R
			h	j r		
Siglitun Aivilik North Baffin (17 phonemes)	vowels:	i		a		U
	stops:	p	t		k	q
	nasals:	m			n	
	continuants:	v	1L		Y	R
			s	j		
Kivallirmiutun (17 phonemes)	vowels:	i		a		U
	stops:	p	t		k	q
	nasals:	m			n	
	continuants:	v	1L		Y	R
			h	j		
Inuinnaqtun (16 phonemes)	vowels:	i		a		U
	stops:	p	t		k	q
	nasals:	m			n	
	continuants:	v	l		Y	R
			h	j		
South Baffin Arctic Quebec (16 phonemes)	vowels:	i		a		U
	stops:	p	t		k	q
	nasals:	m			n	
	continuants:	v	l		Y	R
			s	j		
Labrador (16 phonemes)	vowels:	i		a		U
	stops:	p	t		k	q
	nasals:	m			n	
	continuants:	v	1L		Y	
			s	j		

Source: L.J. Dorais.

Uummarmiutun and Natsilik possess eight continuants: v; 1; L (a voiceless lateral fricative, or 'voiceless l'); y (a velar voiced fricative, or 'fricative g'); R (a voiced pre-uvular fricative, sounding more or less like French 'r'); h; j (sometimes written y); r (a voiced apical fricative, sounding more or less like English 'r'). This last, which also exists in all Alaskan Iñupiaq dialects, has neutralized with j in all other Canadian speech forms. In Greenlandic, it has merged with s. For instance, the word for 'people coming out' may appear under three different forms:

<i>anirut</i>	Uummarmiutun; Natsilik; Alaskan Iniiupiaq
<i>anijut</i>	all other Canadian dialects
<i>anisut</i>	West Greenlandic Kalaallisut

Moreover, it should be noted that in the Itivimiut Arctic Quebec sub-dialect, both r and j have merged as elsewhere, but here, they are realized as r, rather than j. This gives the following distribution:

<i>iri</i>	'eye' (Natsilik)
<i>qajaq</i>	'kayak' (Natsilik)
<i>iji</i>	'eye' (Arctic Quebec Tarramiut)
<i>qajaq</i>	'kayak' (Arctic Quebec Tarramiut)
<i>iri</i>	'eye' (Arctic Quebec Itivimiut)
<i>qaraq</i>	'kayak' (Arctic Quebec Itivimiut)

Phoneme *l* is present in seven of the ten Canadian dialects: Uummarmiutun, Natsilik, Siglitun, Kivallirmiutun, Aivilik, North Baffin and Labrador. In Inuinnaqtun, it has neutralized with *h*, while in Arctic Quebec it has done the same with *s*. In the South-eastern Baffin sub-dialect, *l* has merged with *t*, but in the South-west Baffin speech form, it has neutralized with *s*, as in neighbouring Arctic Quebec. For example, the word meaning 'they are comfortable' may take the following forms:

<i>iluaqtut</i>	Uummarmiutun; Natsilik; Siglitun, Kivallirmiutun; Aivilik; North Baffin; Labrador (<i>iluatutt</i>)
<i>ihuaqtut</i>	Inuinnaqtun
<i>isuaqtut</i>	Arctic Quebec; South-west Baffin
<i>ituaqtut</i>	South-eastern Baffin

In four dialects (Uummarmiutun, Inuinnaqtun, Natsilik and Kivallirmiutun), *h* is found instead of *s*. For instance, in these speech forms, the word *isua* ('the end of something') has become *ihua*; *siun* (or *siuti*), 'ear', is pronounced *hiun*, etc. It should be noted that in Labrador, *r* and *y* have merged, as in *piayaya*, 'my child' (other dialects *piurara*). Thus this dialect is characterized by weakening of the uvular consonants, which also explains why final *q* always becomes *k* (cf. Labrador *atik*, 'name'; other dialects *atiq*).

A peculiar feature of the phonology of both Ifiupiaq and Kalaallisut is that, in some words, *t* becomes *s* or *h*, when following *i* (which is, then, called 'strong *i*'). In the Canadian dialects, this phenomenon only occurs in Uummarmiutun and Natsilik, and sporadically, in the North and South-eastern Baffin speech forms. For example, the word meaning 'they enter' may appear as follows:

ihigtut	Uummarmiutun; Natsilik
isiqtut	North Baffin; South-eastern Baffin
itiqtut	all other dialects (Labrador: <i>itittut</i>)

Moreover, in Uummarmiutun, as in North Slope Alaskan Inupiaq, *i*, *l* and *n* are palatalized when following a 'strong *i*'.

As seen before, all three vowels may be doubled. They can also be joined to another vowel, producing groups such as: *ai*, *au*, *ui*, etc. Three different vowels cannot be grouped together, but in a few dialects (North Baffin, for example), a double vowel may sometimes be accompanied by a single different one.

Consonants may also be grouped together in clusters of no more than two. This can happen within morpheme boundaries (as in *iglu*, 'house'). Clusters may also be generated by the addition of an affix to a base (as in *umik-*, 'beard' and *-lu*, 'too' (also): *umiglu*, 'the beard too'), or, in Western Inuktitun, only by the syncope of a weak syllable, when it is followed by a postbase starting with a vowel (as in *umik-*, 'beard', and *-in*, 'your': *umnin* 'your beard'). The number and types of consonant clusters vary from one dialect to another. These variations constitute an important factor of dialectal differentiation:

In all dialects, any consonant may occur as the second element of a cluster, but the choice of the first element is more limited. It is determined by two factors: the nature of the second consonant and the degree of assimilation (mainly regressive) allowed by the dialect. As one moved in a general west-easterly direction, the importance of consonant assimilation increases. Alaskan and Western Inuktitun dialects are more conservative: they assimilate far less than Eastern Inuktitut and Greenlandic. This means that in the Western Arctic, the types of consonant clusters are more numerous than in the East, where more complete assimilation rules produce more geminates (Dorais, 1986, p. 33).

In Inuktitut, most clusters start with a consonant belonging to one of four main positions of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, velar and uvular. In the Western Arctic, these initials may, with some exceptions, be followed by any consonant. In the Eastern Arctic, however, regressive assimilation has greatly reduced the number of allowed clusters.

In Western Inuktitut, then, there exist various types of heterogeneous clusters: alveolar-bilabial (*nm*, *lv*, *tp*), bilabial-velar (*mrj*), alveolar-velar (*ly*, *nn*), velar-bilabial (*nm*, *kp*, *gv*), alveolar-uvular (*nR*), etc. But in Eastern Inuktitut, the importance of homogeneous geminate groupings increases as one moves from the Aivilik area to Labrador. This phenomenon is accompanied by a corollary reduction in the types of allowed clusters (examples are given in Table 7):

TABLE 7
Some examples of regressive consonant assimilation in selected dialects

	Siglitun	Aivilik	North Baffin	Arctic Quebec	Labrador
original <i>alveolar clusters</i>					
'this one'	manna	manna	manna	manna	manna
'you'	ilvit	iwit	iwit	iwit	iffit
'two'	malnuk	marriuk	marruk	marruuk	maxxuuk'
'louse nit'	itqiq	iqqiq	iqqiq	iqqiq	ikqik
Stands for a voiceless velar continuant					
original <i>bilabial clusters</i>					
'that one'	taamna	taamna	taanna	taanna	taanna
'here it is; or'	uwa	uwa	uwa	uwalu	uffalu
'servant'	kivyas	kigyaq	kigyaq	kygyaq	kixxak
'road'	apqun	apqut	aqqut	aqqutik	akqutik
original <i>velar clusters</i>					
'bull caribou'	panniq	Panniq	Panniq	panniq	pannik
'a place to sleep'	sinigvik	sinigvik	sinigvik	siniwik	siniffik
'throat'	igyiaq	igyiaq	igyiaq	igyiaq	ixxiak
'one who walks'	pisukti	pisukti	pisukti	pisutti	pisuttik
original <i>velar clusters</i>					
'woman'	arnaq	arnaq	arnaq	aanaq	annak
'whale'	arviq	arviq	arviq	arviq	affik
'baleen'	suqqaq	suqqaq	suqqaq	suqaq	sukqak
'loon'	qaqsauq	qaqsauq	qaqsauq	qaqsauq	qatsauk
other clusters					
'hand'	ajyak	agyak	agyak	agyait	axxak
'caterpillar'	aujviq	augvik	augvik	auwik	auffix
'grandchild'	inrutaaluk	ianutaq	irnutaq	irnutaq	arjutak
'cup'	imrusiq	imrusiq	irnusiq	irnusiq	injusik

Source: L.-J. Dorais.

Aivilik	alveolar-alveolar; bilabial-any consonant; velar-most consonants; uvular-most consonants
North Baffin/ South Baffin	alveolar-alveolar; bilabial-bilabial; velar-most consonants; uvular-most consonants
Arctic Quebec	alveolar-alveolar; bilabial-bilabial; velar-velar; uvular-most consonants
Labrador	alveolar-alveolar; bilabial-bilabial; velar- velar/uvular; most clusters have been devoiced

This phenomenon, which marks Western Inuktitun (and Alaskan Inupiaq) as more conservative - phonologically speaking - than Eastern Inuktitun (and Greenlandic Kalaallisut), has been explained by a westward diffusion of gemination from Greenland, where it is more advanced, to the Western Arctic (Creider, 1981). A socio-linguistic explanation has also been given (Dorais, October 1985), linking the progress of gemination with increasing influence -following sedentarization - of the language of camp and settlement-oriented people: women and children.

It is impossible to describe all the phonological characteristics of the Canadian dialects here. More details may be found in the introduction to Fortescue (1983) or in Dorais (1986). Let us simply point out one final feature which characterizes the Arctic Quebec, Labrador and, in a smaller measure, Siglitun dialects. It is the so-called law of double consonants (or Schneider's law). Within a word, any second consonant cluster must be simplified by dropping the first element of the grouping. In Arctic Quebec Tarramiut, for instance, if one adds the affix *-jjuaq* ('big') to the base *qimmiq*- ('dog'), the result will not be *qimmirjuaq*, as in most other dialects, but *qimmijuaq*, by elision of the first element of the second cluster. This rule, which suffers no exception, does not occur outside the above-mentioned dialects.

Lexicology

Provided that no allowance is made for phonological variation, the general lexicon may be considered as being basically the same - except for newly-coined words - in all dialects. Lexical differences lie rather in the local corpuses of affixes (word-elements attached to a base). Fortescue (1985) found that only 220 affixes are common to all Inuit dialects (including Alaskan Inupiaq and Greenlandic Kalaallisut), even if the mean number of affixes per dialect hovers around 450.

If affixes that have a similar form, but different meanings in various dialects, are taken into account, the ratio of lexical variation may be even greater. For example, Arctic Quebec Tarramiut shares only 163 affixes with

West Greenlandic, out of a total of 509 postbases used in the first dialect. Thus, the percentage of shared affixes barely exceeds 32 per cent of the Arctic Quebec corpus (Fortescue, 1985). Between Tarramiut and Inuinnaqtun, the difference is somewhat similar: 181 affixes are shared, i.e. 35.5 per cent of the Tarramiut corpus.

Within each of the two main dialectal divisions of Canadian Inuktitut, the ratio of variation is much smaller. In Labrador Inuttut, for instance, there are only 69 affixes which do not exist in Arctic Quebec Tarramiut. In the South Baffin dialect, they number 60, while in the North Baffin speech form, the figure is a little higher (87). In Western Inuktitut, 67 Kivallirmiutun, 66 Natsilik and 64 Siglitun postbases do not appear in the Inuinnaqtun corpus (Fortescue, 1985).

It is clear, then, that intercomprehension in speakers of distant dialects may constitute something of a problem. If, for example, a speaker of Inuinnaqtun listens to an Arctic Quebec resident, almost 65 per cent of the affixes the latter is liable to use will be unknown to him. Added to phonological differences and the fact that, in Eastern Inuktitut, words are generally longer (i.e. contain more affixes) than in the western dialects, this situation can, indeed, seriously impair the process of communication, even if the grammatical structure of both dialects is basically the same.

Grammar

There follows a description of the basic grammatical structure. The dialect chosen as an example is Arctic Quebec (Tarramiut sub-dialect) which has the greatest number of speakers. Despite some rather innovative features, its morphology is essentially the same as that of other Eastern Inuktitut speech forms. The main differences in relation to the more conservative Western Inuktitut lie in the simplification of dual and plural forms (only one type of paradigm in contemporary Arctic Quebec as against four in the western dialects) and the disappearance of several event markers (verbal mood and person markers, in more traditional terms).

For the sake of clarity, phonemes *n*, *y*, *ɣ* and *r* will henceforth be written *ng*, *g* and *r*. A preliminary version, in French, of the following pages may be found in *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, Vol IV, No. 1, pp. 23-32 (Dorais, 1974). It appears here with permission from the original publisher. The terminology used has been partly suggested by Lowe (1985).

BASIC LANGUAGE UNITS

Let us suppose two Arctic Quebec Inuit are speaking to each other. Overhearing their conversation, one could note down the following piece of conversation:

-inuinamisuvut
aiguuq tikittuqarmanavangat

By undertaking some linguistic inquiry, it is clear that our two informants would rapidly agree to modify the order of certain sequences. For instance, they would allow:

amisuuvuninuit
aiguuq avanggat tikittuqarmat

But they would reject as completely nonsensical the following utterances:

-(uvunamisuninuit)
-(qarmattikittuq avangaguuq ai)

It is, therefore, possible to identify five different linguistic units that appear to be somewhat mobile within the sentence, although the order of their component parts cannot be changed without due consideration: *inuit*; *amisuuvut*; *aiguuq*; *tikittuqarmat*; *avanggat*. Each of these units has a meaning of its own:

inuit	'people'
amisuuvut	'are numerous'
aiguuq	'eh there!'
tikittuqarmat	'because there are arrivals'
avanggat	'from there, far away'

Moreover, each unit has a very specific function within the sentence:

inuit	subject of an event
amisuuvut	main event
aiguuq	connection
tikittuqarmat	secondary event
avanggat	spatial circumstance

These functional units, which are mobile within the sentence, will henceforth be referred to as words. They may themselves be subdivided into smaller units. Some always occur in initial position within the word:

inuit; amisy-uvut; aiguuq; tikit-tuqarmat; av-anggat

These initial units give the word its basic meaning. It is on them that the global signification of the word is built. In our example, they mean respectively:

inu-	'human being'
amisu-	'many things'
aiguuq	'eh there!'
tikit-	'to arrive'
av-	'there away'

These non-mobile significant units, which govern the meaning of the word, will henceforth be referred to as bases.

We may point out another type of linguistic unit which always occurs in medial or final position within the word. A single word is liable to harbour two or more of these elements (while containing only one base):

inuit; amisu-u-vut; tikit-tu-qar-mat; av-anngat

These are 'secondary' semantic units. They modify the basic meaning given by the base, or express the syntactic function of the whole word:

-it	plurality of a subject
-u-	'to be something'
-vut	third plural subject person of the declarative form
-tu-	'who does something'
-qar-	'to have something as'
-mat	third singular subject person of the causative form
-anngat	'from somewhere'

These partly mobile significant elements of the word will henceforth be referred to as postbases.

It should be noted that some scholars (cf. Collis, 1971) believe that bases and postbases are made from smaller units which they call 'roots'. However, since many Inuit speakers do not regard these roots as significant in themselves, bases and postbases shall continue to be considered here as the ultimate units of meaning in contemporary Inuktitut.

TYPES OF POSTBASES

According to their distribution and respective functions, postbases may be divided into two major categories: grammatical endings and lexical affixes.

Grammatical endings generally occur as the final elements of words. Moreover, a majority of words must compulsorily contain a grammatical ending in final position and, in most cases, only one. In the above example, the grammatical endings are as follows:

inu-it; amisu-u-vut; tikit-tu-qar-mat; av-anngat.

These postbases express the grammatical function of the word, within the sentence:

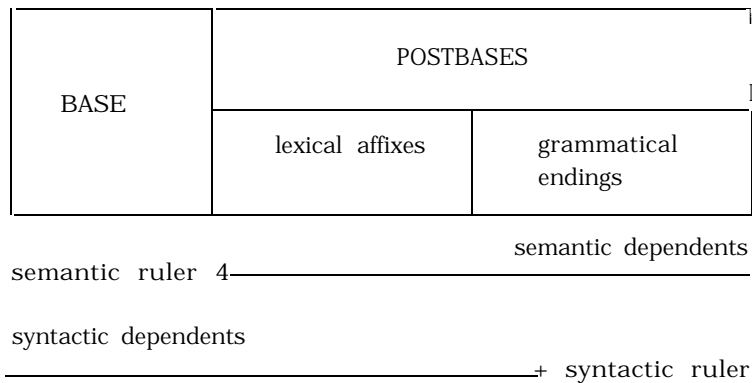
-it	subject of an event (plural form)
-vut	subject person, and form of an event
-mat	subject person, and form of an event
anngat	spatial circumstance

As compulsory markers of the grammatical function, the grammatical endings govern the syntax of the word and sentence.

All other postbases are to be considered as lexical affixes, despite the variety of their meanings. Even if some of them (enclitic affixes) may occur in word-final position, they generally appear between the base and the grammatical ending. Their function is semantic rather than syntactic, as they modify, or expand on, the meaning of the base:

-u-	'to be something'
au-	'someone doing something'
-qar-	'to have something as'

The component parts of the Inuit word may, thus, be diagrammatized as follows:



According to their meaning and function, these language units may be classified into various categories. Let us now describe the different types of grammatical endings, bases and lexical affixes.

TYPES OF GRAMMATICAL ENDINGS

Some grammatical endings are referred to as *event markers*. Always occurring in word-final position (except when followed by an enclitic affix), they express the following notions:

- 1 the identity of the subject of an event (I, you, a third or a fourth person);
- 1 the singularity, duality or plurality of this subject;
- 1 the way the event is envisaged: its mood of occurrence.

For example, the base *taku-* ('to see') may be followed, in the causative (perfective) mood of occurrence, by the following endings:

1st person subject	taku-gama taku-gannuk taku-gatta	'because I see' 'because both of us see' 'because we see'
2nd person subject	taku-gavit taku-gattik taku-gatsi	'because thou seest' 'because both of you see' 'because you (many) see'
3rd person subject	taku-mmat taku-mmatik taku-mmata	'because he/she/it sees' 'because they see (both of them)' 'because they see (many of them)'
4th person subject	taku-gami taku-gamik taku-gamit	'because him-/her-/itself sees' 'because both of themselves see' 'because they themselves see'

Besides the identity (and number) of the subject, and the way the event is envisaged, some event markers, called double person markers (or, less correctly, transitive markers), also express the identity and number of the agent of the event. Compare, for instance:

single person marker	taku-vut taku-mmat	'they (subject) see' 'because he/she/it (subject) sees'
double person marker	taku-vaat taku-mmauk	'they (agent) see it' (subject) 'because he/she/it (agent) sees it' (subject)

In the declarative (indicative) mood of occurrence, with a third person singular subject, the base *taku-* may be followed by these double person markers:

1st person agent	taku-vara taku-vavuk taku-vavut	I see it' 'both of us see it' 'many of us see it'
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2nd person agent	taku-vait	'thou seest it'
	taku-vatik	'both of you see it'
	taku-vasi	'you (many> see it'
3rd person agent	taku-vaa	'he/she/it sees it'
	taku-vaak	'both of them see it'
	taku-vaat	'they see it'

Complete sets of single and double person markers exist for each of the nine moods of occurrence in Arctic Quebec Inuktitut. These moods are as follows:

declarative (indicative)	taku-vuq	'he/she/it sees'
	taku-vaa	'he/she/it sees it'
indicative/ attributive	taku-juq	'he/she/it seeing; he/she/it sees'
	taku-janga	'what he/she sees; he/she/it sees it'
interrogative	taku-va	'does he/she/it see?'
	taku-vauk	'does he/she/it see it?'
imperative/ optative	taku-li	'may he/she/it see!'
	taku-liuk	'may he/she/it see it!'
causative (perfective)	taku-mmat	'because he sees; when he/she saw'
	taku-mmauk	'because he sees it; when he saw it'
conditional (imperfective)	taku-ppat	'if he/she sees; when he/ she shall see'
	taku-ppauk	'if he sees it; when he shall see it'
dubitative	taku-mmangaat	'(I wonder) if he/she/it sees'
	taku-mmangaagu	'(I wonder) if he/she/it sees it'
perfective appositional (conjunctive)	taku-tsuni	'while he/she/it sees, or saw'
	taku-tsugu	'while he/she/it sees, or saw it'
	taku-tsuniuk	'while he/she/it sees, or saw it'
imperfective appositional (conjunctive)	taku-luni	'while he/she/it shall see'
	taku-lugu	'while he/she/it shall see it'
	taku-luniuk	'while he/she/it shall see it'

Some grammatical endings are referred to as *object markers*. They express the syntactic functions that a word denoting any substance (a material object, a person, an animal, an abstract notion, etc.) may perform.

There are eight such endings, each of which is liable to occur in the singular, dual or plural forms. In the following examples - all in the singular form - it should be noted that the subject is not marked:

subject function (absolute)	anguti-	'the man (sees); (I see him) <i>the man</i> '
relative function (genitive)	anguti-up	' <i>the man</i> (sees it); <i>the man's</i> (house)
modalis function (accusative)	anguti-mik	'(I see) <i>a man</i> '
localis function (locative)	anguti-mi	'(I <i>am</i>) <i>at the man's place</i> ; (it is) <i>on the man</i> '
terminalis function (allative)	anguti-mut	'(I walk) <i>toward the man</i> ; (I am seen) by <i>the man</i> '
ablative function (ablative)	anguti-mit	'(I <i>am</i> coming) <i>from the man's</i> <i>place</i> ; (I am taller) <i>than the man</i> '
vialis function (translative)	anguti-kkut	'(I walk) <i>through the man's place</i> '
similaris function (simulative)	anguti-tut	'(I talk) like a man; (I am as tall) <i>as the man</i> '

Besides syntactic functions, the object markers may also express the person of the possessor(s) to which one, two or many objects are attributed. In such cases, the endings occur - for each of the eight functions - in a special form. Here are a few selected examples:

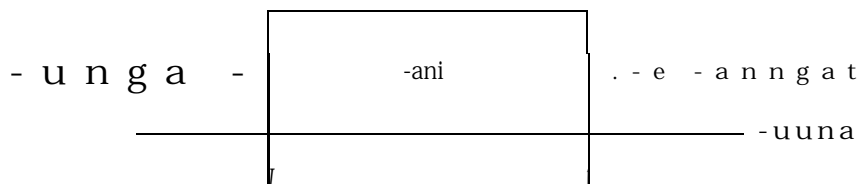
subject function	illu-ga	'my house'
	illu-tik	'your (both of you) house'
	illu-nga	'his/her house'
	illu-ni	'his/her own house'
relative function	illu-ta	'of our house(s)
	illu-si	'of your (many of you) house(s)
	illu-ngata	'of their house'
	illu-mi	'of their own house'

modalis function	illu-kanik	'my houses'
	illu-nik	'your house(s)'
	illu-nginnik	'his/her/their houses'
	illu-minnik	'their own houses'
localis function	illu-gani	'in my house'
terminalis function	illu-nut	'to your house'
ablative function	illu-nganit	'from his/her house'
vialis function	illu-migut	'through his own/her own house'
similaris function	illu-ukittut	'like your (one of you) two houses'

The last category of grammatical endings is that of the *localizer markers*. There are only four of these. In the same way as certain object markers, they express space relations. However, they occur in a very specific form and, as we shall see, may only be attached to a small, closed set of bases. These endings do not have any dual, plural or possessive forms. They are presented here with the base *av-* ('away'):

localis function	av-ani	'there away'
terminalis function	av-unga	'toward there away'
ablative function	av-anngat	'from there away'
vialis function	av-uuna	'through there away'

The spatial relations that these endings express may be diagrammatically as follows:



TYPES OF BASES

There exist four types of bases.

Event bases express the existence of an action, a situation or a quality. When they are followed immediately - without any intervening affix - by a grammatical ending, this ending must be an event marker. Here are a few examples:

tikit-	'to arrive'
taku-	'to see'
tusaq-	'to hear'
qanima-	'to be sick'
surujuk-	'to ram'
piu-	'to be good'
aupaq-	'to be red'

Object buses designate a material substance, a living being, a natural or socio-cultural phenomenon, a person or a more or less abstract concept. When immediately followed by a grammatical ending, this ending must be an object marker. For example:

inu(k)-	'human being, person'
illu-	'house'
amisu(t)-	'many things'
tuqu-	'death'
atausiq-	'one substance'

There exists a closed set of object bases which must be followed by special markers, quite akin to the localizer markers. They may be referred to as demonstrative object bases. For example, the demonstrative base *una* ('this one here') may occur in the following forms:

	singular	dual and plural
subject function	<i>una</i>	<i>ukua</i>
relative function	<i>uuma</i>	<i>ukua</i>
modalis function	<i>uminga</i>	<i>ukuninga</i>
localis function	<i>umani</i>	<i>ukunani</i>
terminalis function	<i>umunga</i>	<i>ukununga</i>
ablative function	<i>umanngat</i>	<i>ukunanngat</i>
vialis function	<i>umuuna</i>	<i>ukunuuna</i>
similar-is function	<i>utunaq</i>	<i>ukutitunaq</i>

It should also be noted that in many instances, time and space circumstances are expressed by words harbouring an object base:

<i>ullu-mi</i>	'day' - 'in' ('today')
<i>itivi-ani</i>	'the other side' - 'in its' ('on the other side')

A few bases -mainly designating animals -may be followed either by an object or an event marker. For example:

natsi-titut 'seal' - (similaris function) ('like seals')
 natsi-punga 'seal' - I (declarative) ('I catch a seal')

Bases of the third category are called *localizer bases*. They express spatial relations *per se*, without reference to any concrete realization. Contrary to the first two categories of bases, no affix may occur between them and their ending, which must be one of the four localizer markers. They constitute a closed set, as there are only ten of them in contemporary Arctic Quebec Inuktitut. In our initial example, the form *au-* ('away') is a localizer base.

Bases of the last type are called *subsidiary bases*. They may replace a full word or sentence, or act as linguistic shifters. They cannot be followed by an ending. The form *aiguuq* ('Eh there!'), which occurs in our original example, is a subsidiary base.

TYPES OF LEXICAL AFFIXES

According to the type of endings which may-or may not -follow them, the lexical affixes are divided into three categories.

Some affixes must always be followed by an *event marker* (or by another affix). They are therefore called event affixes, because whatever types of bases or affixes occur before them, if they are immediately followed by a grammatical ending, the word within which they appear then expresses the occurrence of an event.

Some of these event affixes must immediately follow an event base or another event affix. They express a specific modality of occurrence of the action or situation set by the base (or base plus affix), such as:

the negation of its occurrence

-nngi(t)- (negation): takunngitunga ('I do not see')

its time of occurrence

-lauq- (distant past): takulauqpunga ('I have seen')

-laaq- (distant future): takulaaqpunga ('I shall see')

its aspect

-si- (to begin to): takusivunga ('I begin to see')

-sima- (to have already done): takusimavunga

(I have already seen)

another modality

-qqajaq- (to be able to): takuqqtiaqpunga ('I can see')

guma- (to want to): takugumavunga ('I want to see')

giaqaq- (to have the obligation to): takugiaqaqpunga ('I must see')

Other event affixes must immediately follow an object base of an object affix (see below). They express the occurrence of an event whose object is the base (or base plus affix), such as:

- liuq- (to build): illuliuqpunga ('I build a house')
- qaq- (to have): illuqaqpunga ('I have a house')
- u- (to be something): illuuvuq ('it is a house')

A few of these event affixes normally follow an object marker. Together with it, they express the occurrence of a localization or movement in space:

- it- (to be somewhere): illumiittunga ('I am in the house')
- uq- (to move in a direction): illumuqpunga ('I go to the house')
- illukuuqpunga ('I go through the house')

The event affixes may be symbolized as follows:

- aEE when they follow an event base
- aOE when they follow an object base

The second category of lexical affixes includes all *object affixes*. These must be immediately followed by an object marker (or by another affix), or by the unmarked morpheme of the singular non-possessive subject function. Whatever the base and affixes which precede them, because of their presence, the word within which they occur as final affix denotes a substance or notion.

Some of these object affixes must immediately follow an object base of another object affix. They may express a quality attributed to the base (or base plus affix), or the attribution of the object denoted by the base to an unexpressed agent. Here are a few examples:

- (t)siaq- (good): illusiaq ('a good house')
- aluk- (big): illualuk ('a big house')
- kutaq- (long): illukutaq ('a long house')
- lik- (one who has): illulik ('one who has a house')

Other object affixes must immediately follow an event base or an event affix. They may express various notions linked to the event set by the base (or base plus affix):

- the existence of something permitting the occurrence of the event
- uti- (which is used for): takuuti ('thing used for seeing')
- vik- (place or time for): takuvik ('place or time for seeing')
- ji- (who habitually does): takuji ('one who is in the habit of seeing')

the subject of the event expressed by the base
-jaq- (to which it is done): takujaq ('which is seen')

the objectivization of the event
giaq- (the action of doing): takugiaq ('action of seeing')
-niq (the fact of doing): takuniq ('the fact of seeing; vision')

The object fixes may be symbolized as follows:

aOO when they follow an object base

aEO when they follow an event base

The last category of lexical affixes comprises all *enclitic affixes*. As their name implies, they always occur in word-final position. For this reason, they generally come after the grammatical ending.

In contrast with event and object affixes, enclitic affixes also occur with localizer bases and markers as well as with subsidiary bases, which, otherwise, do not accept any affix.

They may replace an affix plus marker group, or even a full word, or act as linguistic shifters:

-guuq (it is said): illuguuq ('a house, it is said')
kiak (I wonder if): takuvungakiak (I wonder if I see)
-1u (and ; too): avanngalu ('from there away too')
-1i (but): aiguurli Abut eh there!')

TYPES OF WORDS

On concluding this typological description of minimal significant units, it is now possible to delimit four different types of words. These are defined by the various permitted combinations of bases, affixes and endings.

Event words may constitute, by themselves, a full sentence. They are structured according to the following patterns (where b = base, a = affix, e = ending, E = event, and O = object):

bE + aEE + eE	taku-lauq-punga	('I have seen')
bO + aOE + eE	illu-liuq-punga	('I build a house')

Object words cannot, generally speaking, constitute a full sentence by themselves. They are structured according to the following patterns:

bO + aOO + eO	illu-alum-mi	('in the big house')
bE + aEO + eO	taku-uti-mut	('because of something [that is] used to see')

localizers are structured according to the following pattern (where L = Localizer):

bL+eL av-anngat ("from there away")

Subsidiary words are structured according to the following pattern (where S = Subsidiary):

bS aiguuq ('eh there!')

Any type of word may be followed by an enclitic affix (aEn), such as in:

bO+eO+aOE+eE+aEn
illu-mi-it-tunga-lu
(**'and** I am in the house')

bS + aEn
niangar-li
(**'but** how lucky you are!')

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL **SYNTAX**

The word patterns shown above relate to the internal syntax of the language, which governs linguistic relations within the word. These patterns are very schematic. Actually, more than one affix or, in a few cases, grammatical ending, may occur within the same word, such as in:

bO+aOE+aOE+aEE+eE
illu-liur-uti-qa-nngi-tunga
'I do not have an instrument to build a house'

bO+aOO+eO+aOE+aEE+eE
illu-alum-mu-u-riaqq-punga
'I must go to the big house'

The number of affixes within a single word is, however, limited in practice. If the word is too long, it may lose its meaning. In Arctic Quebec the total number of word elements rarely exceeds nine or ten. A word such as the following, although quite common, constitutes a limit:

bE+aEE+aEE+aEO+aOO+aOE+aEE+eE+aEn
taku-lauq-sima-nngi-ta-alu-gi-galuaq-tara-li
'but, however, I have really never seen it'

In the western Arctic - and among the younger speakers of Eastern Inuktitut - words are much shorter, rarely encompassing more than four or five elements.

Within word boundaries, the order of occurrence of the various affixes plays a crucial part, as each affix modifies the meaning of all preceding elements. For example, *taku-sima-qqau-uara* ('I was in the situation of seeing it') differs in meaning from *taku-qqau-sima-uara* ('I am in the situation of having already seen it').

By contrast, external syntax -governing the relations between words - is much less important, as syntactic functions are clearly marked by grammatical endings. For example, *Pauli takuuuq Piitamik* ('Paul sees Peter') is as clearly understandable as *Piitamik takuuuq Pauli* or *Pauli Piitamik takuuuq*, which have exactly the same meaning. It is mainly when dealing with a sequence of possessors and possessed words that word order becomes obligatory, such as in:

Pauliup ataatangata piqatingata illunga
'Paul's father's friend's house'

Pauliup piqatingata ataatangata illunga
'Paul's friend's father's house'

Before closing this section, let us finally note that any complete sentence must contain at least one event word, except when it is elliptical (the answer to a question, for instance) or exclamative. There exist, however, a few object affixes and words which have a predicative function, thus allowing for the economy of an event word:

illu-lik	'house' - 'there is' ('there is a house')
illu una	'house this one' ('this is a house')

Although all examples come from the Arctic Ocean dialect, the grammatical structure described applies, generally speaking, to any Inuit speech form from Alaska to Greenland. Only some specific details, such as the morphology of dual and plural forms, number and nature of event moods of occurrence, or usage of some localizers may vary from one dialect to the other. The language of the Inuit is, thus, basically the same, and with a little effort, mutual understanding is easily possible among North American Arctic natives.

Literacy, Orthography and Literature

The linguistic structure described in the preceding section has been transmitted orally from generation to generation for many centuries. As already seen, Inuktitut was not a written language. Until the arrival of the first European missionaries, no transcription of it existed, except for a few word-lists elicited by explorers or traders.

The first of these glossaries was noted down on the occasion of Martin Frobisher's first discovery voyage to Baffin Island in 1576. It contains seventeen words, some of which are still recognizable after 400 years. It was not until the eighteenth century, however, that the preparation of word-lists, or even short lexicons, became customary. In Labrador and on the Hudson Bay coast, various people, such as the French trader Martel de Brouague or the Moravian missionary Jens Have, elicited and wrote down lists of words and expressions which were sometimes quite substantial.

The first problem they encountered was one of orthography. In the absence of any Inuit writing tradition, they had to do their best to note as exactly as possible what they thought they were hearing. This meant that most of the time, their perception of how Inuktitut was pronounced and, thence, should be written, was heavily influenced by the pronunciation and orthography of their native language: French, English, or - in the case of the Moravians - German. For example, here are a few words found in an anonymous French-Inuktitut list collected in southern Labrador around 1730 (Dorais, 1980):

<i>Original orthography</i>	<i>Current orthography</i>	<i>Signification</i>
amaoc	amaruq	wolf
actounacto	aqqunaqtuq	it is stormy
qigoutte	kigut	tooth
couraille tocto	quiqtuqtuq	he/she coughs
coussé cliquaque	qungisiilitaq	scarf

Fortunately for us, the situation is no longer the same. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (earlier in Labrador), Christian missionaries introduced a variety of orthographical systems that have been handed down until now. At the present time, virtually all speakers of Canadian Inuktitut are able to write their language. The only exceptions are a very few elderly people and a number of younger persons who were schooled entirely in English during the 1960s and who have some problems writing the language, although they speak it fluently.

Orthographical Systems

The earliest systematic attempt at writing Canadian Inuktitut was made by the Moravian Brethren in Labrador. A few years after the foundation of their first mission at Nain (1771), they settled down to the task of translating hymns and Biblical texts into Labrador Inuttut. Their work was made easier by the fact that they already had translation experience in their Greenlandic missions. As early as 1791 a school was established in Nain and another one opened in Hopedale in 1804. In 1809, the first Inuttut hymn book was published, and by 1826, practically all the Christian Inuit of Labrador could read and write their language (Anonymous, 1971).

It was not until the end of the nineteenth century, however, thanks to the grammatical and lexicological work of Rev. T. Bourquin (cf. Bourquin, 1891), that the Moravian orthography was standardized. Influenced by the writing traditions already in use in Labrador and Greenland, Bourquin promoted a system where double vowels were noted with a circumflex accent, and the difference between phonemes *k* and *q* symbolized by the use of small and capital *k*. Like that of his predecessors, Bourquin's orthography over-differentiated the vowels, making distinctions between *a* and *e*, *i* and *e*, and *u* and *o*. It also doubled some single consonants unnecessarily. Here is an example of a Labrador Inuttut text in both the Moravian and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada orthographies:

Moravian orthography:

Kattangutiget asserortaugalloarmatta taipomane
 Kommeniuse inojungnairmat jarime 1670ime,
 okperneK Kattangutiget akkomgane
 inogannerlaukpoK ajoKertuijoKarannerlaukpullo.

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada orthography:

Qatangutigiit asiruqtaugaluarmata taipsumani
 Kumminiusi inuujungnairmat jaarimi 1670imi,
 ukpirniq qatangutigiit akumgani inuugannirlauqpuq
 ajuqituijuqarannirlauqpullo.

Despite its shortcomings, Bourquin's orthography was a useful tool with which to teach the Labrador Inuit in their own language. Many church and school texts were - and still are, in a certain measure - published in it. It became so identified with the Moravian religious and social complex that, despite major changes in the phonology of Labrador Inuttut, since the end of the nineteenth century, the Moravian Inuit and their missionaries have refused to modify their writing system. The result is that the spoken and written forms of the present-day Labrador dialect are far apart. The text

quoted above, transcribed according to its contemporary pronunciation, becomes noticeably different to its original version:

Qatangutigiit asiguttaugaluummata taitsumani
 Kumminiusi inuujunnaimat jaagini 1670imi,
 uppiniq qatangutigiit akunngani
 inuugannilauppuk ajuqittuijaqagarmilauppulu.

Moravian script today has the same problems as many other orthographies, e.g. that of English. It portrays the language as it was spoken a long time ago. The only occasions where oral and written Labrador Inuttut really coincide are at church celebrations. When preaching or lecturing on religious texts, missionaries and lay readers scrupulously pronounce the words as they are written, thus reviving the language of a hundred years ago.

In Canada, use of the Moravian orthography was limited to Labrador. In the rest of the eastern Arctic, a completely different type of writing system was to be developed: the syllabic script, first devised for the Ojibway Indians.

In 1840, the Reverend James Evans, a Wesleyan missionary, transferred from southern Ontario to Norway House, then part of the Hudson Bay Company's vast territory. In Ontario, Evans had struggled to devise a means of recording accurately the sounds of the native Ojibway speech in the Roman alphabet, but had finally given up and developed a method of his own. He knew Pitman shorthand and turned this knowledge to good account by creating a syllabic script. He created nine symbols, each of which could be written in four different positions; they were sufficient to represent the vowel and consonant combinations of Ojibway (Harper, 1983, pp. 8-9).

At Norway House, Evans learned the Cree language (which, like Ojibway, belongs to the Algonkian family) and began adapting syllabics to it. Despite some initial criticism from the religious authorities, the system quickly spread, mainly because the Indians found it really useful. It was soon adopted by the Anglican and Catholic missionaries, and taught all over Cree territory.

In 1855, Rev. E.A. Watkins of the Church Missionary Society introduced the syllabic system to Inuit while visiting the Hudson Bay Company's posts at Fort George (Chisasibi) and Little Whale river in Arctic Quebec. The same year, one of his colleagues, John Horden, printed a small book of scripture verses in Inuktitut syllabics. It was not until 1865, however, that the two missionaries devised a definitive version of the system (Harper, 1985).

However, the actual task of translating the New Testament into Eastern Inuktitut, using Watkins and Horden's syllabic script, was undertaken in 1876 by the Anglican James E. Peck. For almost thirty years, Peck preached the Christian Gospel in Arctic Quebec and southern Baffin Island. He insisted that the Inuit learn to read syllabics in order to keep contact with the Scriptures, even in the absence of the missionary. He was very active in proselytizing, sending copies of church literature with expeditions, traders and Inuit travellers (Harper, 1983, p. 14).

Peck and his successors did so well that, by 1925, most eastern Canadian Inuit outside Labrador were able to read and write their own language using the syllabic script. Danish archaeologist Therkel Mathiassen wrote about the Iglulik people, whom he had met around 1922-3:

The Peck Syllabic Writing has spread widely among the Iglulik Eskimos, where the mothers teach it to their children and the latter teach each other; most Iglulik Eskimos can read and write this fairly simple but rather imperfect language and they often write letters to each other; pencils and pocket-books are consequently in great demand among them (Mathiassen, 1928, p. 233 in Harper, 1983).

When Anglican and Catholic missionaries established themselves on the west shore of Hudson Bay, they brought syllabics to the Kivallirmiut, Aivilik and Natsilik peoples. Over the years a great many hymn and prayer books were printed in various dialects. Outside church functions the Inuit used syllabics when writing to each other. A few people even began to keep a daily diary or to note important events and dates on the inside cover of the family Bible. Without ever having been taught in a formal academic setting, syllabics had become the principal means of communication of the Arctic Quebec, Baffin Island, Kivallirmiut, Aivilik and Natsilik Inuit.

But this writing system was never used beyond the Natsilik territory because, late in the nineteenth century, missionaries and traders had introduced Inuinnaqtun, Siglitun and Uummarmiutun speakers to the Roman alphabet. They translated and printed the New Testament and Christian (Anglican and Catholic) hymns and prayers in an alphabetical orthography of their own. Unfortunately, it was never standardized or taught in schools, which means that each writer had more or less his or her own way of writing the language. Here is a short text in Western Inuktitun, in both the missionary and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada orthographies:

Missionary orthography:

Suli Atanik Ekniktuakuyotin Jesus Christ. Godim
Imnaigalunga: Godim Ekninga, nunamiut suinangit
nangmaktutin nagligilaktigut. Ilwit nunamiut
suinangit nangmaktutin tolsialtogut pigalugit.
(Anonymous, 1949. *Service Book of the Western Eskimos*.
Toronto, Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada).

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada orthography:

Suli ataniq irniqtualuujutin Jisusi Cristusi. Guutim
imnaigalunga: Guutim irninga, nunamiut suinnangit
nangmakutin nagligilaktigut. Ilvit nunamiut
suinnangit nangmaktutin tuksiaqtugut pigalugit.

At the beginning of the 1950s, therefore, almost all Canadian Inuit were literate in their language. Three writing systems were in use:

Moravian orthography (Roman alphabet)	Labrador
Syllabic writing system	Arctic Quebec Baffin Island Western Hudson Bay Natsilik area
Unstandardized Roman orthography	Arctic Coast, Mackenzie

The syllabic system was not completely standardized. The basic symbols were the same for everybody but, while some people used the small diacritic signs which permit an accuracy similar to that of the Roman alphabet (Fig. 5), most Inuit neglected their use (Fig. 6), the semantic context being generally sufficient to clarify most ambiguities.

This is why in 1957, the Federal Department of Northern Affairs approached a linguist to examine the possibility of devising a standard Roman alphabetical orthography which would be common to all Canadian dialects (Lefebvre, 1957). This work was pursued, from 1960 on, by another linguist, Raymond Gagné. In 1965, he published a report (Gagné, 1965) suggesting that a phonological alphabetical orthography be adopted, based on the minimal functional units of pronunciation, the phonemes. For example, Gagné stated, as Inuktitut possesses only three vowels, a, i and u, it is quite useless - and confusing - to note letters such as e or o, which do not really belong to the language. When double vowels or consonants are heard, they should be written as such (au, tt, *mm*, etc.). Phonemes *k* and *q* should always be distinguished from one another.

Gagné's orthography was interesting enough. For the first time in Canada, the transcription of Inuktitut was based on scientific principles. It did not succeed, however, because most Inuit identified themselves very strongly with their own writing systems, whether Moravian or syllabic. The only major publication in Gagné standard was the *Quaujiuaallirutissat*, a compendium of practical information issued by the Department of Northern Affairs in 1964.

Things remained as they were until 1973 when the newly-created Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) proposed the setting-up of an Inuit Language Commission whose dual purpose was to 'produce a major statement on the viability of the Inuit language and... to study the present state of the written language and recommend changes for the future' (Harper, 1983, pp. 51 and 54). After almost 200 years of Inuit literacy in Canada, it was the first time that the Inuit themselves became involved in linguistic matters.

In 1974 and 1975, the Commission's members, all native speakers of Inuktitut, visited most Canadian Inuit settlements. Their conclusions concurred on two major points:

1. No particular dialect should prevail over the others and be made the sole standard way of speaking Inuktitut;

△	i	▽	u	△	a	¹ H
∧	pi	∨	pu	∧	pa	∧
∩	ti	∪	tu	∩	ta	∩
ρ	ki	⊖	ku	⊖	ka	⊖
ρ	gi	∩	gu	∩	ga	∩
└	mi	└	mu	└	ma	└
ρ	ni	⊖	nu	ρ	na	ρ
└	si	└	su	└	sa	└
∩	li	∩	lu	∩	la	∩
└	ji	└	ju	└	ja	└
∧	vi	∨	vu	∧	va	∧
ρ	ri	ρ	ru	∩	ra	∩
ρ	qi	⊖	qu	⊖	qa	⊖
∩	ngi	∩	ngu	∩	nga	∩
∩	&i	∩	&u	∩	&a	∩

Fig. 7. Standard writing system. Source: reproduced by courtesy of Nortext Ltd., Ottawa.

But things were not so simple. Many people felt very reluctant to relinquish the orthographical conventions which they were familiar with. For example, Inuinnaqtun speakers at first refused to adopt the letter q. They finally accepted it on condition that - together with the Sight and Uummarmiut - they could write y, instead of j.

The most articulate opposition, however, came from Labrador. After some initial attempts at implementing the alphabetical version of the standard orthography, the Labrador Inuit Association finally yielded to the wishes of its senior members, and declared that the Moravian orthography, despite its serious shortcomings, constituted the sole acceptable writing system for the Labrador people. Some opposition also built up in Arctic Quebec, where many people, including several language teachers, insisted on writing *rp*, *rs*, *rt*, and *rq*, instead of *qp*, *qs*, *qt* and *qq*, or *tj* and *tl*, rather than *j* and *ll*. Quebec's Avataq Cultural Institute has set up its own Language Commission which has recommended that the series *ai*, *pai*, *tai*, etc., excluded by the ITC decision, should be re-introduced into the syllabic system.

Problems have also arisen due to the standard orthography's inherent shortcomings. Some phonologically conservative dialects, such as those of Western Inuktitut, about which almost nothing was known in 1976, harbour peculiar phonemes and groupings, for which the ITC standard does not provide any symbol. For instance, the apical alveolar continuant, which is phonemic in both Natsilik and Uummarmiutun, cannot be symbolized - as it is in Alaska - by *r*, because this letter is already used to transcribe the pre-uvular voiced continuant (ʀ). The solution for Uummarmiutun speakers consisted in creating a new grapheme .

With regard to groupings, Western Inuktitut discriminates between *n* + *ng* and *ng* + *ng*. How then can the difference be made graphically visible, when the standard orthography provides only one group of symbols, *nng* (for *ngng*)? The solution found was to distinguish between *nng* (*ng* + *ng*), and *n'ng* (*n* + *ng*), as in *sininngimman* ('because he/she does not sleep') and *tik-in'ngimman* ('because he/she does not arrive').

The result of all this is that, despite a strong desire on the part of many Inuit intellectuals -and international organizations -to achieve linguistic and orthographical unity (cf. MacLean, 1979), each region of the Arctic still harbours a quasi-parochial attachment to its own specificities. The unanimous linguistic decision reached in 1976 was swiftly challenged from many sides and it is to be expected that, within a few years, orthographical diversity will once again be rooted as it was before the creation of the Inuit Language Commission in 1974.

Nowadays, however, the question of a common orthography is probably not as crucial as it appeared ten or fifteen years ago. Computers and word processors, which now currently process Inuktitut syllabic or alphabetic data, will no doubt facilitate transfer from one orthographical system to another. For example, ITC standard syllabics can be automatically transliterated into ITC Roman alphabetical orthography and vice versa. This should make it easier to provide for the automatic transcription of one version of Canadian Inuktitut orthography into any other version.

Written Literature

The development of writing systems and the ensuing general literacy have given birth to a written literary tradition which is still embryonic. Canadian Inuit literature cannot be compared, for instance, to that of Greenland, because in Canada, until recently, Inuktitut did not receive any public recognition and encouragement, except, perhaps, in religious matters.

The use of the native language by missionaries and other people involved in teaching the Christian religion accounts for the fact that the first books printed in Inuktitut - whether in the Moravian orthography, syllabics, or Western Arctic script-were, as we have seen, biblical texts, hymns and prayers. In Labrador, where Inuktitut was taught in Moravian schools, a few academic texts in the local dialect (e.g. Martin, 1899) were also published by the missionaries.

Until the 1970s, however, Inuit books were few and far between (McGrath, 1984, p. 30). In 1931, the Hudson Bay Company published -in Labrador Inuktitut and English - its infamous *Eskimo Book Of Knowledge* (Binney and Perrett, 1931) which, in an outrageously paternalistic tone, explained to the Inuit how fortunate they were to live under the laws of England and the protection of the Company. It was followed in 1949 by the *Book of Wisdom for Eskimos* (Department of Mines and Resources, 1949) whose tone was quite similar. Fifteen years later, in 1964, the federal Department of Northern Affairs issued, as mentioned earlier, its *Qaujivaal-lirutissat* ('Materials to be used as a tool for learning more and more'), giving practical information on various matters. Apart from two more titles, however, - two autobiographies in English (Campbell, 1894; Washburne and Annauta, 1940) -this was almost all.

The development of an original Canadian Inuit literature corresponds to the ethnic, cultural and political revival of the early 1970s. It began with the publication of a few autobiographies and stories about traditional culture (Nungak and Arima, 1969; Ajaruaq, 1970; Pitseolak, 1971; Sivuaq, 1972 and 1973; Alasuaq, 1973; Metayer, 1973). This period also saw the publication of the first Inuit novel translated into English (Markoosie, 1970). The book had already appeared in the original language between 1967 and 1969 in instalments in the *Inuktitut* magazine. Its plot concerns a young hunter who, after witnessing the loss of his relatives and fiancée, finally commits suicide.

The first of all Canadian Inuit novels, however, had been written between 1953 and 1956 by a 23-year old Arctic Quebec woman, Salome Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk. Entitled *Sanaaq* (the name of the main character), it depicts the doings of a young widow living in a small semi-nomadic band, at the time of the first contacts with Euro-Canadians. For various reasons it was only published thirty years later, in its original syllabic version (Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk, 1984).

Since the early 1970s, publication of texts by Inuit authors, in both

Inuktitut and English, has been phenomenal. Most of these appear in periodicals. Newspapers and magazines published in the Arctic - or in southern Canada, by Inuit and Inuit-concerned organizations - contain a lot a short stories, essays and poems on various subjects. A first anthology in English appeared in 1980 (Gedalof and Ipellie, 1980). More on Inuit media will be found in Section 11 of this chapter.

In her study on Canadian Inuit written literature, Robin McGrath (McGrath, 1984, p. 81) states that contemporary Inuit prose may be classified into four categories: (1) modern stories; (2) memoirs or reminiscences; (3) history of the material culture; (4) articles and essays on contemporary life. Poetry does exist, but it is often written in English. The genuine poetical tradition of the contemporary Canadian Inuit lies, as it used do in older times, in the numerous Inuktitut songs, often in a Country and Western musical form composed by various singers all over the Arctic. The mood of these songs is overwhelmingly sentimental. They speak about love, attachment to the native land and nostalgia toward the old way of life. Many of them have been recorded and have tremendous success when broadcast by local radio stations or heard live at Arctic music festivals.

It would be impossible here to draw up a complete list -or even a more or less exhaustive selection - of Inuit authors (cf. Gedalof, 1979). Let us simply mention a few of them: Davidialuk Alasuaq (1981), Minnie A. Freeman (1978), Leah Idlout d'Argencourt (1976), John Igloliorte (1976), Alootook Ipellie - perhaps the most prolific contemporary author and draughtsman (cf. Ipellie, 1974-6) -Nuligak (1972), Peter Pitseolak (1975), Francois Quasa (1974), Taamusi Qumaq - the author of an encyclopaedia in syllabics on traditional Inuit life in Arctic Quebec (Qumaq, 1986) - Armand Tagoona (1975) and Anthony A. Thrasher (1976). Most of these writers have published in both Inuktitut and English. Two major collections of testimonies on contemporary life by ordinary people are also available (Padlayat, 1974 and Cowan, 1976).

In 1985 a resource centre on Canadian Inuit literature was established in Iqaluit. Its library should constitute a repository for all printed works written in Inuktitut, or by Inuit. Its first objective is to help northern schools in teaching language and communications, but its human and bibliographical resources are at the disposal of anyone interested in the subject. All this proves that Inuit written literature, albeit still very young, has already had a good start in Canada.

Contemporary Language Situation

Literary vitality does not mean, though, that Inuktitut is completely safe and sound. As we saw in the section on Inuit settlements and language groups, some dialects, with less than 50 per cent of speakers, seem to be on the verge of extinction. Social, cultural and linguistic contacts with Euro-Canadians have represented a formidable challenge to the language of the Inuit. It was, first, confronted with thousands of new concepts which had to be translated into native linguistic categories. Later on, its speakers were forced to learn a foreign tongue, presented to them as essential to their survival in the modern world. We shall now deal with these two phenomena which characterize the contemporary language situation: the designation of exogenous concepts and the advent of generalized bilingualism.

Designation of Foreign Concepts

For over 150 years, most Canadian Inuit have been acquainted, either through immediate contact or indirect trade relations, with raw materials, utensils, weapons, foods and other contrivances introduced into the Arctic by Europeans. Moreover, because of the gradual imposition of imported techniques, social institutions and Christian religious ideas, Canada's Arctic natives are now familiar with most modern scientific, economic, political and ideological concepts. They live in wooden oil-heated houses, possess snowmobiles, television sets and home computers, hold technical or administrative jobs and discuss local or world politics over satellite telephone.

What is amazing, from a linguistic viewpoint, is that most contemporary activities take place in Inuktitut. Naturally enough, the language of the Inuit is not yet able to express all the concepts, institutions and material objects in existence, but it has found a way to speak about most of them, without, for all that, forfeiting its basic originality.

A very few studies have addressed themselves to the problem of neologisms in Canadian Inuktitut. Graburn (1965), Saint-Aubin (1980), Harper (1983) and Dorais (1983) are the only ones we know of. Their conclusions generally concur. As Saint-Aubin put it:

The results of this work have shown that the Inuit language strongly resists direct borrowing when faced with the necessity of expressing a foreign concept...The preferred method of semantic borrowing is to calque, i.e. create a new word using native morphemes which will define or explain the concept, or to a lesser degree, to extend the meaning of a traditional word (Saint-Aubin, 1980, p. 82).

According to this author, resistance to direct borrowing is a characteristic of Inuktitut in general. In her opinion, it is 'due to the polysynthetic

nature of the language which results in a high degree of native lexical flexibility' (ibid., p. 82).

The 'polysynthetic nature' of Inuktitut permits the language, through the use of bases and postbases, to coin new words very easily to describe the function or appearance of the object or notion they translate. For example, the airplane is, quite naturally, characterized by the fact that it can fly. Thus, in various dialects, it is designated by newly-coined lexemes describing this characteristic:

tingim	'which is used to fly	Inuinnaqtun
tingmisuuq	'which usually flies'	North Baffin
qangattajuuq	'which usually ascends'	Arctic Quebec Tarramiut
tingijuuk	'which usually flies'	Labrador

Another method consists in extending the meaning of an existing word. For instance, in older times, several words denoted the idea of something used to hide somebody from other people, whether the contrivance in question be a skin veil, a stone or snow blind, etc. Some of these words now translate the modern notions of 'curtain' or 'spring-roller blind':

talukujaaq	Inuinnaqtun
talu	North Baffin
taalutaq	Arctic Quebec
taalutak	Labrador

These two methods of attributing Inuit names to foreign concepts draw exclusively on the native resources of the language. In most dialects, they account for at least 90 per cent of all words denoting exogenous realities. This means that, as Saint-Aubin noted, Inuktitut is strongly opposed to direct borrowing of words from another language. In her research on loan-verbs in three eastern Arctic settlements (Eskimo Point, Broughton Island and Salluit), she found that:

Overall, the occurrence of direct borrowings, calques and extensions in the translation of English verbs with no traditional equivalent is 3.5 per cent, 68 per cent and 28.5 per cent respectively (Saint-Aubin, 1980, p. 82).

These proportions roughly correspond to those found in Dorais' study on the Inuktitut translation of over 900 English nouns - all pertaining to material culture - with no traditional Inuit equivalent (Dorais, 1983). Based on research conducted from 1968 to 1971 in Arctic Quebec and Labrador, it analyses the basic meanings of more than 2,100 lexemes which, due to interdialectal variation, translate the 950 or so original English words.

Despite the use of a slightly different terminology, Dorais divides what

he labels 'modes of designation' into the same three categories as Saint-Aubin did: newly-coined words (calques), extensions of meaning and direct borrowings. The first two categories may be further subdivided into semantic classes.

Newly-coined words can, as mentioned above, refer either to the function or the appearance of the object they designate. Here are a few examples from Arctic Quebec:

Words expressing function

iigarvik	dock ('the place where a boat comes alongside')
ilinniatitsiji	teacher ('one who causes someone to attempt to learn')
kukkiliuti	toothpick ('that which serves to remove the bits of food from between the teeth')
qajuqtuuti	soup bowl ('that which is used to eat soup')
salumaittuturiikkuti	air filter ('a means to prevent something - the engine - from eating dirty things')
siniwik	bedroom ('the place where one sleeps')

Words expressing appearance

aupaqtulik	colour film ('that which has red in it')
kiinaujaq	money ('that which looks like a human face')
kukittapak	guitar ('that which habitually has a finger nail on it')
pattaujaq	orange ('that which resembles a ball')
nunannguaq	map ('an imitation of the earth')
qaritaujaq	computer ('that which resembles a brain')

A third kind of newly-coined word comprises those lexemes originally denoting a traditional cultural reality, to which a qualifying postbase has been added:

umiarjuaq	ship ('a huge boat')
qullialuk	pressure lamp ('a big traditional stone lamp')
qamutikallak	snowmobile; automobile ('a short sled')

Words expressing the extension of an original meaning to a newly introduced concept may either come from the general lexicon of the language, or from the vocabulary linked to traditional culture:

General words

aggait	glove ('a hand')
ajjl	photograph ('something similar to')
isaruq	wing of an aircraft ('wing of a bird')
pullaq	electric bulb ('a bubble of air')
uaruti	motor oil ('something which is mixed')

Cultural words

puurutaq	a plate ('traditional wooden plate')
ulimauti	axe ('traditional adze')
tatsiq	belt ('traditional trouser belt')
pattak	inflated ball ('traditional playing ball')
qajuuttaq	cup ('traditional wood, leather or stone cup')

The last category, that of direct borrowings, cannot be subdivided into semantic classes, as loan-words seem to be distributed more or less at random within the total lexicon. Most of these lexemes have been adapted to the phonology of Inuktitut.

In the Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec dialects, almost all borrowings are from English. The only exceptions are, in Arctic Quebec, one German word (*luivi*, 'lion', from *Loewe*) and two lexemes originating from either Cree or Montagnais Indian languages: *pakaakuani*, 'hen' (from *pakakwan*) and *kuukusi*, 'pig' (from *kûkus*). In Labrador, the Moravian missionaries, most of whom were originally from Germany, have introduced many German words, about fifty of which -pertaining mainly to numerals and the calendar - still survive in contemporary Labrador Inuttut (Heinrich, 1971). This dialect has also borrowed extensively from English.

Here are a few examples of English (from Arctic Quebec) and German (from Labrador) borrowings:

Borrowings from English

vaini	wine
paisikal	bicycle
aisikirim	ice cream
talavisia	television
saasa	saucer
paniuppaaq	frying pan
papa	pepper

Borrowings from German

kaattuupalak	potato (Kartoffel)
ainisik	one (eins)
jaari	year (Jahre)
situnatik	hour (Stunde)
sunaapintik	Saturday (Sonnabend)

Besides the sources already mentioned, there has been some mutual borrowing *amongst* Inuit dialects. For instance, Arctic Quebec Tarramiut and Labrador Inuttut use at least two lexemes which were introduced from Greenland through the Moravian translation of the Bible: *saugak* (Greenlandic *sava*), 'sheep', and *tittulautik* (a lexical item based on the Greenlandic *tittuli-*, 'to throw a stream forward'), 'tuba, trumpet'. Surprisingly enough, despite ancient contacts in southern Labrador and Arctic Quebec, French has not given a single word to Inuktitut. The French-Inuktitut pidgin in use in southern Labrador during the eighteenth century between French traders and local Inuit (Dorais, 1980) has left no traces.

Analysis of the semantic structure of the vocabulary of acculturation gives a better understanding as to why such or such a concept is translated by a particular lexeme. Comparison of the literal meanings of newly-coined words and semantic extensions allows us to read the lexicon as a series of commentaries on the characteristic features perceived by Inuit speakers as relevant for describing the contemporary world. It has also enabled specialists to put forward the general rules which govern the creation of a modern Inuktitut terminology (Dorais, 1984, p. 16):

1. When a newly-introduced culturalelement is perceived as being similar (in both form and function) to a traditional one, it is translated by the same lexeme as the older element.
2. When an element is perceived as playing a traditional role, while looking quite different from the pre-contact implement which used to play the same role, it is translated by a newly-coined lexeme or a semantic extension, expressing a feature which characterizes the appearance of the element.
3. When an element is perceived as totally new, in both form and function, it is translated by a newly-coined word describing its function; if, however, it is apprehended as belonging to a taxinomic classification, the newly-coined word-or, in some cases, semantic extension-rather describes the appearance of the element.
4. When, finally, an element is perceived as completely alien to any known semantic category, it may be translated by a word borrowed from another language.

As mentioned earlier, the respective productivity of each of the three modes of designation is not the same at all. The creation of new words constitutes, by far, the most productive mode, followed by extension of

meaning and direct borrowing. The exact percentages may, however, vary from one dialect to another. Speech forms which have been in contact with English or another language for a longer time seem to be noticeably less productive than the others. They resort more often to direct borrowing. In this sense, the difference in the relative frequency of the modes of designation between Labrador Inuttut and Arctic Quebec Tarramiut is quite important (Dorais, 1983, p. 93):

<i>Mode of designation</i>	<i>Labrador</i>	<i>Tarramiut</i>
Creation of new words	62.77%	77.20%
Extension of meaning	20.06%	17.71%
Direct borrowing	17.17%	5.09%
	100.00%	100.00%

In Arctic Quebec Tarramiut, only 5 per cent of the vocabulary of acculturation has been borrowed from another language. This means that this dialect, like most other eastern Arctic speech forms, has been able to cope very efficiently with the introduction of foreign concepts.

To what extent will Inuktitut be able to find in itself the resources necessary for translating the growing body of technical and administrative terminology now available to Inuit? No one knows. Some authors (such as Kalmar, 1982) doubt that it is developed enough to allow for a precise translation of very specialized semantic categories. On the other hand, most native translators and interpreters insist on coining new lexemes, rather than borrowing English expressions, thus confirming the vitality of the language.

Despite this last fact, however, the situation is rapidly changing. A sizable minority of Inuit speakers are now bilingual, and they very often freely mix Inuktitut and English words in the same sentence, even using English expressions that already have an Inuktitut equivalent. As we shall see, this is where the real problem lies.

Inuit Bilingualism

Mention has already been made in this chapter of the fact that, according to the 1981 federal census, 74 per cent of the Canadian Inuit (18,770 persons out of a total of 25,390 - the first figure includes 25 natives who are not, strictly speaking, of Inuit ethnic origin) have Inuktitut as a first language. By comparison with other native speech forms, that percentage may be considered as high. This is why the anthropologist Michael K. Foster considers Inuktitut as one of only three Canadian aboriginal languages (the other two being Ojibway and Cree) that have excellent chances of survival in the future (Foster, 1982).

When one takes a closer look, however, the situation no longer appears as rosy as it first appeared to be. For instance, the number of Inuit who actually speak their language at home is only 16,780, or 89.4 per cent of all people claiming Inuktitut as their mother tongue, and 66 per cent - two-thirds - of all Canadians of Inuit origin. The average age of these speakers is 22 years, which may appear encouraging, as for most other Canadian native speech forms it is appreciably higher (Priest, 1985). But it must not be forgotten that 1,970 persons whose first language is Inuktitut speak English at home (ten persons speak French, and five another language).

Moreover, if only 10 per cent of Inuktitut-mother-tongue Arctic natives use another language at home, only 3 per cent (185 persons) of English-mother-tongue Inuit speak Inuktitut in their household. This means that there is a net loss of 1,785 speakers (9.5 per cent) in favour of English (Robitaille and Choiniere, 1984). This last language thus seems to dominate the process of linguistic transfer.

This dominance of English is also thrown into relief by statistics concerning bilingualism. In 1981, 64 per cent of all Canadian Inuit declared that they were able to speak English, either as a first language or in addition to Inuktitut. Two per cent more knew both English and French, which left only 34 per cent of the population speaking solely Inuktitut. The proportion of Inuktitut-English bilinguals has been estimated as follows by Robitaille and Choiniere (1984, p. 31):

1. a maximum of 6,645 Inuit *stricto sensu* (25,390 - 18,745 speakers of Inuit ethnic origin) do not speak Inuktitut;
2. 16,655 Inuit declare that they are able to speak English;
3. thus, at least 10,010 Inuit (16,655 - 6,645) can speak both Inuktitut and English; they account for 39 per cent of the total population of Inuit ethnic origin.

These statistics maybe interpreted as either encouraging or discouraging. Bilingualism is, basically, a positive phenomenon. Most studies show that knowledge of a second, and even a third language, constitutes an enrichment for anybody. In the case of the Inuit, English surely opens the gate to a whole world of information and ideas which will remain forever inaccessible to unilinguals. The social and economic development of contemporary Canadian Inuit would be unthinkable without a sound knowledge of English.

On the other hand, however, there are two facts which hint that bilingualism, as now practised in the Arctic, could, in the long run, be detrimental to Inuktitut. These are:

1. the relationship between fluency in English and language loss;
2. the influence of bilingualism on knowledge of Inuktitut.

BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE LOSS

Statistics are clear. In 1981, two thirds (66 per cent) of Canadian Inuit used Inuktitut as their home language. The same proportion-but not necessarily the same individuals - could speak English. About two-fifths of the latter did not have any knowledge of Inuktitut, which leaves us with 10,000 bilinguals.

The distribution of English speakers is not the same at all in various areas of the Arctic. According to Robitaille and Choiniere (1984, p. 32), in 1981 the respective percentages of English-speaking Inuit and of unilinguals were as follows:

	Labrador	Arctic Quebec	NWT Yukon	Southern Canada	Total
English speakers (bilingual/unilingual)	93%	26%	68%	96%	66%
Inuktitut unilinguals	7%	73%	32%	2%	34%

The difference was overwhelming between Labrador, where almost all Inuit spoke some English, and Arctic Quebec, where three-quarters of the total Inuit population did not speak any English or French. In the Northwest Territories (NWT), the percentage of English speakers was quite high (68 per cent) but did not reach the proportions found in Labrador.

These figures can be compared with regional statistics on language use at home (Robitaille and Choiniere, 1984, p. 34):

	Labrador	Arctic Quebec	NWT Yukon	Southern Canada	Total
English as home language	64%	2%	25%	89%	32%
Inuktitut as home language	35%	97%	75%	1%	66%

The two sets of figures roughly parallel one another. In Labrador, only a third of all Inuit still speak Inuktitut at home, while in Arctic Quebec, it is the case of 97 per cent of them. Here again, the Northwest Territories stand in the middle.

If these statistics are now put in relation to the figures given in Table 4, it becomes clear that the ratio of Inuktitut speakers corresponds closely to that of Inuktitut users. In Labrador, 44.2 per cent of the population of Inuit ethnic origin speak Inuktitut, while for the Arctic Quebec dialect, the ratio is 96.8 per cent. With regard to the eight speech forms spoken in the

Northwest Territories, the average percentage of speakers is 72.3 per cent. This relative weakness is due mainly to the fact that three dialects - Uummarmiutun, Siglitun and Inuinnaqtun - harbour a very low ratio of language preservation.

It seems clear, then, that fluency in English-either as a first or second language - is proportional to the rate of language loss in Inuktitut. The percentage of English speakers (bilingual or unilingual) is highest in the dialects with the smallest proportions of individuals whose first language is Inuktitut. In Labrador, for instance, where only 44.2 per cent of the Inuit have their local dialect as mother tongue, there are 520 Inuktitut-English bilinguals, i.e. 82.5 per cent of all Inuktitut speakers. In Uummarmiutun and Siglitun, and in a majority of Inuinnaqtun communities, only a handful of elderly people do not have some knowledge of English.

This knowledge has been introduced through early and intensive contacts with outside people: white trappers and traders in the western Arctic, and Moravian missionaries and European settlers in Labrador. Moreover, the early presence of a school system has greatly contributed to the diffusion of English and a parallel loss of Inuktitut. In the western Arctic for instance, missionary schools have existed since the 1920s. Here is a description of the way in which the local Inuvialuit (Inuinnaqtun, Siglitun and Uummarmiutun speakers) have suffered linguistically from these institutions:

Stories abound among Inuvialuit now in middle age of being picked up during the summer by a schooner from places as far away as Banks or Victoria Islands and taken to a mission school on the mainland. Both Anglican and Roman Catholic schools were established there in the 1920s. Often as young as eight years old, the children would arrive at school speaking only Inuvialuktun. Once boarding there, however, they were forbidden to speak their language and were punished if caught doing so. Because ice conditions - and other considerations - sometimes prevented the schooner from returning the children each summer to their parents and grandparents, they often spent several years at a mission school, with the inevitable result that they lost their native language. On their eventual homecoming, they found themselves unable to speak to their elders and were forced to relearn Inuvialuktun. In the process, their parents and grandparents learned English (Osgood, 1983, p. ix).

In Labrador, where schools have existed since the end of the eighteenth century, teaching was originally done in Inuktitut by Moravian missionaries and local Inuit. This contributed to the preservation of the language, even if, since the late nineteenth century, increasing contacts with European settlers exposed many people - mostly adult males - to English.

But in 1949, Newfoundland-Labrador, then a separate British Dominion, joined the Canadian Confederation as its tenth province. All of a sudden, missionary schools were handed over to the provincial education authorities, with the following results:

After Newfoundland joined the Confederation of Canada, all instruction in the

Inuttut language was dropped. The Newfoundland curriculum was adopted and teachers were imported from England and other overseas countries, from the United States, and later from Newfoundland and other parts of Canada. During the early 1950s and 1960s, only English was used in the schools and it was only in the last four years that we have made attempts to reinstate our native language in our schools (Jeddore, 1979, p. 84).

Combined with the already existing exposure to English, this change in linguistic policies led to the present-day situation: only 44 per cent of all Labrador Inuit still speak Labrador Inuttut.

There is, therefore, a real danger that uncontrolled bilingualism may be detrimental to Inuktitut. If the progress of English is left unchecked—from 1971 to 1981, the proportion of English-speaking Inuit increased from 51 to 64 per cent - what has already happened in the Western Arctic (and Labrador) could also occur in other parts of the Canadian North:

Elders in the community are bilingual in English and Inuvialuktun with a bias in use toward Inuvialtitun. Middle-aged persons are bilingual with a bias toward using English. Persons in their teens, twenties, and thirties have a passive, or comprehending, knowledge of the language but rarely speak it. . . Children of this latter group acquire little or no knowledge of the language. Unless this pattern is modified, the language could disappear altogether when these children become the adult Inuvialuit of tomorrow (Osgood, 1983, p. ix).

BILINGUALISM AND KNOWLEDGE OF INUKTITUT

Another aspect of the problem is that, even if bilingual Inuit preserve their first language, their fluency in it may still be affected.

Preliminary results from recent, research on bilingualism in the Canadian Eastern Arctic (Arctic Quebec and Baffin region) show that the available Inuktitut vocabulary of average schoolchildren (i.e. the words with which they are most familiar on various topics) far surpasses, at first, their available English - or French, in some Quebec classrooms - vocabulary. This situation holds true until they reach the age of eleven. At that age, things change completely. On average, children then begin to be more familiar with English words, and this familiarity does not cease to grow till they leave school (D.R.F. Collis, personal communication). This dominance of English vocabulary generally occurs after having been taught in English, even if, in most cases, English schooling had been preceded by at least two years of a totally Inuktitut curriculum. Some children are so upset by linguistic problems that they become semi-lingual, i.e. only partially fluent in both Inuktitut and English.

Generally speaking, then, bilingualism among younger Inuits subtractive. Progress in the second language, English or French, provokes a corollary decrease in overall knowledge of the mother tongue. Impoverish-

ment of the vocabulary is accompanied by a simplification of grammatical forms. A short study of the influence of English language schooling among eastern Arctic Inuit youngsters, conducted in 1975, shows that:

Two results of this schooling are impoverished vocabulary and simplified grammar among the young. The areas of vocabulary which have suffered the most are numbers and terms for zoology and spatial relationships. Some verbal endings have been simplified, such as plural endings (which have been made more regular) and the negative conjunction. These phenomena have been observed in particular in Igloodik and in New Quebec (Saint-Aubin, 1980, p. 21).

So, the contemporary Canadian Inuit are now well entrenched in bilingualism, for better or for worse. Traditional Inuktitut-Cree or Inuktitut-Dene bilingualism, which had never been very pervasive (only a handful of Inuit now speak any Indian language), has almost completely disappeared behind fluency in both Inuktitut and English. In Arctic Quebec, several youngsters also speak French, which is taught in some schools. As we have seen, although bilingualism is basically a good thing, it can nevertheless have negative consequences, and even lead to the total disappearance of the native language. We shall now examine the legal status and social functions of Canadian Inuktitut in order to better understand its relations with English, the dominant majority language in Canada.

Legal Status and Social Functions of Inuktitut

Apart from its demographical mass (the number of its users) and its rate of preservation, a language usually depends, for its future maintenance, on the legal and social recognition it is granted in the territory where it is spoken. Canadian Inuktitut is no exception to the rule. Even if, in the eastern Arctic, it still constitutes the usual language of a majority of the population, its legal status and social role can justifiably be examined, in order to better understand its chances of survival.

Legal Status

Legally speaking, Canada is a bilingual country. English and French are recognized by the Canadian State as the two official languages. This means that the federal administration uses both of them when dealing with the public and -to a lesser extent -for internal purposes. Since 1984, English-French bilingualism has also applied in the two federal territories: Yukon and the Northwest Territories. At the provincial level, in eight out of ten provinces, English is the sole official language. In Quebec (whose population

is over 80 per cent francophone), the official language is French, while only one province, New Brunswick, is officially bilingual.

This legal situation should not conceal the fact that Canada is a multilingual country. Besides over fifty native languages - with a total of about 150,000 speakers (Foster, 1982) - a multitude of speech forms introduced by immigrants of various origins are still spoken daily. None of them, however, are considered official, and their status varies from legal non-existence, to the recognizance of some education and cultural rights.

Inuktitut is relatively well-positioned in comparison with other native languages. The only area of *Inuit nunangat* where it does not enjoy some legal protection is Labrador. But even there, the use of the language by local municipal administrations, as well as its teaching in public schools -as an auxiliary subject - are not forbidden.

In the Northwest Territories, the status of Inuktitut - together with Dene -is that of an 'official aboriginal language', as distinguished from the 'official languages', English and French. As such, its use is allowed during the debates of the Territorial Legislative Assembly, and translation services, including simultaneous interpreting, are provided by the administration. The teaching of Inuktitut is encouraged and public funds are allotted for language development. In regional and municipal administrations, there exists a *de facto* Inuktitut-English bilingualism in those areas where Inuit speakers form a majority of the population. In most Eastern Arctic communities, for instance, municipal councils regularly use Inuktitut when deliberating, and local regulations are printed in both Inuktitut and English.

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada's proposal for an Inuit province called Nunavut (cf. Section 5.1) states that Inuktitut should become - together with English - one of the two official languages of this new entity. However, a recent-and controversial -study (Mackay and Rand, 1984) suggests that such a move could, in fact, be detrimental to the Inuit, as:

If Inuktitut were declared an official language of Nunavut, the government of Nunavut would be under the legal obligation to translate all legislative proceedings, all statutes, all government documents. And since the Inuktitut-language version of a law would have to be strictly equal to the English (or French) language version, this translation work would require the services of a team of Inuktitut/English translators with extensive legal training...This emphasis on legalistic forms could stretch the Inuit's resources to the limit (Winch, 1985, p. 8).

The authors of the study rather propose that the future government of Nunavut declares priority areas for the promotion of Inuktitut, instead of making it official. This would, in their opinion, prevent useless waste of human and monetary resources.

In Arctic Quebec, the status of the language has been partly formalized

by the James Bay Agreement (cf. section on contemporary history). Inuktitut has not been made official, but its usage is officiously recognized as compulsory within all administrative bodies, committees and corporations answerable to the Agreement. Provincial laws and regulations which specifically concern the Inuit are translated into their language. In educational and cultural matters, Inuktitut officially takes precedence over French and English.

Finally, at national level, the Inuit Committee on National Issues is actively lobbying for the entrenchment of Inuit language rights in the Canadian Constitution. And from a pan-Arctic viewpoint, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) considers that 'the native languages of the Inuit are technically one language' (Inuit Circumpolar Conference, 1983) and that as such, it should become the working language of the North. ICC strongly supports the establishment of a standard writing system for all Inuit dialects.

So, despite its non-recognition as a fully-fledged official language, Canadian Inuktitut enjoys a certain number of juridical or officious rights. The implementation of these rights involves, among other things, a tremendous amount of terminological research and translation work. All Arctic administrations have established their own translation concerns. These include the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs translation services, the Government of the Northwest Territories Language Bureau, the translation office of Quebec's Secretariat aux activités gouvernementales en milieu amérindien et Inuit (SAGMAD, Makivik Corporation's information branch and the Northern Labrador Communications Society.

The duties of these organizations are more or less the same: to provide for the growing needs in written translation and oral interpretation within public and semi-public administrations. For instance, the activities of the Northwest Territories Language Bureau (formerly known as the N.W.T. Interpreters Corp.) are quite representative of what is done elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic:

The Language Bureau of the Department of Information of the Government of the Northwest Territories maintains a staff of interpreters for the native languages, available to the Legislative Assembly, the government departments, and other organizations upon request. These interpreters represent the five main native languages of the N.W.T.: Inuktitut (with several major dialects) and the four Dene languages (Harmun & Howard, 1984, p. 9).

With the ethnic and political awakening of the 1970s and 1980s, needs for translation have enormously increased. Legal texts, user's guides, technical data, annual reports, etc. are now routinely translated and printed in an Inuktitut version. For example, all northern communications originating from Bell Canada, the private company which delivers telephone services to the eastern Arctic, are trilingual (English-French-Inuktitut).

This includes advertising, monthly billing and technical information, as well as a telephone book with a full Inuktitut syllabic section. The general importance of translation is well summarized by Kenn Harper:

In the last decade, however, there has been a virtual explosion in the volume of material which must be translated into Inuktitut. Government in the north has mushroomed until it has come to pervade the lives of northerners. Moreover, it has manifested itself in a hierarchy of levels, from municipal, through territorial, to federal. The search for non-renewable resources has become a major activity in the north, as elsewhere in the world, and a good interpreter is expected to be competent in the vocabulary necessary to discuss mining and mineral exploration, off-shore oil development, the danger of oil spills in northern waters, the search for natural gas and the wisdom of year-round tanker traffic. Increased political awareness has resulted in the movement to settle native land claims and a requirement has grown in that sphere for a large amount of material to be translated (Harper, 1983, pp. 93-4).

Because of these needs, many Inuit are now working as free-lance interpreters and translators. Together with their colleagues hired by public administrations, since 1980, they usually belong to the Inuit Interpreters and Translators Association of Canada (IITAC), whose founder and first president is Ms. Bernadette Immaroitok.

According to Harper, proper training constitutes the main problem of Canadian Inuit interpreters and translators. The sole organization offering any formal instruction is the Northwest Territories Language Bureau. This means that most individuals involved in translation work must acquire their skills by themselves, without any systematic training. The only help they get is through the annual terminology conferences organized by IITAC. These deal with problems such as standardization of terminology, development of linguistic resource materials, training and certification of interpreters, and application of modern technology - micro-computers for instance - to Inuktitut translation (MacDonald, 1984, p. 20).

All this seems encouraging. It should be noted, however, that translation is almost entirely unilateral, from English (or French) to Inuktitut. This fact is meaningful. It is the concepts and knowledge of the majority society which are conveyed to the Inuit, and not the contrary. Inuktitut translation may help Arctic natives adapt to modern life, but it does not make allowance for their own specific values and ideas. As we shall see, this situation is linked to the overall dependency of the contemporary Inuit.

Social Functions

To better understand the relationship between Inuktitut and English in Canada, the key concept one shall use is that of diglossia, or simultaneous use, by a population, of more than one speech form:

This is a state of linguistic relations where two or more unequal languages co-exist: Inuktitut and English in the Northwest Territories and Labrador; Inuktitut, English and French in Arctic Quebec; Inuktitut, English and another native language in some areas of the Mackenzie Delta, Arctic Quebec and Labrador. Each of these languages has its specific functions and value. The 'higher' functions (higher education, government, well-paying work, literature) are performed in the dominant language: English or French. They are the most valued. Inuktitut and other native languages are used only for 'lower tasks': private conversations, non-specialized jobs and, sometimes, to help young children during their first years at school. Inuktitut may have some official status, but it is generally more symbolic than real (Dorais, 1981, p. 306).

In fact, one can only wonder if the recognition of Inuktitut as a bona fide language in the Canadian Arctic brings any real measure of economic, political and social autonomy to the Inuit, or if, on the contrary, it does not contribute to increasing their dependency on southern institutions.

What percentage of the thousands of pages translated into Inuktitut each year is useful to -or even read by-the Inuit? Not very much. When questioned about their reading abilities, a majority of bilinguals state that they read English far better than Inuktitut (Prattis and Chartrand, 1984, p. 26). As for unilinguals, they are generally rebuffed by the style and contents of most translations:

These translations, ranging from the unabridged version of laws and agreements to the verbatim accounts of parliamentary debates, give good conscience to Ottawa, Yellowknife or Quebec officials, as having done their duty towards Inuit. But they are quite useless. Their language, which literally translates very specialized Western concepts, is not readily understandable for most Inuit... The few people who really need these texts generally prefer to read them in the English version (Dorais, 1981, p. 304).

Thus, this type of undertaking often has a merely symbolic value. It gives the impression that the State has done its duty for the promotion of Inuktitut, but by doing so, it conceals the real, fundamental problem: to help the Inuit devise social rules and institutions which would be their own rather than poor imitations of those of the southern Canadian establishment. As long as the Arctic natives do not become economically and politically autonomous - and such an autonomy can very well work within the framework of the Canadian Confederation- their culture and language will remain, practically speaking, that of second-class citizens, and as such, will not have any real chance of development.

What should be done, then? First of all, it is probably illusory to imagine that radical social changes will occur in the near future. Which means that for the time being, the Inuit must work on more concrete objectives without, for all that, forgetting their ultimate economic and political goals. One of these objectives could consist in devising an effective cultural and linguistic policy.

According to Prattis and Chartrand, who are among the very few authors having written on these problems, the only way for the Inuit to retain their native identity is to establish in the Canadian Arctic a bilingualism/biculturalism policy which would demonstrate that Inuktitut is as useful and valuable as English or French. They suggest nine elements which, if implemented, would contribute to such a policy (Prattis and Chartrand, 1984, pp. 46-7):

1. official recognition of Inuktitut;
2. use of Inuktitut in administrative, bureaucratic and legal structures;
3. insertion of bilingual education within a wider community education programme;
4. support and financing for Inuktitut medium instruction at all levels of the education system;
5. establishment of major centres for teacher training, curriculum design and production of Inuit literature;
6. reading schemes, at all levels, in Inuktitut;
7. teachers fluent in English and Inuktitut;
8. use of Inuktitut in community education and cultural programmes, to increase its social standing;
9. support for Inuktitut in the mass media, including radio and television programmes for schools, children at home and general broadcasting.

Many of these suggestions are also voiced by the Inuit themselves who realize that native language and culture are essential to their overall development. It can even be said that for many Arctic politicians and ideologists, language, in particular, has become a symbol of Inuit identity. For instance, it is generally admitted throughout *Inuit nunangat* that the speech of the older Inuit - or Inummariit - those familiar with the traditional way of life, is much more sophisticated and elegant in both its vocabulary and grammar, than that of the younger people raised in settled communities. Such a language is often proposed as a model to schoolchildren and other youngsters (Brody, 1975, p. 135).

In one area of the Northwest Territories, the Inuvik (Mackenzie) Region, this ideological value ascribed to Inuktitut has led to an ambitious attempt at linguistic revival. From 1981 to 1984, a team of linguists, educators and, above all, native speakers - under the sponsorship of the local Inuit association (COPE) - collected data, worked on grammars and dictionaries and prepared pedagogical materials in order to revive, through school education, the three local dialects - Uummarmiutun, Siglitun and Kangiryuarmiut Inuinnaqtun - which, as we have seen, are now on the verge of extinction (cf. Lowe, 1983-5). Only the future will tell if these efforts are worthwhile, and if children shall be able to learn their grandparents' native dialects as second languages. In any case, this undertaking shows that considerable value is attached to Inuktitut as a symbol of native ethnic identity.

Care should be taken, however, not to confine Inuit claims to linguistic and cultural matters. This is exactly what the governing class wants. It is clear that since the 1980s, the federal and provincial governments have tended to interpret native claims, which are basically political, in terms of cultural demands. This explains why emphasis has been placed on education, media development and translation, with no real progress being made for over fifteen years on questions pertaining to economic self-sufficiency or political autonomy. For the Canadian authorities, the economic and strategic importance of the Arctic is too great to risk losing control over any portion of the North. In the specific case of Quebec, the French Canadian nationalist elite (in sociological terms, the 'petty bourgeoisie') considers it essential to its interests to strengthen its authority over the whole provincial territory (Dorais, 1979). This excludes granting any real decisional power to the Inuit.

So, it may be seen that the social position of Inuktitut in the Canadian Arctic has both positive and negative aspects. On the one hand, there has been tremendous progress since the early 1970s in public recognition and usage of the language. Contrary to previous practice, it is now considered legitimate and progressive to teach Inuktitut in public schools, translate all kinds of materials into this speech form and grant it quasi-official status. Language is an essential component of the native identity of most Inuit associations and individuals, and the struggle for linguistic rights is integrated into their overall social and political strategy.

On the other hand, however, it should not be forgotten that Inuktitut functions within a general diglossic situation. The relations between this native language and English are basically unequal. In Canada, English and, to a lesser extent, French are the dominant languages. Economic, educational and social promotion are impossible without proper knowledge of at least one of them, preferably the first. This mere fact explains that as long as things remain as they are, Inuktitut-English bilingualism cannot but lead to the gradual degradation and disappearance of a native speech form which has become marginal:

It (bilingualism) enforces the marginality of local people, as their mother tongue is erroneously perceived as not suited to modern life, while their knowledge of English, even when it is very good, cannot ensure them a dominant position in Canadian society (Dorais, 1981, p. 306).

In this sense, the sociolinguistic situation in the Arctic reinforces the overall dependency of the Inuit. Despite enormous progress in the fields of education, translation and official recognition, Inuktitut cannot compete with English, because the overwhelming presence and power of southern Canadian majority institutions in *Inuit nunangat* tend to convince many people -even if they are not ready to admit it-that their native language, culture and philosophy, despite their intrinsic value, cannot permit them to cope adequately with modern life. Only when Arctic natives feel that it is

possible for them to create a new type of society, different from traditional culture, but still uniquely Inuit, will the survival of Inuktitut be completely ensured. As many Inuit leaders are now aware, the advent of this feeling is likely to stem from economic cooperation among people and from political autonomy. Linguistic, cultural and political rights are, thus, inseparable from each other.

Teaching Inuktitut in Canada

Teaching Inuktitut must be understood within the social and political context just described. It has always been intimately linked to Canadian and provincial policies pertaining to native northern peoples. This is why, in this section, the historical development of Inuit formal education shall be dealt with first. It will be followed by a short description of currently available school materials for Inuktitut classes.

The Development of Inuit Education

Traditional Inuit did not have any formal schooling system. Knowledge was transmitted orally from father to son and mother to daughter. It was by imitating their parents that children progressively learned how to hunt, fish, sew, cook and perform all the tasks necessary for survival of the group. The only remotely systematic training in existence was the one given by the shaman to his or her apprentice, and only a tiny minority benefited from it.

With the arrival of the Europeans in the Canadian Arctic, things began to change, although very slowly at the beginning. The only outsiders interested in bringing some kind of Western-style education to the Inuit were the missionaries. If they wanted their new converts to be able to use the Christian Scriptures, they had to teach them how to read. In most areas of *Inuit nunungat*, as we have seen, the syllabic and western Arctic alphabetical orthographies, once introduced by the missionaries, were left entirely in the hands of the Inuit, who took charge of transmitting reading and writing skills among themselves. When the Anglicans and Catholics began establishing their first schools during the third decade of the twentieth century, English was to be the principal teaching language.

Only in one area, Labrador, was an Inuktitut school system established early. As already mentioned, as early as 1791, the Moravian missionaries opened a school at Nain. Adult literacy classes were started in 1805-6, and by 1843 practically all Moravian Inuit could read and write their language. From 1853 on, political and church history was taught to adults (Anonymous, 1971, p. 37).

The Labrador schools followed the Greenlandic model, as Moravians were also present in Greenland. Teaching was exclusively in Inuktitut, first by missionaries, later on by Inuit and missionary teachers. Schools were open four days a week and accepted children from the age of six. According to Jenness:

Two principles governed the education offered in these schools: first, the need to impart a sound knowledge of the Christian religion and, second, the undesirability of disturbing the native way of life except where it was absolutely imperative (Jenness, 1965, p. 38).

The curriculum consisted of practical subjects only: reading, writing, simple arithmetic, elementary geography and history, elementary book-keeping and, of course, the study of the Bible (Jenness, 1965, *ibid.*). Sewing, singing and carpentry were also taught. A typical Moravian textbook of the late nineteenth century, such as the one by Martin (1899), dealt with Bible and church history, general world history, geography and government. It emphasized the position of the Labrador Inuit within both the Moravian Church and the British Empire. It should be noticed that Martin's book was used well into the twentieth century, and that despite differences in the writing system, it found its way among the Arctic Quebec Inuit. At the end of the 1960s, an anthropology student doing fieldwork near Kuujuaq was quite surprised when one of his oldest informants, who had never been to school, started telling him about how the 'big king' (*atanirjuaq* 1 Napoleon had been defeated by the Russians a long time before (Donat Savoie, personal communication). The informant's knowledge came directly from Martin's book.

In 1914, the Labrador Moravians were operating six mission stations and one so-called 'preaching place'. They had eight schools - one mission possessed both a day- and a boarding-school - with 193 pupils out of a total of 1,235 baptized Inuit and European settlers, these last accounting for about 20 per cent of the population (Jenness, 1965, p. 41). Schools did not grade pupils, but their curriculum was equivalent to about three years of elementary schooling.

This system continued until 1949 when Newfoundland-Labrador joined the Canadian Confederation. As already mentioned, the Moravian schools were handed over to the provincial education authorities and English became the sole teaching language overnight. Within a few years, the availability of education increased drastically - most northern Labrador schools now offer secondary level classes, and college facilities exist in Goose Bay-Happy Valley - but this occurred at the expense of the native tongue. As we have seen, together with the presence of a sizeable minority of English-speaking settlers, English-language formal education is responsible for the fact that Labrador Inuktitut is now spoken by only 44 per cent of the local Inuit population. In 1975 a few weekly hours of written Inuktitut

were added to the Nain elementary school curriculum under the aegis of the Labrador Inuit Association, but it seems doubtful if it can reverse the current trend toward linguistic assimilation.

In contrast with the Moravians, the other missionaries did not establish Inuit schools from the very beginning. After 1920, however, religious competition between the Anglicans and Catholics led them to consider opening mission schools as an effective means for encouraging conversions. Accordingly, most missionaries became part-time teachers. There was no fixed curriculum. Pupils acquired basic notions of arithmetic, geography and English, but as most Inuit were still nomadic or semi-nomadic, school attendance was not very regular.

This is why, in 1929, two boarding-schools were established in the Mackenzie Delta, one (Catholic) at Aklavik and the other (Anglican) at Shingle Point (it transferred to Aklavik in 1936). These were intended to serve the Inuit population of the entire western Arctic. Contrary to the day-schools, where some Inuktitut was used, English only was allowed in the boarding-school grounds. This led, as mentioned in Section 8, to the near extinction of the Inuvialuit dialects.

By 1937, outside Labrador, seven mission schools had been established in the Arctic. From 1922-3, they received annual grants from the Federal Government (Jenness, 1964). Their number grew with the missionary expansion of the late 1930s and 1940s reaching an approximate total of 30 in 1950.

Apart from its programme of grants, the Canadian Government refused to become involved in northern schools. For many high-ranking civil servants, the Inuit did not really need a southern-style education. They were rather perceived as marginal citizens, without any chance of ever participating in the overall development of the country. Moreover, nobody thought that they were mentally fit for academic studies. As one assistant to the Minister of the Interior put it: 'The educational requirements of the Eskimos ... are very simple, and their mental capacity to assimilate academic teaching is limited' (Bethune, 1935, p. 15).

According to Jenness (1964, p. 321), this attitude of non-interference was motivated by a desire not to spend too much money on northern administration. The Government felt that the development of public schools would be too expensive and that it would entail the sudden appearance of various social needs, in a region of the country regarded as almost economically useless. It should be added that until World War II, the dominant economic interests in the Arctic, those of the trading companies, benefited greatly from the presence of a population uneducated in southern terms, and which supplied furs and other local products without asking for much in return.

As seen in the section on society and economy in Arctic Canada today, the social and economic conditions of the Inuit changed completely after the war. Northern regions suddenly became very important, both strategically and economically, and the Government recognized that the native popula-

tions should receive the same services as other Canadians. But the culture and language of the Inuit were now considered as hindrances to their full integration into mainstream society. Assimilation was seen as the ultimate goal for the younger generation. With this in mind, the development of a complete system of southern-style school education and the systematic teaching of English became privileged ways for impressing the young Inuit with dominant Western values.

Accordingly, from 1948 on, the Federal Government gradually established day-schools in all Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec population centres. In 1963, 37 of these were already operating and three more were projected. In addition, two hostels, one in Inuvik and the other in Chesterfield Inlet (Keewatin), received children from outlying camps. Only one mission school was still in operation (Jenness, 1964, p. 125). About 60 per cent of all school-age children were enrolled in the system and, by 1970, the figure had risen to 100 per cent.

Until the beginning of the 1960s, most federal schools did not offer classes beyond the first elementary grades. It is only in a few more important settlements, such as Inuvik, Iqaluit and Kuujuaq, that pupils were able to reach tenth grade. In 1964, a boarding high school for Inuit students was established at Churchill, Manitoba, and a few years later, another one was opened in Iqaluit. Many children were also sent to southern Canada for secondary or vocational education.

Because the school was consciously meant as a tool of assimilation, the curriculum and teachers were all imported from southern Canada. Naturally enough, English was the only language used. In the first grade, six-year old Inuktitut unilinguals would regularly sit for six hours a day in the classroom, listening to a *qallunaaq* (Euro-Canadian) teacher discoursing in a language totally unintelligible to them. Older pupils understood a little more, but the contents of the curriculum were generally completely foreign to their previous experience. Furthermore, according to S.T.Mallon, an experienced and respected Arctic educator, the mere existence of a school system constituted a culture shock for Inuit children:

Our school system is alien not only because it has been developed and is being run by non-Inuit: it is alien because it is a system. There were no places in traditional Inuit culture where children were herded together for a set number of hours a day to learn how to become functioning adults; there was no sub-set of adults who devoted their lives to instruction, or to educational administration, or to the preparation of instructional materials. To put it as extremely as possible: the mere building of a school could be said to be an alien act of cultural aggression (Mallon, 1979, p. 66).

No wonder, then, that the Inuit now consider the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s as the dark ages of northern education, the time when their language and culture were knowingly being destroyed by southern institutions:

Inuktitut has suffered much opposition in recent decades. Northern schools tried to assimilate Inuit children into the southern, English-speaking way of life. Sometimes children sent south for hospital care or schooling returned totally unable to communicate with their parents. Happily those days are over and now northern governments are supporting Inuktitut language publications, school materials, dictionaries, films, translation and interpretation facilities, Inuit television and radio broadcasting stations and networks Immaroitok and Jull, 1985, p. 14).

The first breach in the assimilatory policies of the Canadian State appeared during the mid-1960s, as a by-product of the federal-provincial competition in Arctic Quebec. Determined to gain administrative control over its northern territories, the Quebec Provincial Government, from 1964 on, began opening its own schools to Inuit, arguing that, after all, education was under provincial -rather than federal -jurisdiction. In order to build their own clientele, the Arctic Quebec authorities decided to offer educational services as yet unheard of. They first opened kindergartens under the supervision of Inuktitut-speaking monitors. Teaching activities were then extended to the first two grades of the elementary schools. The medium of instruction was Inuktitut. Inuit teaching aids were employed, and these worked under the direction of certified *qallunaat* teachers who had acquired a minimal knowledge of the native language. In the bigger communities, higher grades were subsequently added to the provincial schools, using French as the teaching language.

By 1970, then, Arctic Quebec harboured a double school system: a federal one, where the medium of instruction was English, and a provincial one, where Inuktitut and French were taught. Most villages, even those that were very small (sometimes less than 150 inhabitants), possessed two competing schools. For various reasons, the federal system maintained its popularity, and provincial schools never enrolled more than a minority (around 20 per cent) of school-age children.

This competition had at least one positive consequence. It showed the Inuit that their language could be used as a medium of instruction. The idea gradually made headway, so that by the early 1970s some federal schools, in Arctic Quebec as well as in the Northwest Territories, began offering Inuktitut instruction in the very first grades (kindergarten instruction may have been offered earlier).

As in many other domains, things really began to change with the establishment of Inuit associations and the attempted settlement of native claims. From the very beginning, Inuit leaders insisted on the fact that Arctic natives totally refused assimilation into the dominant society. For instance, during a lecture delivered to the Northwest Territories *qallunat* teachers, Tagak Curley, first president of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, declared:

Most of all, I admire Canadian Inuit for resisting the total assimilation attempted by the dominant Canadian society through their present educational policy which you serve. It has been indicated by Inuit that they do not accept this total assimilation which is threatening our values today. It has been said by many Inuit and Inuit organizations that there is room in our Canadian Society for Inuit to live in harmony if their rights to participate are recognized...They have the language, they have the traditional economy, and most of all they are the majorities in the settlements in which you will be teaching (Curley, 1975, p. 1-2).

The Inuit's own interest in their linguistic and cultural survival led, in a very few years, to drastic changes in Arctic education. In the Northwest Territories, around 1973, the administration of the school system was transferred from the federal to the territorial government. This action resulted in more local control over educational matters. Native languages - Inuktitut and Dene - were now recognized as legitimate media and subjects of instruction. Policies and monetary allocations permitted the training and hiring of Inuit teachers as well as the production of school materials. Community schools were now supervised by local education councils which had a word to say about teaching policies and curricula.

As yet, however, educational efforts are extremely scattered. Most eastern Arctic schools offer Inuktitut courses, from kindergarten up to grades two or three, but there is still no centralized curriculum authority. Teaching materials in Inuktitut are produced locally and, despite some collaboration amongst educators, there is a certain amount of duplication, although the quality of these materials is somewhat unequal from one school to another.

In the western Arctic, as we have seen, Inuktitut is now being introduced into the schools as a second language. But it is too early to draw any conclusion about this interesting experiment.

The Government of the Northwest Territories has already committed itself by outlining 'a programme that intended to establish the native language fluency and literacy as a priority to be followed then by an English language programme and a support programme for the native language' (Prattis and Chartrand, 1984, p. 10). But these intentions have never been implemented:

A 'bits-and-pieces' approach has by and large replaced any consistent policy. There seems to be a lack of awareness of what a bilingual programme means in terms of preparing minority culture bearers to enter the wider national community while at the same time supporting the local level community. The result is a generation of students ill-equipped to fit into either of these two interdependent worlds (Prattis and Chartrand, 1984, *ibid.*).

In a long report on education, the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly (1982) still wonders to what extent native languages should be used within the school system. The educational role of Inuktitut is therefore far from settled.

In Arctic Quebec, matters are a little different. The James Bay Agreement has guaranteed the Inuits' right to control education (provisions 17.0.59, 17.0.63, 17.0.64 and 17.0.65). Since 1978, the Kativik School Board is the sole educational authority in the Quebec section of *Inuit nunungat*. Besides the ordinary prerogatives of any school board - administrative supervision through elected commissioners and local school committees - it has been granted special powers in the fields of education policies, including language policies, curriculum development and teacher training:

Kativik programs and teaching materials in Inuktitut are developed by Inuit teachers and counsellors, in consideration with elders. This ensures that they are culturally relevant and that they respect the learning style of Inuit students. The School Board also maintains that all programs and teaching materials in second language for all levels and in all subject areas must be developed specifically for Inuit students and must reflect the changes in northern society. Such development must be done in close connection with Inuit educators (Kativik School Board, 1986, p. 9).

Practically speaking, Arctic Quebec schools show more or less the same pattern - in terms of bilingualism - as many Northwest Territories institutions. Kindergarten, Grade 1 and Grade 2 are taught exclusively in Inuktitut in almost all schools. From Grade 3 on, parents have the choice between English or French as the principal teaching language. Above Grade 2, Inuktitut becomes a subject - rather than a medium - of instruction. The curriculum also includes courses on various aspects of Inuit culture (hunting, sewing, singing, etc.) often given by local residents. According to Kativik's plans, teaching in Inuktitut is to be extended up to the high school level, but due to the shortage of qualified Inuit teachers and adapted educational materials, this is not yet really feasible.

Kativik School Board operates its own Inuktitut teacher training programme in conjunction with McGill University in Montreal (which issues a Certificate in Northern Education). Teachers are trained on the job, with short, but intensive, biannual academic sessions. There are two or three graduates every year. The evaluation and revision of the programme is an ongoing process, through a special monitoring project, the Child Observation Program within Inuit Teacher Training (COPITI).

McGill University also offers academic support to the Northwest Territories' Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program based in Iqaluit. As concerns the western Arctic Inuit teachers, they are trained - together with Dene students - at the vocational college facilities of Fort Smith on the southern border of the Territories.

Except for some sections of the teacher training programmes, there is no college or university level education in Inuktitut so far. The language is taught in a few southern universities (Memorial University of Newfoundland, Université Laval in Quebec City, McGill University, University of Ottawa and University of Saskatchewan), but these courses are aimed at

non-Inuit students. Since 1984, there is an Arctic College at Iqaluit but, for the time being, it uses English almost exclusively as the medium of instruction.

Despite tremendous progress over the last ten years, teaching in Inuktitut is still in its infancy. For all practical ends, beyond Grades 2 or 3, almost nothing systematic is done. The curriculum is still overwhelmingly English (or French), albeit real efforts now being made to adapt it to the northern context. Most educators are non-Inuit, and what Prattis and Chartrand have to say about the Northwest Territories also applies to Arctic Quebec and Labrador:

The majority of teachers in Northern schools are typically white, unilingual (English) and make up a portion of the transitory population in the North. In the Keewatin and Baffin regions, over 75 per cent have less than five years' teaching experience, and over 50 per cent have less than two years (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1981, p. 20)... While the number of Inuit teachers has increased over the years they constitute only a small proportion of the teaching force...although the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program is attempting to rectify this situation (Prattis and Chartrand, 1984, p. 24).

This kind of situation may be detrimental to Inuktitut. Ironically enough, about twenty years ago, the anthropologist Diamond Jenness, who favoured linguistic assimilation toward English, suggested such a curriculum - Inuktitut restricted to the first grades - as the best way to facilitate the proper learning of English:

If it is true, as they (the Greenland school authorities) have sometimes claimed, that initial teaching in Eskimo accelerates the learning of Danish later, then it might have a similar effect on the learning of English, and could profitably be used in Canada also during the next ten or fifteen years with children who are just beginning their schooling, or who have reached no farther than the second grade (Jenness, 1964, p. 127).

This situation may explain why, as seen in the section on bilingualism and knowledge of Inuktitut, eleven-year old children are more comfortable with English words than with their own native vocabulary, even after three or four years of Inuktitut schooling.

The overall educational developments from the early 1950s also account for the rather low academic achievement of many Inuit. In 1981, only 39 per cent of the Canadian Inuit had completed Grade 9 (against 80 per cent for the total Canadian population), and only 19 per cent had obtained a high school diploma, and this despite continuous efforts in the fields of adolescent and adult education. The same year, 4 per cent of all Canadian Inuit (3 per cent in Arctic Quebec, 1 per cent in the Northwest Territories, but 7 per cent in Labrador) had acquired some college or university education, against 16 per cent of the total population of Canada (Robitaille and Choiniere, 1984, pp. 35-6).

Nevertheless, substantial progress has been made. Young Inuit are far better educated than their elders, and teaching in Inuktitut is considered an essential part of the curriculum. There now exists a whole generation of youngsters who have learned to read, write and calculate in their native tongue. This is why propositions such as those of Barbara Burnaby (Burnaby, 1982), who suggests that aboriginal language literacy should be limited to a few native specialists, have been strongly opposed by educators involved in Inuit curriculum development (Stairs, 1985). Most Arctic natives now take for granted that their language is to be used at all academic levels, both as a medium and as a subject of instruction.

Inuktitut School Materials

As mentioned earlier, the various agencies involved in Inuit education are busy preparing school materials. The Kativik School Board, as well as many community schools in the Northwest Territories and to a lesser degree - Labrador, have already produced a few hundred titles in both English and Inuktitut. There is a regular exchange of information among educational authorities, as well as between Canada, Greenland and Alaska. When dialectal differences are not too marked, materials produced in one area may sometimes be used in another.

It is impossible to draft a complete - or even partial - list of existing documents. A compilation of Inuktitut materials available to Kativik School Board teachers and students (Cram, 1986) lists no less than 154 different titles, all of them in syllabic writing (sometimes with an accompanying English text). They are divided into five categories:

- Kindergarten, grades 1-2 (44 titles)
- Games (7 titles)
- Tapes and slides (10 titles)
- Language and culture, grade 3 and upwards (85 titles)
- Language and culture, secondary level (8 titles)

Materials range from writing books for beginners, colouring books, children's stories, music tapes, posters, picture cards, readers and syllabic scrabble games to Inuit stories and legends (nine readers and workbooks), cultural handbooks, animal books, mathematical exercises and dictionaries. Except for a few short stories for children (such as *The Three Little Pigs*), all of these materials have been specifically designed for Inuit schools, in most cases by Inuit teachers and authors. In the field of mathematics for instance, instead of translating already existing manuals, special semantic research has been done, in order to discover and transpose into school materials the basic arithmetical concepts that are specific to Inuktitut (Denny, 1980).

In Arctic Quebec then - and the situation is quite similar in that part of the Northwest Territories where syllabics are in use -each school grade can count on the following numbers of Inuktitut materials (some titles may be used in more than one grade; this explains why the total exceeds 154):

Kindergarten	19 titles
Grade 1	36 titles
Grade 2	28 titles
Grade 3	52 titles
Grade 4	52 titles
Grade 5	61 titles
Grade 6	48 titles
Secondary 1-3	22 titles
Secondary 4-5	7 titles

As can be seen, there are a great many teaching materials in Inuktitut. But beyond Grade 2, these deal exclusively with Inuit culture and with language as a subject of instruction. If the Arctic natives want their mother tongue to be used as a medium of instruction in higher grades, efforts will have to be made to devise genuine teaching materials for history, geography, social studies and science, which would, at the same time, be written in Inuktitut and adapted to the Inuit way of thinking.

Using Inuktitut in the Mass Media

In the absence, for the time being, of such materials, teachers would benefit by using Inuit media - both written and electronic - in the classroom.

Written Media

The first Canadian Inuktitut periodical was published once a year between 1902 and 1922 - although a few issues may have appeared at irregular intervals earlier -by the Labrador Moravian missionaries. Entitled *Aglait Illunainortut* ('Written things for everyone'), it gave information on Labrador and other parts of the British Empire, as well as about foreign lands (Jenness, 1965, p. 40). After an eclipse of fifty years, this publication was brought back to life by a team of young native journalists in 1972 under the title *Kinatuinanot illengujuk* ('Meant for anyone'). First appearing twice a month, it has now become a weekly bilingual newsletter, containing a variety of economic, social and cultural information as well as reports on current events in Labrador.

The Moravians' early attempt at journalism in Labrador Inuttut was exceptional. It was not until the 1940s and 1950s that there was any systematic establishment of periodicals using Inuktitut as a medium of communication. Once again the first initiatives in this domain came from the missionaries. In 1941 the Catholic Oblate Fathers started publishing a biannual magazine in syllabic orthography, called *Inungnun tuimainun* ('To all Inuit'). In 1964 it changed its title to *Inungnun* ('To the Inuit').

In the early 1950s the Anglicans launched their own publication, *llauut / Our Family*, in English, syllabics and Roman orthography Inuktitut. The Moravians did the *same* with *Moraviamiut Labradorime/Labrador Moravians*, published in Nain.

As soon as it became fully involved in the administration of the Inuit, the Canadian Government started publishing a bilingual English/Inuktitut information bulletin. First called *Eskimo Bulletin*, it appeared at irregular intervals between 1953 and 1956. In 1959, the title and format were changed and it became *Inuktitut* magazine, a quarterly publication now under the responsibility of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs' Cultural Linguistic Section, in Ottawa. Dealing with various cultural, linguistic, social and historical topics, it usually appears in four languages: Baffin or Aivilik Inuktitut (syllabic writing), Labrador Inuttut or Baffin Inuktitut (Roman orthography), English and French.

From 1960 onwards, several *Inuit nunangat communities* began publishing their own news bulletins. Often consisting of a few photocopied, stenciled typewritten or even handwritten pages in both Inuktitut and English, they none the less provided the Arctic natives with an opportunity to express their ideas and feelings on various topics. Many famous Inuit authors originally published in such media. Unfortunately, most of these were short-lived, and very often, no issues have been preserved.

With the 1970s another generation of periodicals was born: the associations' newsletters and magazines. The newly-created Inuit organizations sensed the need to convey information about their activities through their own publications. Nowadays, all of them publish at least one title. These are generally bilingual (Inuktitut/English) or, in Arctic Quebec, trilingual (with the addition of French).

Robin McGrath (McGrath, 1984, Appendix 3) has attempted to draw up as complete a listing as possible of Inuit periodicals, defined as 'newsletters, newspapers and magazines by, for and about Canadian Inuit' (McGrath, 1984, p. 130). If the periodicals making exclusive use of English or French are removed from the list, we are left with a total of seventy-four titles whose language of publication is or was Inuktitut, together, in most cases, with English and, sometimes, French.

About forty of these titles were still appearing in 1985, thereby indicating a turnover rate of around 45 per cent for Inuit journals.

Of the seventy-four Inuktitut periodicals listed by McGrath, the most numerous are the community newsletters (twenty-four). They also seem to

be the most short-lived, as only nine of them were still appearing in 1985 for a turnover rate of 60 per cent. Only one of them, *Nunutsiaq* News (formerly *Inukshuk*), published weekly in Iqaluit since 1972, could be compared, in terms of contents and circulation, with certain southern newspapers. The others consist chiefly of local news bulletins.

The second most numerous category is that of the periodicals issued by Inuit associations (twenty titles). Two of them stand in particular prominence in view of their size and format. *Inuit Today* (formerly *Inuit Monthly*) has been published in Ottawa on a monthly basis by Inuit Tapirisat of Canada since 1971. *Taqralik* is the official magazine of Makivik Corporation in Arctic Quebec. It has appeared monthly since 1974. Both publications deal with Inuit policies, northern news, social problems and Arctic life in general. While *Inuit Today* is bilingual (Inuktitut/English), *Taqralik* uses three languages (Inuktitut, English and French).

Of the fifteen government periodicals in Inuktitut listed by McGrath, six were still in publication in 1985. Four of them came from the Federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (among them, the already mentioned *Inuktitut* magazine), and one each from the Northwest Territories and Quebec governments. The latter is a quarterly journal called *Rencontre* published in French and English, with inserted Inuktitut, Cree and Montagnais translations.

Seven titles are religious. They have been or are still published by the various churches at work in the Arctic. Four more periodicals emanate from cultural organizations. Three of them still appear regularly: *Ajurnarmat* ('Nothing can be done', later called *Ajurnanngimmat*, 'Something can be done') is the magazine of the Inuit Cultural Institute of Eskimo Point Arviat; *Them Days*, published by the Labrador Heritage Society in Happy Valley, mostly contains articles in English, although occasionally texts are translated into Labrador Inuttut; *Inuksiutiit allaniagait* ('Written things to be used by the Inuit') is a series of texts in syllabics by Arctic Quebec Inuit writers issued once every two years by the Inuksiutiit katimajit Association (Université Laval, Quebec). Only one title, *Inummurit* ('The real Inuit'), has ceased to appear. From 1972 to 1977, it published cultural materials from the Igloolik area.

Finally, four periodicals do not belong to any of the preceding categories. Two of them were, and one still is, published by Nor-text Information Design Ltd, an Ottawa-based private company specializing in syllabic editing and word processing. From 1978 to 1985, *Igallaq* ('The window') and *Ilisarniq* ('Education') catered to the information needs of the Inuit living in southern Canada. *Caribou* News informs the public, in both Inuktitut and English, about the management of the Keewatin caribou herds. Co-op *North* is the newspaper of Arctic Co-operatives Ltd.

Clearly, with over forty titles appearing in 1985, Inuktitut written media are alive and well in Canada. Together with native electronic media, they contribute greatly to fostering Inuit identity.

Electronic Media

Radio transmissions in the Canadian Arctic began around 1925. Within a few years, all Hudson Bay Company trading posts, Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachments and religious missions were equipped with low-powered transmitters/receivers. The first regular programme to be broadcast from southern Canada was *The Northern Messenger* in which messages directed to Euro-Canadians residing in the North were read over the air (Hendrie, 1983, p. 26).

With post-war social changes in the Arctic, the need was felt for a radio network that would provide northern citizens, whatever their origin, with the same kind of services as those available in the rest of the country. A Royal Commission on Broadcasting reported to the Federal Government in 1957 that, if the northern natives were to be integrated into mainstream society, it was essential that they be kept informed of what was going on in the outside world:

As a result, in 1958, parliament voted funds to carry out the recommendations to the CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) outlined in the report of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting. The objective was to 'provide a broadcast service to meet the particular needs and tastes of people living in the North - Indians, Eskimos, Métis and whites - and give them a sense of identity with their fellow Canadians' (Hendrie, 1983, p. 27).

The CBC Northern Service began transmitting in 1960. There were nine ground stations (two of them, Inuvik and Churchill, within *Inuit nunangat*) and a short-wave service, operating out of Montreal. The latter broadcast seven hours a day, mainly in English and to a far lesser extent-French, but a daily 45- to 60-minute period was set apart for Inuktitut programming. This consisted of international, national and northern news, as well as of messages from Inuit patients in southern hospitals which were reached over the air. Radio reception was often very poor, but the service was highly appreciated.

Later on, some programmes were produced in Iqaluit, but they continued mainly in Inuktitut. The Inuvik station also started broadcasting in both Western Inuktitut and Dene languages. But it was not enough. In 1972, only 17 per cent of CBC Northern Service short-wave programming was in Inuktitut (Valaskakis, 1983, p. 123). The Inuit rightfully considered that the northern radio service should include much more local content and that reception conditions should be improved.

Technological developments in the field of communications, together with the establishment of Inuit pressure groups and associations, brought about the desired changes. By the mid-1970s, the CBC Northern Service completely reorganized its programming. Local communities were provided with low-powered FM transceivers, which could be fed from three sources:

(1) the national radio network, (2) a regional production centre Uqaluit or Inuvik), and (3) a small radio studio located in the community itself. This formula enabled village residents to mix, at will, locally-produced materials with outside programming transmitted by satellite:

The CBC Northern Radio Network may be a model for a satellite system that avoids the trap of centralization while at the same time using existing production facilities as the building blocks of the network. National programming is fed to a regional station/production centre where it is blended with regional programming to form a feed which is then transmitted by satellite to remote communities. To add local information and increase the relevance of the content, these communities may substitute some of their production for network programming by accessing the local re-broadcast transmitter with their own simple studio equipment (Hudson, 1977, p. 138).

Nowadays, therefore, almost all Inuit communities operate their own local radio station. For up to five hours a day, the programming may originate from the community itself. Most of it is in Inuktitut, as is the major part of the material produced by the Iqaluit production centre. Some programmes coming from Montreal on the CBC Arctic Quebec or Eastern Arctic Services (now two separate networks) also use the native language. Inuktitut programming consists of news broadcasts, Inuit music, radio bingos, local announcements or, on national networks, very popular open lines, where anybody may phone toll-free in order to give his or her opinion on the air. Inuit radio thus plays an essential part in the life of contemporary Arctic communities.

Television is a more recent - and more controversial - phenomenon:

In 1967, television programming was introduced to the first of 17 communities in the Western Arctic through delayed transmission of video tapes in 4 hour packages. This service was extended to the Eastern Arctic community of Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) in 1972. The same year, Canada launched the Anik A satellite which delivers telephone and CBC television service to the North (Valaskakis, 1983, p. 123).

This new medium became available to all Arctic communities in the autumn of 1973. At first, northern services offered very little Inuktitut programming- half an hour a week in 1976 according to Graburn (1982:10) This is why many communities - amongst them, the totality of Arctic Quebec settlements-opted not to receive the television signal. They did not change their minds until 1983-4.

The situation was modified somewhat with the establishment of *Taqramiut Nipingat* ('The voice of the Northerners'), an Inuit production centre based in both Salluit (Arctic Quebec) and Ottawa, and, almost ten years later (in 1983), of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC). Nowadays, five or six hours a week of Inuktitut programming are broadcast over the northern television network. These include regional news and reporting

on various Arctic events, interviews and cultural programmes (Debbie Brisebois, 1983).

But in view of the tremendous influence of television, this is not really very much. Valaskakis (1983, p. 123) quotes a CBC survey which shows that, in 1979, nine out of ten Inuit households in the Keewatin region of the Northwest Territories owned a television set and watched an average of 3.5 hours of television per day. Graburn (1982, p. 13) suggests that such a situation (the overwhelming presence of English on television) **may**, indeed, be detrimental to Inuktitut:

Even in the typical Inuit household where family conversation - at least that including the adults - is still carried on in Inuktitut, the TV set is the perfect teaching machine for pre-adapting infants to the use of English and for reinforcing the English that the children all learn in school... It is remarkable to see infants and pre-schoolers who hardly speak Inuktitut yet or who are wholly addressed in Inuktitut by their parents, picking up English, with its familiar media phrases and accents, and banding them about as well as any teenager in Peoria. Thus they are developing English-as-a-first-language, with none of the hesitancy of accent of those who have learned it in school or later (Graburn, 1982, pp. 13-14).

Electronic media are, then, a mixed blessing. If local radio clearly contributes, by its language and contents, to fostering native identity, it is not the case with television which, on the contrary, constitutes the most perfect instrument for destroying Inuit culture, values and language. The only remedy for this situation would be to produce enough interesting Inuktitut materials, so that they could really compete with American or southern Canadian television serials and exhibitions of violence.

Contemporary Studies of Inuktitut

The language of the Inuit - whether Alaskan Inupiaq, Canadian Inuktitut or Greenlandic Kalaallisut - is amongst the first non-Indo-European and non-Semitic speech forms to have been described by scholars. In Greenland, the first descriptions date back to the first half of the eighteenth century. In Canada, apart from a few early word-lists (cf. Dorais, 1980), there were no first **major** dictionaries and grammars until after 1860 (Erdmann, 1864; Petitot, 1876; Bourquin, 1891).

These studies were undertaken by missionaries. In fact until the early 1970s with a very few exceptions (such as G. Lefebvre and R. Gagné, no professional linguist seemed interested in analysing Inuktitut. The work of most missionaries was, none the less, valuable, and references such as Peck (1925), Turquetil (1928), Metayer (1953), Fafard (1953), Flint (1954), Thibert (1954), Schneider (1967, 1968, 1970 and 1985), and Peacock (n.d. and 1974) are

still very useful to students of Inuktitut. Useful also were the comparative lexicons of the anthropologists Jenness (1928) and Birket-Smith (1928) as well as the grammar published by the trader Alex Spalding (1969).

Exhaustive lists of studies on all Eskimo-Aleut languages -including Canadian Inuktitut - up to the 1970s appear in Krauss (1972) and, to a lesser degree, in Collis (1970). We shall focus here on more recent research in the fields of phonology, grammar, lexicology, semantics, sociolinguistics and teaching methods. Additional details may be found in Paillet (1979), Dorais (1982) and Woodbury (1984). Important collections of linguistic essays on various topics are found in Hamp (1976), Dugas (1980) and Dorais (ed. 1981). Two specialized journals, *Études Inuit /Studies* and *the International Journal of American Linguistics (IJAL)* regularly publish on Canadian Inuktitut.

In Canada, phonology was the first issue to be addressed by professional linguists. We have seen above that as early as 1957, Gilles Lefebvre was working on the standardization of Inuktitut orthography (Lefebvre, 1957), while another linguist, Raymond Gagné, was busy writing an M.A. thesis on the basic phonemes of Arctic Quebec Itivimiut (Gagné, 1958). Gagné would later be involved in orthographic research (Gagné 1965), and Lefebvre would publish a comparative phonology of the eastern Arctic.

It was not until the 1970s, however, that phonological research became more systematic. Since then, Lawrence Smith has published on the phonology and morphophonemics of Labrador Inuttut (Smith, 1975 and 1977), while Willis (1971) and Bisson (1983) have written theses on Arctic Quebec Inuktitut. Johnson (1981) has done research on the phonology of localizers in the Rankin Inlet Aivilik dialect.

Nothing specific has been published on Western Inuktitut phonemes, but Lowe's descriptions of the Inuvialuit dialects (Lowe, 1983-5) contain short phonological sketches. As concerns comparative studies, mention should be made of Creider (1981), Fortescue (1983) - on the problem of intonation - and Dorais (1986).

But the most important phonological analysis of Canadian Inuktitut is that of Massenet (1986). First presented as a Ph.D. thesis in 1978, it covers almost all aspects of vowel and consonant generation in Arctic Quebec Itivimiut. It is the only Canadian text which may compare with Alaskan and Greenlandic phonological studies.

Research on Inuit grammar includes both descriptions of morphological paradigms and analyses of syntactical processes. More or less exhaustive lists of inflectional paradigms are now available for a majority of dialects: Labrador (Smith, 1977), Arctic Quebec (Schneider, 1967), Baffin dialects (Harper, 1974), North Baffin Iglulingmiut (Dorais, 1978), Aivilik (Dorais, 1976), and three Western Inuktitut speech forms: Kangiryuarmiut Inuinnaqtun, Siglitun and Uummarmiutun (Lowe, 1983-5). Reliable published data are still lacking for two dialects only - Natsilik and Kivallirmiutun.

Formal linguistic analyses of Inuktitut grammar have principally centred on the question of 'ergative' (double person markers) and 'antipassive' (single person markers) forms. Following the publication of an article by Ivan Kalmar (Kalmar, 1977), a mini-polemic erupted in the pages of *Études/ Inuit /Studies* about the usefulness of such concepts (cf. Klokeid and Arima, 1977; Lowe, 1978; Vakhtin, 1979). One article by Creider (1978) and two by Smith (1979 and 1981) also deal with this question. In addition to a book on the same subject by Kalmar (1979), they use relational grammar as a theoretical framework.

Despite its popularity on the North American continent, transformational generative grammar has not been applied very widely to the study of Canadian Inuktitut. Only four references can be quoted: Correll (1970), Paillet (1971), Massenet (1972) and Hofmann (1978). This is probably due to the fact that when support for this theory was at its apogee in the late 1960s Canadian linguists were only beginning to become involved in Inuit studies.

Other analyses include Clase's thesis (Clase, 1974) and Lowe's studies of the Inuit word, according to the theory of French linguist Gustave Guillaume (Lowe, 1981 and 1986).

In the field of lexicology, the most important reference is Schneider's Inuktitut-English dictionary (Schneider, 1985). Mainly dealing with the Arctic Quebec dialect, it also includes data from Labrador and Keewatin. There also exist shorter glossaries and lists of postbases, such as Peacock (n.d. and 1974). Smith (1978), Schneider (1968), Harper (1979), Dorais (1978) and, once again, Lowe's Inuvialuit dictionaries. More specialized studies deal with the designation of foreign concepts (Graburn, 1965; Saint-Aubin, 1980; Dorais, 1983) and the comparative description of postbases (Fortescue, 1983 and 1985). All in all, some lexical material is available for all Canadian dialects except Natsilik. There has been talk about the possibility of stocking, in a central computer, the totality of existing lexicological data, in order to work on a pan-Canadian dictionary of Inuktitut, but nothing concrete has yet been done.

Lexicology is a field where the impact of Inuit researchers is increasingly felt. Several bilingual dictionaries, totally or partly written by native speakers, have already appeared (Smith and Metcalfe, 1973; Home, 1975; Jeddore, 1976; Balt, 1977). Inuit have also been involved in all steps of the Inuvialuit language project (cf. Osgood, 1983), and two elders, Taamusi Qumaq from Povungnituk (Arctic Quebec) and Emile Immaroitok from Igloodik, have undertaken the task, using micro-computers, of writing and editing dictionaries with Inuktitut word definitions in the syllabic script.

With regard to semantic studies, quite a few references deal with localizers, i.e. words denoting the position of an object in space. These include Gagné (1968), Dorais (1971), Vézinet (1975), Lowe (1980) and Denny (1981). Other titles concern various semantic domains: numeration (Bailargeon et al., 1977), time (Lowe, 1976) and mathematical concepts (Denny, 1983).

Cognitive anthropology has inspired a very few taxonomical analyses, such as Paillet (1973) and Dritsas (1986). Together with morpho-semantic analysis (i.e. the elicitation and comparison of the basic meanings of morphologically composite words), it has permitted a more thorough understanding of various corpuses: the lexicon of acculturation (Dorais, 1972 and 1984), anatomical terminology (Therrien, 1982) and customary law concepts (Collis and Dorais, 1983). General theoretical principles for semantic analysis may be found in Collis (1969) and Dorais (1973).

Sociolinguistics constitute the least developed -but, perhaps, the most promising - area of research. In the mid-1970s, three rather limited projects dealt respectively with the transmission of linguistic variation (Paillet), the influence of Christianity on linguistic and cultural change (Correll, 1974), and language contacts in the High Arctic (Dorais). More recent research concerns problems of bilingualism and diglossia (Prattis and Chartrand, 1984; Collis and Dorais, 1984; Collis 1985).

Finally, a few methods for teaching Inuktitut to non-speakers have been developed. Four of them are audio-visual -those of Gagné (1966), Mallon (1974-6), Dorais (1975) and Hamum et al. (1982) -and two consist of self-teaching guides (Trinel, 1970; Spalding, 1979). Pedagogical materials for native speakers have already been described.

Conclusion

Following this survey of the linguistic and social conditions of existence of the language of the Canadian Inuit, one question remains to be answered: Does Inuktitut have any chance of survival into the twenty-first century?

We saw, on the one hand, that tremendous progress has been made, since the start of the 1970s, in linguistic and cultural revitalization. Inuktitut is now taught in a majority of Arctic schools. There exists a nascent written language, as well as Inuit written and electronic media. The language has gained some official recognition, and most native associations and leaders regard it as a major factor of cultural identity.

On the other hand, however, the relative number of speakers is diminishing steadily, and a few dialects have been almost completely wiped out. Bilingualism -which, in itself, is a positive and necessary phenomenon - seems to be detrimental to knowledge of Inuktitut. The Inuit live in a situation of economic, political, social and cultural dependency, which is reflected -through diglossia - in the linguistic field.

The author's answer to the initial question cannot, then, be anything but cautious. Certainly, Inuktitut will survive another generation. But in the more distant future, if nothing is done right now, one can only say *immaqa*, 'perhaps'. Maybe fifty years from now, a few heritage-conscious Inuit intellectuals will gather regularly to speak, amongst themselves, a language

that nobody else can understand; but will it be possible then to consider it as a living speech form?

If such a situation is to be avoided, strong measures must be taken to increase the overall economic, political and cultural autonomy of the Inuit people. What has been done up to the present time is not sufficient. If they do not gain any real measure of social independence, the Canadian Arctic natives are in danger of losing, in the long run, not only their language, but also their identity and very soul.

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The Greenlanders and their Language: Introductory Remarks

Michael Fortescue

For practical reasons this section was written, not by a single author, but by a team connected to the Institute of Eskimology, University of Copenhagen, and Ilisimatusarfik, the Greenlandic University in Nuuk. Three of the contributions are revised, updated versions of earlier published articles. The translations from Danish and West Greenlandic were undertaken by this author. The final contribution is by the head of the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of Greenland's Home Rule Administration.

The first section gives a general overview of the situation of the Greenlandic language today and fills in some of the historical background for developments within the language since earliest contact times. Loanwords from Danish, dialect variation and the establishment of the written language in the older and newer orthographies are discussed. The next section provides a more detailed presentation of the basic grammar of the language, including inflectional paradigms and a listing of derivational affixes. The following section describes the evolving situation of the language in the Greenlandic school system through the periods of successive Education Acts up to the current era under Home Rule. The status of Greenlandic/Danish official place-names in Greenland is sketched in the next contribution. This is followed by an overview of Greenlandic literature from its earliest oral roots down to modern times. Then one of the best known Greenlandic legends, in the version recorded in Kristoffer Lynge's collection of legends and tales (1939) as told by Matinarujuk of Nuuk, is presented with a translation into parallel English. The text has been transcribed into the new orthography, but the beginning of the tale is also given in the original, older orthographic version for purposes of comparison. Finally, the summary of

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Aqigssiaq Moller's contribution to the Fifth Internordic Conference on Bilingualism at Denmark's Laererhojskole (24 June 1987) gives an official Home Rule perspective on language policy in Greenland today.

One noticeable shortcoming in the presentation of this chapter when compared to its companion chapters is the paucity of information on the historical/cultural background of Greenlandic society and the interlocking of language with social structure today. Fortunately, these are subjects which have been treated in some depth in the literature. The reader is referred in particular to the sections on Greenland in Volume 5 (Arctic) of the Handbook of North American Indians (ed. D. Damas, 1984). Especially valuable in this respect are the chapters by Helge Kleivan, Inge Kleivan, Finn Gad and Robert Petersen as indicated in the references to the present chapter. The work also contains an extensive bibliography of essential works on Greenland, which can be supplemented for language-specific items (up to 1972) by the bibliography in Michael Krauss (1973).

The Greenlandic Language: Its Nature and Situation

Robert Petersen

Introduction

There are no statistics indicating the exact number of speakers of Greenlandic, but it is estimated that almost all of the over 44,000 Greenlanders in Greenland speak the language, while only a very small number of the approximately 9000 Danes resident in Greenland are able to use Greenlandic, except for certain frequent expressions. But despite the lack of statistics, there can be no doubt that Greenlandic is one of the best preserved languages in the North American region. Of the roughly 80 per cent of all Eskimos (there are about 103,000 in the world today) who still speak their language, the first 44,000 are to be found in Greenland (with more in Denmark, where many Greenlanders-perhaps more than 6,000- are now resident). The number of Inuit-speaking Inuktitut (Eskimo) in Canada is estimated at about 20,000, with roughly the same in Alaska (including Yupik speakers), while less than half of the 12,000 Inupiat of North America speak the language.

Greenlandic is spoken throughout the presently inhabited parts of the land (Map 7), namely West Greenland from Kap Farvel to Melville Bugt at 74° N and in North Greenland around Thule between 76° and 78° N. In East Greenland there are two inhabited regions today, one around Ammassalik at 65° N and another at Scoresbysund, about 70° N. The Thule area has about 750 inhabitants and East Greenland about 3,000; the rest of the population live in West Greenland, so that the main dialect, West Greenlandic, is spoken by more than 90 per cent of the population.

The distinct west coast population, it should be pointed out, has since early colonial times become ethnically mixed to a certain degree owing to

intermarriage with Scandinavians. The principal occupational pursuits of the country are commercial fishing (in the 'open water' ports of the central west coast), hunting (in the north and east) and sheep-farming (in the extreme southwest). The official name of the language of Greenland is *kalaallit oqaasii* (or *kalallisut*), which means the language of the *Kalaallit* or Greenlanders.

In days gone by, until some time in the eighteenth century, the area north of Scoresbysund and the southeastern area south of Ammassalik were inhabited. About 6000 people lived in southeast Greenland, but they migrated in successive waves to southwest Greenland towards the end of the nineteenth century. The northeastern Greenlanders were only encountered once by outsiders, when the English captain, Clavering, met half a dozen people in 1823 on the island that now bears his name. They were never seen again. The size of the population is therefore unknown and difficult to estimate, partly because the 200 previously inhabited sites discovered are unlikely to represent the full number and partly because it is unknown how many sites were occupied simultaneously.

Mechanisms and Development of the Language

It is well known that Greenlandic is a polysynthetic language; word-forms are usually not fixed in the lexicon but are built up from an initial stem plus final suffixes that indicate the main categories of case, number, mood and person, with any number of infixes (or else none) between stem and inflectional ending, as for example:

<i>siku</i>	‘ice’	- <i>Csuaq</i>	‘big’	- <i>sior</i>	‘pass through’	- <i>pu</i>	‘indicative’	- <i>gut</i>	‘we’
stem		infixes		inflectional		suffixes		(mood + person)	

From these elements we can derive: *siku* ‘ice’, *sikorsuaq* (pl.1. *sikorsuit*) ‘pack ice’ (lexicalized), and finally *sikorsuarsiorpugut* ‘we are passing through pack ice’, a productive word-structure that can form a complete sentence containing reference to a personal subject. Such a system of word-building provides rich possibilities for forming new descriptive terms.

The basic vocabulary contains short items that cannot be further analysed into constituent elements in the same way as derived forms, e.g. the complex verb-form given above. However, many of these lexicalized units suggest earlier derivational processes. Thus *inneq* ‘fire’ can be seen to derive from *iki-* ‘ignite’; *nujungasoq* ‘rib’ from *najunga-* ‘be bent’, and *timmuiq* ‘bird’ from *timmi-* ‘fly’, etc. Others such as *kulloq* ‘thumb’, *nunoq* ‘polar bear’, *tupeq* ‘tent’, and *siku* ‘ice’ cannot be further broken down.

In historical times the creation of neologisms was principally a matter of finding expressions for European things and concepts and the processes that accompany or are caused by them.

There are no written texts from before the colonial period for Greenlandic, though individual word-lists from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provide interesting details. The earliest word-lists are fairly unreliable, both as regards the transcription and the interpretation of individual items listed. John Davies' word-list, which consists of 40 words of central West Greenlandic, contains numerous misunderstandings where, for instance, he asked about parts of the body but instead was given names of items of clothing covering the parts concerned.

Caspar Bartholin's word-list, which was collected from three women informants, was much longer and more precise in its explanations. The three women were, as it happened, from the area where Davies had collected his list. Bartholin's list, in particular, which was published in 1675, had many features in common with the first words written down after Hans Egede's arrival in Greenland and does not diverge greatly from the first Greenlandic dictionary which Poul Egede published in 1750. If one assumes that Bartholin himself had an alveolar 'rolled r', however, there is one interesting feature of his word-list. He generally wrote the palato-alveolar sibilant as 'rs'. This sound, which is only found in central West Greenlandic, is a voiceless, non-strident sibilant corresponding to voiced palato-alveolar /r/ in Alaska. There are several words on Bartholin's list that contain this voiceless sibilant in the modern language but for which he wrote 'r' alone, for example *nalarong* for *nalasoq* 'lying down'. Since the change from voiced to voiceless sibilant must have taken place after the ancestors of the Greenlanders left North Alaska, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Bartholin heard correctly. (See Bergsland and Rischel (1986) for a presentation of the earliest descriptions of West Greenlandic.)

At some time and place a process of metathesis took place, especially in words containing /nr/ and /lr/, thus *tuunraq* 'helping spirit' became *toornaq*, *qitunraq* 'child' became *qitornaq* and *malruk* 'two' became *marluk*. Some believe that this process had already taken place before Greenland was reached. This may be due to the fact that metathesis is one of the characteristic features dividing western from eastern Canadian dialects of Inuktitut, but other factors suggest that developments in the Greenlandic sound system were largely independent of the Canadian dialects.

The developments we are concerned with probably took place during the nineteenth century when increasing assimilation was under way, so that diphthongs /au/ and /ai/ (the latter in closed syllables only) became /ad/, and the last of two adjacent consonants absorbed the first in a manner that can be symbolized: /C1C2/ > /C2 C2/. An apparent exception is found in the combinations written with a uvular /r/ in first position: it affects the quality of the preceding vowel and is in turn absorbed by the following consonant.

In the second part of this period, after the middle of the nineteenth century, the syntactical rules of the written language began to exert an influence on sentence structure in the spoken language, but while this proceeded more or less imperceptibly, the rules whereby Danish loan-words were accommodated underwent a change.

The first stage of this process took place around 1720-50; in this period vowels were introduced before word-initial consonants not found in that position in native Greenlandic words, as well as after word-final consonants and between consonants that could not stand next to one another in Greenlandic. During the same period the Danish-Norwegian intervocalic /r/ was represented by **N** in loan-words. This occurred also when vowels were introduced to separate adjacent consonants.

In the second period, about 1750-1930, the rules for the insertion of vowels were the same, but Danish intervocalic /r/ (changing eventually to a uvular during this period) was represented by /r/, a voiced palato-alveolar sound.

Both in the first and the second periods the vowels in loan-words were restricted to three, /a/, /i/ and /u/, so that Danish /i/, /e/, /æ/, and /y/ were reduced to /i/, /u/, /o/ and /a/, and /0/ to u, while weak, centralized la/ either became /i/ or was harmonized with the vowel in an adjacent syllable. Consonant clusters such as /st/ and /sk could now be found in loan-words.

In the third period, after about 1940, the accommodation of loan-words to Greenlandic pronunciation became minimal, differentiated Danish vowels were maintained and adaptation to Greenlandic phonology became restricted to the addition of a final /ii, for example in words like *bussi* 'bus' and *traktori* 'tractor'. This meant that loan-words could be treated as weak declension noun stems. This applies also to the Danish numerals, which are used today for counting over twelve.

Especially at the beginning of the first period, when loan-words still had to be accommodated to Greenlandic pronunciation, the quantity of loans was rather limited, as the rules of accommodation created a difficult barrier. But it was always possible to create new descriptive expressions. Examples can be given of the most important types.

Numerous existing terms for objects were extended directly to refer to new things, partly on the basis of similarity of form (often functionally determined), and partly on the basis of being used to similar ends. Thus *tupeq* 'tent' changed its meaning from skin tent to canvas tent, *isarussat* changed from 'snow goggles' to 'glasses', *ipuserfik* from 'tholepin' to 'rowlock', and *teqqiaq* from 'eyeshield' to 'peak of cap'. *Surpik* 'tail of whale' is still used in that sense, but also, in the plural *sarpiit*, for 'a ship's propellor'. *Qitiuippoq* 'twitter' is now also used to mean 'talk Danish'.

Similarity with something known, either by form or function, may be expressed directly in descriptive formations with the help of *-usaq* or *-Vsaq* (where v is any vowel, /a/, /i/ or /u/). For example, *allunaasaq* 'rope' is literally something similar to *allunaaq* 'skin thong'; *ernaataasaq* 'syrup' is

something similar to *ernaat* 'liquid blubber-oil'; *aningaasaq* 'coin' is something resembling *aningaaq* 'the moon'; *kumaasat* 'cumin' is reminiscent of *kumaat* 'lice'; *qajuusat* 'flour' is reminiscent of *qajoq* 'blood soup', while a secondary derivative, *qajuusaasat* 'powder', is 'something that resembles flour'. *Qilertaasaq* 'tassel' is reminiscent of *qilerti* 'topknot (hair)', and *tumaasaq* 'margarine tub' goes back to a time when margarine was imported in oval tubs that resembled *tumi* a 'footprint'. On the other hand, *qatigattuusaq* 'ostrich', something supposed to resemble *qatigattooq* 'camel', may well be due to the Latin name for the bird, '*Struthio camelus*'.

The use of diminutives and augmentatives can express either dimension alone or both dimension and similarity of form; thus a *natersuaq* 'bladder-nose seal' is a big *natseq* 'ringed seal'. *Ammassussuaq* 'herring' is a big *ammassak* 'capelin'; *annoraarsuaq* 'priest's gown' is a big *annoraaq* 'anorak', *umiarsuaq* 'ship' is a big *umiaq* 'women's boat', whereas schooner is *umiarsuaaraq*, a little ship. Later came *pujortulik* 'steam ship', and derived from this *pujortuleeraq* 'motorboat' (a little steam ship) and, further derived, *pujortuleerarsuaq* 'cutter' (i.e. a big motorboat). In some instances *-Csuaq* and *-araq* indicate a higher or lower rank, thus *naalugarsuaq*, the chief administrator of Greenland, was a big *naalagaq* (boss), while an under-officer on a naval vessel was called *naulagaaraq*, a little *naalagaq*.

The position of an object in relation to parts of the body was also used in creating neologisms, e.g. words for clothing and ornamentation. *Atequt* 'skirt' is thus something one wears on the lower part of the body while *kiatequt* 'blouse' is worn on the upper body; *puffigutit* 'muffs' are worn about the wrists; a ring, *assammui*, is worn on the finger; *tuimiu* 'epaulette', 'lives' on the shoulder, and a *nuilarmiu*, 'bead collar', 'lives' around the neck-opening of a garment. Moreover, *qillertuusarmiu*, 'canned food', 'lives' in a *qillertuusaq*, a can. The opposite relation is also utilized, in derivations meaning 'container' or 'place for', with *-livik/siuk*, as for example in *immulivik* 'milk-jug' from *immuk* 'milk', and *naasulivik* 'flower pot' from *naasut* 'plants'.

'Means whereby' could be expressed by the use of affix *-ut/Vt* attached to a verbal stem. *Allaat* 'slate pencil' was something to write with (*allag-*); *alliut* 'sewing needle' was something one used to attach soles (*aller-*); *naqitsit* 'stamp' was something one pressed with (*naqit-1*), while *matuersaat* 'key' was something one used to open a door (*matuersar-*)

Another common means of deriving new words was with affixes *-ssaq* or *-ssiaq* 'material intended for'. Thus *annoraassaq* 'cotton cloth' is material for making anoraks; *aatsitassat* 'metals' are materials 'intended to be melted'; *orpiliassaq* 'fir tree' is 'to be used for a Christmas tree (*orpiliaq*)'; *qarlissiaq* 'cloth' is material for trousers (*qarliit*); *ujalussiaq* 'cotton thread' is to be used as 'sewing sinew'; and *simissiaq* 'sacking cloth, which must have been created under special circumstances, is 'something for stuffing into a hole'.

Other common formation types involved affixes *-lik* 'provided with', *-riaq/giaq* 'something which must be -ed', *-uik/fik* 'place where', and the like.

Some of the neologisms created according to the principles discussed above could be long and cumbersome, and their use was sanctioned only in so far as the massive introduction of loan-words was to be avoided. Thus the word *nalunaarasuartaat* 'telegraph' or 'radio', was literally 'means of informing rapidly', but it went out of use after the telegraph was replaced by radio, the new loan-word being easier to articulate than the unwieldy *nalunaarasuartaat*. In other instances, a two-word expression such as *nalunauquttap akunnera* for 'hour' (literally 'a clock interval') may be felt to be too cumbersome, and this is indeed on the way out, being replaced more and more by Danish loan *tiimi*.

There were various ways in which Greenlandic expressions came to be replaced by loan-words, but sometimes a loan-word would be used side by side with a Greenlandic term, and only in a limited number of cases would the older Greenlandic expression disappear entirely.

Loans from Danish, or through Danish, were at first fairly infrequent and generally required rather little accommodation to Greenlandic pronunciation, e.g. *tii* 'tea', *kaffi* 'coffee', *sukkut* 'sugar' (Danish 'sukker'), *biibili* 'bible', *inngili* 'angel', *sapaat* 'Sunday' (from 'sabbath'), *kunngi* 'king' (Danish 'konger'), *juulli* 'Yule', *tupa* 'tobacco', and so forth.

Characteristic of the early colonial period was the change of intervocalic /r/ to /l/ in loan-words, as already mentioned above. By 'intervocalic' I mean positioning between two vowels after accommodation of a word to Greenlandic. One of the oldest was *kalaaleq* 'Greenlander', which despite certain phonological problems is believed to derive from the pejorative Norse word '*skraelling*' ('weakling' - perhaps earlier 'one clad in skins'). Other words such as *palasi* 'priest' (Danish 'praest') and *sukulooq* 'chewing tobacco/quid' (Danish 'Skra') also stems from this period. An important indication of the changing nature of the rules involved is provided by the introduction of new European biblical proper names in connection with missionary activities. Since a person's name was linked to the conception of the soul, new names/souls were not subject to the barrier of resistance to loan-words. Though they cannot provide an absolute dating for the introduction of different consonant clusters into the language via loan-words, they can give a good relative dating. In this way we know that the cluster-/st/ was accepted early on, then a little later /sk/, before /tr/, /kr/, and /pr/, which in turn appeared earlier than /kl/ and /pl/.

Around 1750, and thereafter until about 1930, intervocalic /r/ was represented in loan-words by voiced alveolar /f/ in words like *sukufupoorneq* 'scurvy' (Danish 'skorbug'), *turuffi* 'trump' (Danish 'trumf'), *paramma* 'barge' (Danish 'pram') and *tujuuruk* 'sweater' (Danish 'trøje') - note the change of place of the two consonants and the harmony of the /a/ vowel. During the second period, words like *miili* 'mile', *tiipoti* 'teapot' and *sukkulaat* 'chocolate' were received into the language. Until now we have been talking about the rules in central West Greenlandic, but outside this area intervocalic Danish /r/ was accommodated as 'flapped' /l/ (ordinary /l/

here being rather like central West Greenlandic /r/); thus *palak* 'good' from Nordic 'bra' outside the central area.

There were of course instances where concepts were introduced (often along with the thing itself) which were difficult to supply with a descriptive equivalent in Greenlandic, so the loan-word was quickly adopted. Thus words like *auisi* 'newspaper' (Danish 'avis'), *tui* 'dove' (Danish 'due'), *ussik* 'ox-bull' (Danish 'okse') and *kanngorooq* 'kangaroo', were apparently introduced without any attempt to find a Greenlandic descriptive equivalent.

But in many cases the introduction of loan-words did not lead to the displacement of an equivalent Greenlandic word but rather to a narrower specification of an existing meaning. Thus the loan-word *stempili* 'piston/stamp' came to be distinguished from native *naqitsit* '(desk) stamp'. The loan-word *dommeri* (Danish 'dommer') was used only of a sports referee as opposed to a judge at law: *eqqartuussisoq*. From Danish 'mester', two different loan-words were acquired at different periods, first *mistari* 'ship's engineer', then *mesteri*, first used of a master/champion in sport and later also of a master craftsman. It was not uncommon for loan-words to be adopted, not to replace Greenlandic expressions but rather to specify a meaning more closely.

The spread of loan-words may also have been facilitated by the inertia of communication within Greenland itself. There have been periods when new loan-words have come in successive waves so that internal communication in Greenland has been unable to keep up; this is particularly true of the loan-word period where adjustment to Greenlandic pronunciation has been minimal. From this period come such loan-word compounds as *boligstotte* 'housing subsidy', *kommunalbestyrelse* 'district council', *radiostyrelse* 'radio board' and, still more recently, *bygderad* 'settlement board', *landstingi* 'Greenlandic parliament', and the like.

Within the area of technical terms, many loan-words have been introduced that, strictly speaking, cannot be regarded as Danish, but rather as international. This includes such words as *traktori*, *elevatori radari*, *bulldozeri*, etc. Meanwhile, Greenlandic neologisms are still being created, e.g. *aquuteralak* 'outboard motor' (literally 'funny sortofrudder') and *niuattaasuaq* 'snow plough' (literally 'big snow shovel').

In recent years there has been a certain reaction against loan-words, though one can hardly speak of 'purism' in Greenlandic. On the other hand, there have also been warnings about the somewhat uncritical use of explanatory 'translation glosses' instead of loan-words, as this can lead all too often to the camouflaged introduction of Danish means of expression in place of typical Greenlandic ones.

This reflects, however, a long process that cannot simply be laid down to contact with and contamination from Danish. It is rather a matter of new demands which the possession of a written language necessarily poses when a spoken language comes to be used independently of the immediate face-to-face situation between speakers and hearers. In this way, short, uniform

sentence types came to dominate the language at the expense of the more graphic mode of expression of the spoken language. At the same time syntactic word-order may have become more rigid under influence from Danish. But there are certain circumstances in Greenlandic where plural subject and object can only be distinguished by word-order, so the need to avoid ambiguity through more rigid word-order exists potentially within the language itself.

A number of sound changes have in any case led to regular developments in the language. During the nineteenth century, the opposition between short voiced fricatives and long (geminated) voiceless ones had become so firmly established that the distinction between voiced and voiceless single /l/, still found in more westerly varieties of the language, was lost in words like *iluartoq* 'one that has come further in' and *iluartoq* (originally with voiceless /l/) 'good/pleasant'. Today the opposition between /v/, **N**, /g/ and /r/ and voiceless /ff, /ll/, /gg/, and /r-r/ is also one of quantity. Hence the difference between *ilu* 'inside' and *illu* 'house', *inuuvik* 'birthday' and *inuuffik* 'birth place', *aarit* 'just look!' and *aarrit* 'walrus', and *igavik* 'real pan' and *iggauik* 'kitchen'. This linking of voice and length was without doubt first forged in Greenland, and specifically in West Greenland between Nanortalik in the south and Uummannaq in the north.

Assimilation of a far-reaching kind has since taken place, except in North Greenland. The diphthongs /au/ and (non-final) /ai/ have become /aa/ When, on the other hand, two consonants stood adjacent to one another, the first one was absorbed by the second.

It is difficult to point to any phonological change in the language that is due to contact with Danish, except perhaps a slight change of central West Greenlandic *N* in the direction of the Danish sound. Nor can the affrication of the /t/ before /i/ in West Greenlandic be regarded simply -as due to contamination from Danish. On the other hand, more and more non-Greenlandic consonant combinations have become accepted in loan-words, as mentioned above. Word-initial **N**, /l/ and /r/ have become accepted, and, subsequent to 1930, vowel distinctions other than the three original ones have also been accepted in loans.

It is probable that the contribution to Greenlandic of a written form has played a greater role in regularizing stricter syntactic rules than has contact with Danish as such. The first books were translations from Danish, and they initiated a tradition that took its model from Danish literature.

Orthography

Greenlandic received its first written form with the Egedes' study of central West Greenlandic. This was a fortunate choice, as it turned out, because the dialect is a rather conservative one. Their orthography can be seen, for example, in Poul Egede's dictionary of 1750 and, with greater systematization, in Otto Fabricius' dictionary of 1804. It reflects rather directly the distinctive elements of Danish-Norwegian of the time, yet important meaning-bearing distinctions in the language itself were ignored. This situation was rectified in Samuel Kleinschmidt's orthography, first introduced in his grammar of 1851. It is based on a blend of phonological and etymological considerations and highlights the underlying meaning elements involved in the construction of complex words. More recent dictionaries now using the Kleinschmidt orthography are C.W. Schultz-Lorentzen's Greenlandic-Danish *Den granlandske ordbog* (1926, also available in English, as is his short grammar *Det uestgranlandske sprog* of 1930), and the Danish-Greenlandic *Danskgrmlandsk ordbog* by A. Bugge et al. (1960). Special mention should be made of the Greenlandic-Greenlandic dictionary *Ordbogêraq* (1951) produced by a Greenlander, Jonathan Petersen.

As time passed and assimilation progressed, phonological reality receded into the background while the recognition of etymology and grammatical relations took on greater significance for the ability to write correctly. A great deal of time was spent on learning to write, with dwindling success, so the next step was taken in 1973 with the introduction of a new orthography which comes to terms with assimilation. In the new orthography, the three 'accent' signs, ' , ^ and - were discarded; since they were only used to indicate vowel and consonant length (both are contrastive), they were replaced by the writing of double letters. The letter 'q' was also introduced instead of the small Greek 'kappa' which in Kleinschmidt's orthography was used for the uvular stop. The traditional use of 'e' and 'o' for /i/ and /u/ was abolished word-finally, although not before a uvular; 'ss', used for the single palato-alveolar sound /S/, was dropped and is now written in the same way as alveolar /s/.

The new orthography, which was introduced immediately in schools, today is also used in official publications and is gradually gaining ground despite stout resistance on the part of a section of the older population. A short Greenlandic-Danish dictionary in the new orthography has appeared (Berthelsen et al., *Ordbogi*, 1977) and will soon be published in an expanded version. There are a number of modern grammatical descriptions and teaching manuals for the language that use the new orthography, written mainly in Danish.

Syntax

Syntax has been considerably freer in the past in West Greenlandic. There is a definite tendency towards more rigid ordering within the sentence, relatable perhaps to the increased frequency of complex 'embeddings' in the written language. As regards the ordering of elements within complex words, however, there is evidence of greater flexibility today.

The general tendency in utterances without special emphasis is for the subject to precede object and verb. Words modifying the subject follow it. The object stands before the verb and is followed by words that modify it. The verb prefers final position, with modifying words standing before it. But if the subject or object is possessed, the possessor precedes it. Thus: *Kaalip* (a) *nukaata* (b) *akulliup* (c) *najani* (d) *ikiortarpaa* (e), 'Karl's (a) middle (c) brother (b) helps (e) his little sister (d)'.

Especially in older texts, different orderings are possible in which a constituent can be split into two, as in: *Taamaattorli* (a) *suli* (b) *aarleril-inngilagut* (c) *sarfaa* (d) *misiginnginnatsigu* (e) *sikullu* (f) *akornisa* (g) *erloqinarnarat* (h), 'And yet (a) we were still (b) not anxious (c) because we hadn't noticed (e) the current (d) and the difficulty (h) between (g) the ice floes (f)'. The object is split so that 'current' is placed before the verb and 'difficulty between the ice floes' after it.

Today such a syntactic ordering is hardly acceptable, unless something very specific is being emphasized. Emphasis is also produced by indicating a personal subject or object both by the verbal ending and by a personal pronoun, as in: *Ilissi eqqarsaatigisarpassi*, 'I often think of you'. The emphasis may be further intensified by changing the order: *Eqqarsaatigisarpassi ilissi*.

While a change in the word-order of a sentence often produces emphasis, a change in the order of the elements within a complex word usually produces a change in the meaning. In central West Greenlandic one can distinguish between *napparsimavinnigilaq* 'he isn't really ill' and *napparsimanngiippoq* 'he isn't ill at all'. In the recent written language, unwarranted changes of order can occur, which may suggest uncertainty as to the norms of the language.

Amongst younger writers one may find such deviant orderings of affixes as *paasiartunnguatsialerpara* instead of *paasiartulinnguatsiarpara* 'I think I've gradually begun to understand it'. The author here is presumably either unsure about the normal order or has tried to give the word a new nuance, possibly based on a Danish model (cf. 'jeg tror sa *smat at jeg er begyndt at forsta det*). While Greenlandic until about 1960 absorbed a good many lexical innovations, it is only in more recent times that grammatical uncertainty and mixing has begun to appear. This may be because a change in occupational structure has made it possible - and even necessary - for both parents to take on full-time employment outside the home at the same time, while the role of the school in connection with concept-formation and stabilization of linguistic norms has been reduced.

Literary Style

As already mentioned, the first books printed in West Greenlandic were translations from Danish; even in the case of languages as different as Danish and Greenlandic, the language of the original can influence translations. Obscure Danish will as a rule produce obscure Greenlandic. Danish requires a finite verb in a complete sentence and the formal requirement that a sentence should contain a finite verb was also characteristic of written (as opposed to oral) Greenlandic literature from the beginning.

The first periodical in Greenland, *Atuagagdlitit*, commenced publication in the 1860s and often contained translations from Danish as well as a good deal of original Greenlandic material, usually narrative description. Some of this material consisted of old legends, with a multitude of graphic devices. In such texts there could be shorter or longer passages without finite sentences. Features of the spoken language were introduced in this way into legend material and thereby into other untranslated literature.

Most Greenlandic writers received training as teachers, during which they had to practise expressing themselves through written exercises. Such exercises often concerned problems of one kind or another and provided training in apolemic style that was in fact a kind of spoken written language. Certain authors of short stories and novels unfortunately have found it difficult to tear themselves away from this style, even when portraying an ordinary conversation. For this reason certain writers, who can express themselves beautifully in verse, write very clumsily in prose. Fortunately, not all writers have this problem and there are many beautiful examples of narrative and conversational style to be enjoyed.

Dialect and Official Language

The use of the term 'standard language' to refer to the common form of Greenlandic that has developed over the years is somewhat confusing. Hans Egede and his colleagues began shortly after the start of their missionary activities to develop a written form of Greenlandic based on the dialect that was spoken around the mission station, i.e. central West Greenlandic. This was later to prove a lucky choice as central West Greenlandic is understood everywhere on the west coast, having certain archaic traits that enable it to relate readily to the other sub-dialects.

The West Greenlandic (sub)-dialects largely share the same lexical stock, with some variations owing to differences in occupational pursuits between the northern and southern parts of the coast and a number of other determinants. A large number of these are understood everywhere, however. When we talk about the West Greenlandic dialect, as opposed to East and North Greenlandic, we are referring primarily to its uniform lexical

stock and certain common phonological features, some of which cut across these main boundaries, however, since the areas around Kap Farvel in the south and Upernavik in the north have many features in common with East Greenlandic as distinct from the central area between Nanortalik and Uummannaq.

West Greenlandic, especially the central variety, can be taken as the starting point for a phonological overview of the dialect situation. In all cases, there are only three vowels, /a/, /i/, and /u/, while consonants fall into three regular groupings, the stops /p/, /t/, /k/ and /q/, the equivalent nasals /m/, /n/, ~'n/, and /N/, and voiced fricatives /v/, /l/, /g/ and /r/. The lengthened (geminate) versions of the fricatives are voiceless. Besides these there is an alveolar sibilant /d/ and palatal /j/. An affricated variant of /t./ occurs before /i/ or in combination with /s/ as /ts/ (this applies to the whole West Greenlandic area). In central West Greenlandic (from Sisimiut to Paamiut) there is also a voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant /s/, which is not distinguished from /s/ in today's orthography.

East Greenlandic and the two extreme west coast dialects, Upernavik and Kap Farvel, are so-called 'i-dialects', characterized by the change of /u/ to /i/ under certain regular conditions. Other characteristic traits are the nasalization of intervocalic /g/ to /n/ and, in East Greenlandic and Upernavik, of /r/ to /N/. Especially in East Greenlandic (as also for older speakers at Thule), the lack of affricated /t/ is characteristic, as are geminate stops corresponding to the voiceless geminate fricatives in central West Greenlandic (this has occurred partially in Upernavik and Kap Farvel too).

The far-reaching assimilation processes of West Greenlandic have been carried even further in East Greenland, with still greater levelling and simplification of pronunciation. In contrast, in North Greenland, assimilation has still not proceeded as far as in West Greenland, nor has the differentiation between short voiced and lengthened voiceless fricatives occurred. Moreover, /s/ has been replaced in North Greenlandic by an h-like sound.

West Greenlandic is the language of written literature, including school textbooks and official publications. It is also the language of the Church. This is the result of an early tradition, besides reflecting the fact that the dialect is spoken by more than 90 per cent of the population. Moreover, its relationship to other dialects is so consistent that the same written forms can be read largely according to local rules of pronunciation in the various dialect areas. An exception to this is East Greenlandic which has a greater number of idiosyncratic lexical items (partly as a result of extensive 'naming taboo' in the past). Children here (and in North Greenland) may experience some difficulty making the switch in their first years at school. Greenland may be said to be more favourably situated than other Inuit areas in so far as all dialects in these areas are minority ones, none of them having sufficient prestige to serve as a common means of communication.

Use of the Language

Greenlandic is still the medium of daily communication in Greenlandic society. Even speakers of dialects that call for practice to adjust to phonological differences rarely switch to another language, e.g. Danish, to make themselves understood.

This may, of course, be because mutual understanding has been facilitated by a common literature and language at school, in church and, last but not least, on the radio.

The Greenlandic school system, even in the 1950s and 1960s, when the prestige of the language was at a low point, has always used Greenlandic teaching materials and afforded Greenlandic a place in the curriculum. This favourable circumstance, as compared to many other places in the Arctic, has played its part in preserving the language.

Church literature is in Greenlandic—both the Bible and other religious works have been translated into Greenlandic—and the Church in Greenland got its hymnal at an early stage. Both Danish and Greenlandic may be used in performing church rites. The main thing, however, is that services and other church events are generally conducted in Greenlandic, while special church functions such as marriages, burials, etc. are announced in Greenlandic too. However, in the event of a preacher observing a number of Danes present in church, he may read the text of the day both in Danish and in Greenlandic. Special services in Danish may also be held for the Danish-speaking segment of the parish. On special occasions, e.g. jubilee celebrations, hymns are often chosen that can be sung simultaneously in Danish and Greenlandic.

Greenland Radio originally distributed its spoken (or primarily spoken) broadcasts between Danish and Greenlandic programmes, with the emphasis on the latter. In recent years, however, the proportion has changed somewhat, Greenlandic being used in more programmes than before, because Danish speakers have access to a greater number of alternative sources of news material. Broadcasts are generally made between 7 and 10.30 a.m., and between noon and 11 p.m.

Television programmes are generally Danish, accompanied by foreign programmes subtitled in Danish. Broadcasts last for about six and a half hours each day. Now and then local television programmes are produced in Greenlandic but never more than three hours a week.

There are cinemas in every town, but there have only been a few films in Greenlandic and a few experiments with Greenlandic sub-titles. Most films are the same as in current cinema programmes in Denmark.

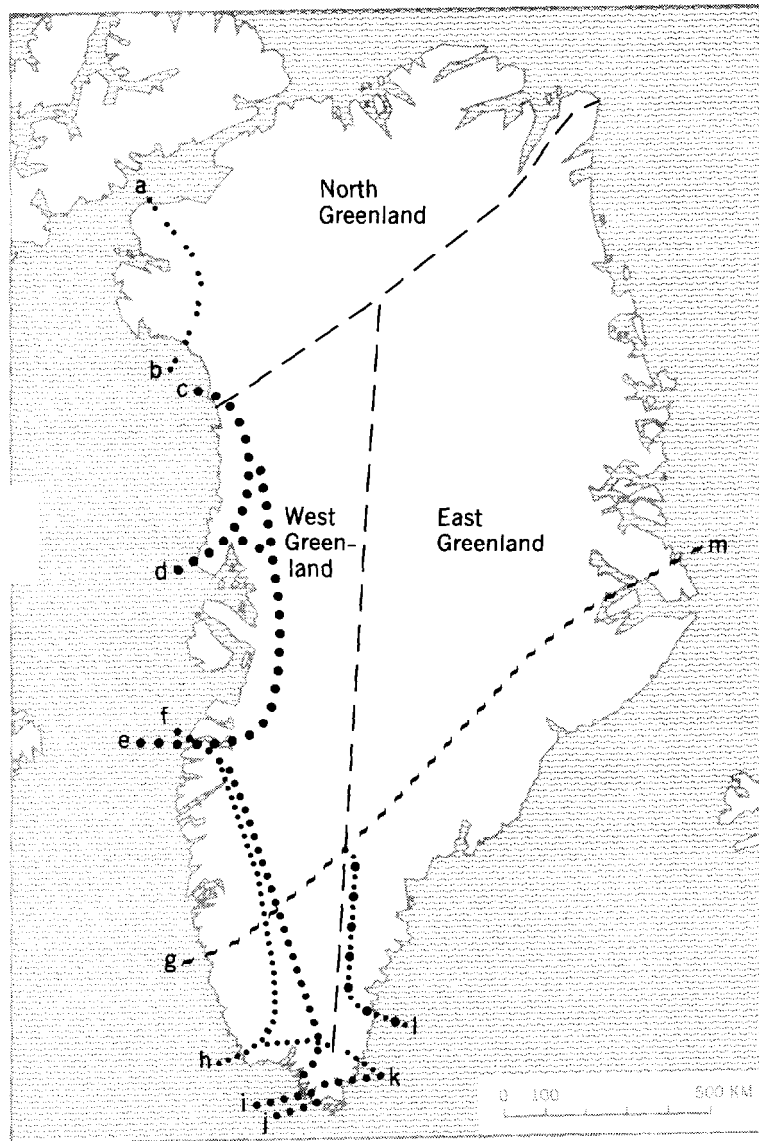
The first Greenlandic periodical (now a bilingual weekly) appeared in 1861. It is still Greenland's main newspaper and competes with *Sermitsiaq*, a local Nuuk paper which is also bilingual. In 1952, *Atuagagdliutit* merged with the Danish paper *Gronlandsposten* which was started during the Second World War. Nearly all districts also have a small local bilingual paper appearing weekly or fortnightly.

There is also a slowly expanding literature that includes short stories and novels and a good many translations from world or Danish literature. Well-known Scandinavian authors have been translated into Greenlandic, but translation of books from Greenlandic into other languages is still exceptional.

Towards the end of the 1960s, a heated debate began about the identity of the Greenlandic language as one of the central symbols of ethnic and cultural identity in Greenlandic society. It focused particularly on the question of orthography, but has since become more balanced, concerning itself with the development of the language in general. It has often led to the wish for replacement of many loan-words by native Greenlandic equivalents. The formulation of technical vocabulary in various fields was especially called for in connection with the introduction of Home Rule, making Greenlandic the main language in the country.

In 1982, the Language Committee of the Greenland Parliament was reconstituted as the Greenland Language Commission on a par with those of the Scandinavian countries. It was charged with initiating work on a Greenlandic dictionary which will not only have more entries than previous dictionaries, but will also contain more information on individual entries. This is symptomatic of the interest in the preservation and development of the Greenlandic language that has grown so much in recent years.

The uses of Greenlandic are developing all the time, and the nature of the diglossic situation vis-à-vis Danish is changing too: one may be sure that anything said today on the subject will be out of date before very long. For earlier perspectives on these matters, the reader is referred to I. Kleivan (1969-70) and M. Engell (1982), both of whom are concerned with the question of bilingualism in West Greenland. A recent development deserving of mention is a study of Greenlandic children's acquisition of their native tongue (L. Lennert Olsen, 1987). This 'quasi-longitudinal' investigation analyses the language skills of children aged 2 to 5 from the earliest stage of their linguistic development to school age when they become exposed to Danish, their second language.



MAP 7. The Greenlandic Dialects. *Source:* reproduced, by permission of R. Petersen, from *Gronland*, ed. P. Koch. Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1975.

a-b North Greenlandic (Polar Eskimo): non-assimilated consonant clusters; h-like sounds for /s/; voiced geminate fricatives; diphthongs preserved.

c-e Northwest Greenlandic: single sibilant; intervocalic /g/ nasalized to /n/; /tt/ rather than /ts/ before /a/ or /u/ (also i-k); flapped N.

- c-d Upernavik: i-dialect; of unvoiced geminate fricatives only /LL/ (otherwise corresponding stops); intervocalic /r/ nasalized; CWG /SS/ merged with Its/.
- e-d Kangaatsiaq-Uummannaq (sub-)dialect.
- e-g Central West Greenlandic: unvoiced geminate fricatives (as all d-j); /s/ and /J/ still distinguished by many speakers (also g-h).
- n North of this line lengthening of final syllable in yes/no questions; south of it no such lengthening, but on the other hand a marked tendency for devoicing/curtailment of short vowels in (especially) final syllables.
- g-m North of this line (minus c-d) u-dialects; south of it i-dialects (also c-d).
- h-k South of this line double consonants are shortened after a long vowel.
- i-f /tsa/ and /tsu/ preserved as such (also a-b).
- j-k Kap Farvel: nasalization of intervocalic /g/; /ff/ to /kk/ /rf/ to /qq/, /LL/ to /ddz/, /xx/ to /kk/, and /RR/ to /qq/.
- l-m East Greenlandic: geminate fricatives all to corresponding stops; /t/, /l/ and /I/ all to A/ intervocalically, and /tt/, /ll/, and /JJ/ to /tt/; nasalization of intervocalic /g/ and /r/; stops weakened to fricatives and short fricatives often disappear entirely intervocalically.
- g-h Paamiut (sub-)dialect.
- h-j Nanortalik-Qaqortoq (sub-)dialect.

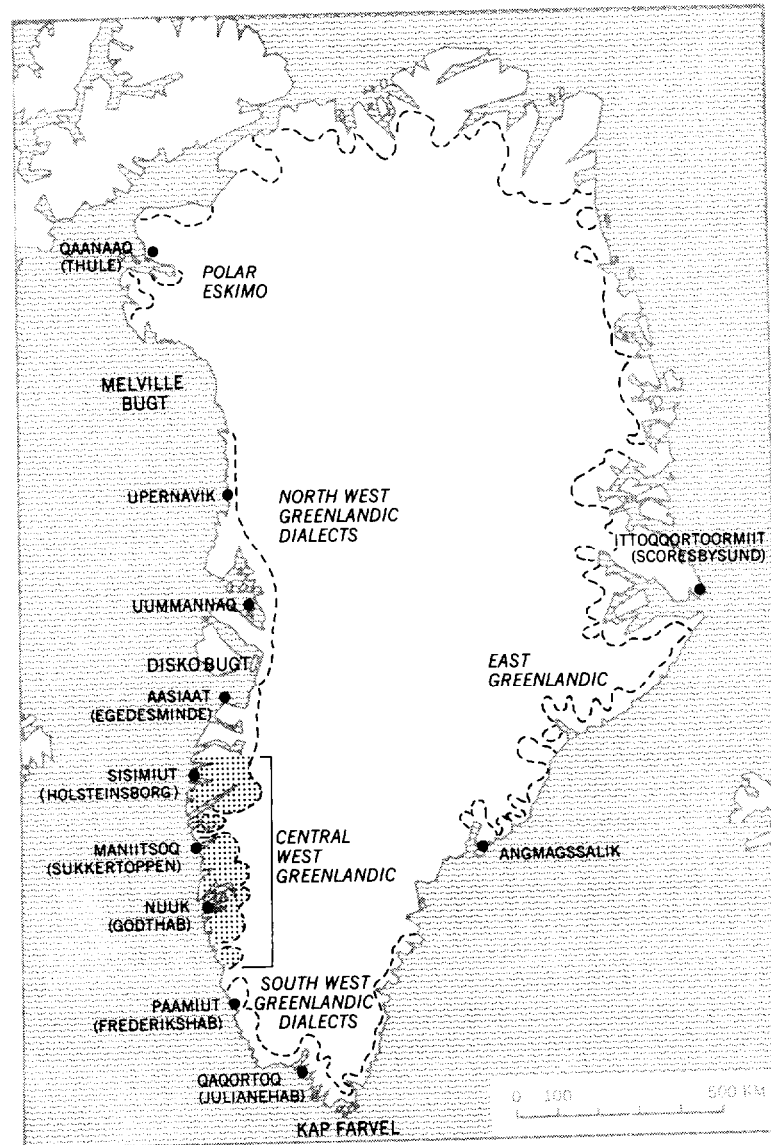
Basic Structures and Processes in West Greenlandic

Michael Fortescue

Introduction

West Greenlandic (Map 8), like all varieties of Eskimo, is a polysynthetic language, and is typologically extreme in the number of productive bound affixes (otherwise called 'suffixes' or 'postbases') that can be inserted between verbal or nominal stems and inflectional endings. There are over 400 of these in common use, with many more no longer productive ones in lexicalized combinations with stems. The morphophonological processes whereby word-internal morphemes are attached one to another are complex. The language is also highly inflected, with over 300 inflectional endings forming nominal and verbal paradigms that indicate - for verbs - mood and subject (plus, on transitive stems, object), person and number, and - for nominal stems - case, number and personal possessor. Many of these display considerable fusion, especially the 'portmanteau' transitive verbal inflections.

Greenlandic words fall into three main classes, verbs, nominals and uninflected particles (which include conjunctions, interjections and simple adverbials). The first two categories contain an obligatory stem followed by an inflection (zero in the case of absolute case nouns), with the possibility of from none to at least eight derivational affixes between them, ordered according to accumulating semantic scope 'from left to right'. Changing the order of word-internal morphemes generally changes the meaning. An inflected verb-form may stand as the minimal sentence, reference to the subject (and object) being contained in the inflection alone. A particularly characteristic trait of the language is the recursiveness of its morphology, whereby a verbal stem can be nominalized (or a nominal one verbalized),



MAP 8. West Greenlandic. **Source:** reproduced, by permission, from: M. Fortescue. 1984. *West Greenlandic*. Beckenham, Croom Helm.

then again verbalized (or nominalized) by successive affixes up to several times within one word-form.

The phonemic inventory of the language is rather simple (Table 8), with only three vowel phonemes (each with a wide range of allophones, the most lowered/centralized ones occurring before uvular consonants) and - for most speakers-fourteen consonants, not counting certain peripheral ones occurring mainly in loan words. There is no distinctive word stress or tone in West Greenlandic, but a word spoken in isolation falls under a single intonational contour, with a fall-rise in the case of yes/no questions. The word-order is fairly free; it is a 'non-configurational' language in which deviations from the common Subject-Object-Oblique Noun Phrase-Verb order generally have a pragmatic/stylistic effect.

For more detailed information on the grammar the reader is referred to Fortescue (1984).

Morphophonology

Regressive consonant assimilation is an important word-internal process in the language. Stems (i.e. simple roots or roots plus derivational affix) may end in a vowel or a velar, uvular or alveolar consonant and affixes/endings may begin with any segment, but, apart from /ts/, the only consonant clusters allowed in the language are geminates (double consonants), plain or pharyngealized. The latter are the result of the assimilation of uvular /r/ plus another consonant, written 'rm', 'rp', etc. Thus *ornig-* plus *nīar* plus *-Zugu* produces *orninnīarlugu* 'intending to come to him'. Progressive assimilation results in the reduction of vowel sequences /a/ plus /u/ or /i/ (except word-finally as regards the latter) to /aa/ as in *nuna* plus /u/ plus *-uoq*: *nunaavoq* 'it is (a) land'.

Many affixes (including those beginning with a vowel or a double consonant) are 'truncating' rather than assimilating, and thus cause the dropping of the final consonant of stems, as in *isilerpoq* 'he is coming in' from *iser-* plus *ler* plus *-poq* (note that 'e' is just an allomorph of /i/. Most g-initial affixes fuse with a preceding uvular as in *arnaraa* 'she is his mother' from *arnaq* 'mother' plus *gi* 'have as' plus 3s-3s transitive indicative inflection *-vaa*. Note the i/a alternation in the affix and the contraction it undergoes with the following inflection. A handful of affixes undergo more radical fusion with the stem in lexicalized combinations, the so-called 'replacive' affixes such as *lior* 'make'. Thus *nerisassaq* 'food' plus *lior* plus inflection *-poq* produces *nerissussiorpoq* 'she prepared the food'.

While the majority of affixes and endings are either assimilating or truncating, most nominal inflections beginning with a single consonant are only selectively assimilating, namely with 'strong' consonant stems; they cause the final consonant of 'weak stems to drop. Vowel- and most q-stems

are 'weak' and most k-stems are 'strong' (t-stems are a mixture of the two types). Thus with ablative singular case ending -mit, 'strong' stem *panik* 'daughter' becomes *panimmit* but 'weak' stem *qimmeq* 'dog' produced *qimmimit*. Many 'weak' consonant stems further undergo gemination of the penultimate consonant when such endings are attached, e.g. *nanoq* 'polar bear', which becomes *nannumit*. Some of these gemination patterns reflect segments that have been lost historically between vowels in the uninflected stem as in *timmissat* 'birds', the plural of *timmiaq*. There is some vacillation today as regards the more idiosyncratic of these gemination patterns, with a tendency towards regularization. This applies also to other old alternation patterns such as metathesis that affect only a limited number of nominal stems under inflection. There are numerous other productive alternation patterns affecting individual groups of affixes, for example the alternation of /t/ and /s/ in the intransitive participial, toq after a consonant (except when preceded by a historically original /i/) but soq after a vowel. Other segments may be deleted or introduced at morpheme boundaries according to general phonological rules. Thus affix *juma* 'want to' appears as *uma* after /i/, as in *neriumuuoq* 'he wanted to eat'; in combination with other stem types note *sana-jumauaa* 'he wanted to make it'; (*stemsana-sinikkumauoq* 'he wanted to sleep' (stem *sinig-*), and *iserumauoq* 'he wanted to come in' (stem *iser-*) A special nasalization process occurs when vowel-initial enclitics are attached to word-forms, as in *Suulun-una* 'it is Suulut'.

The net result of these various morphophonological processes of attachment is that stems, derivational affixes and inflectional endings may all display varying surface forms, depending on the morphological context. Underlying morpheme shapes can be quite severely altered on the surface, as for example in *sannappaa* 'he made it for him', which consists of stem *sana-* 'make', affix *(u)t(i)* 'do for someone' and transitive ending *-vaa/paa*.

Nominal Inflections

There are three basic paradigms for nouns (plus a parallel but somewhat different set for demonstratives). The endings involved are given in Table 9, non-possessed first; '+' before an item means 'assimilating', and its absence 'truncating', while 'f' means 'selectively assimilating'. 'Recessive' consonants appearing only after vowel stems appear in brackets. Note that West Greenlandic has an 'ergative' morphology, that is, the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive ones are in the same case, namely the 'absolute', while the subject of transitive ones is in a special 'relative' case. The latter is also used to mark the possessor in noun phrase constructions such as in *anguti-p qaja-a* 'the man's kayak' and *illu-p qaa-ni* 'on top of the house' (the latter a 'postpositional' construction). The absolute case of a singular noun is also its citation form. There are no articles or gender

distinctions in Greenland, and the dual number, still found in northern dialects, has been lost in central West Greenlandic, the basis of the written language. The instrumental case, besides indicating means/instrument, is also used for the object of the so-called 'half-transitive' construction (see section on derivational morphology) and in adverbial constructions such as *arriitsumik* 'slowly', based on the participial form of verbal stem *arriit-* 'go slowly' (there are no adjectives as such in the language). The allative basically indicates motion towards, the ablative motion from, the prosecutive 'path through which', and the equative 'like/as'. First and second person pronouns and question words like *kina* 'who' and *suná* 'what' have analogous inflections, but *uanga* 'I' and *illit* 'you' do not have distinct relative case forms.

The corresponding paradigm for demonstrative stems is illustrated with *u(na)* 'this/that (nearby)'. There are a dozen such stems in the language (used instead of 3rd person pronouns) according to position near/far, above/below, indoors/outdoors from the speaker, etc.; inflection here is generally more idiosyncratic than with nouns. The same stems may be used adverbially with slightly different case endings, as in allative *avunga*, locative *avani*, ablative *avannga* and prosecutive *avuuna* from stem *av-* 'that/there in the north'.

The second paradigm for nouns is for absolutive case possessed stems (singular or plural possessed object). The label '4th person' is met here for the first time; it refers to the reflexive 3rd person ('his/her own'), as in the distinction between *nuli-i/nulia-ni asauaa* 'he loved his wife' and *nuli-a asavaa* 'he loved his (someone else's) wife'. The third paradigm, for relative case endings, is given next to it, and below appears the result (with much contraction) of combining it with the various oblique case endings (here illustrated with locative *-ni*). Thus, *illunni*, for example, is both 'in my house' and 'in your house'.

Verbal Inflection

Many of the person markers met above in nominal paradigms occur also in the verbal paradigms presented in Table 10. The principal distinction here is between superordinate clause and subordinate clause moods. The former contains the indicative, interrogative, and imperative/optative moods, the latter the causative, conditional, contemporative and participial moods. All moods have corresponding intransitive and transitive paradigms (though see below on the contemporative). Greenlandic does not have subordinating particles like English 'that' and has few conjunctions, so mood inflection is crucial for relating one clause to another. The category '4th person' is, as in the nominal paradigms, reflexive, specifically referring to the subject of the main (superordinate) clause. Intransitive endings on other wide transitive stems have a reflexive sense too, except when there is an underlying 'zero half-transitivizer' present (see section below).

In the indicative there is a special negative paradigm combining the affix *nngit* and the person markers, with *la* instead of *vu/va* as in *neri-nngilaaq* 'he didn't eat' and *takunngilaa* 'he didn't see it'. The initial /v/ of the indicative endings alternates with /p/ following a consonant-stem, but disappears in the special contracted form of the mood in conjunction with affixes *gi* 'have as, etc.', *qi* 'very', future *ssa* and a few others, as in *arnaraa* mentioned in the section on morphophonology, *anorleqaaq* 'it is blowing very hard' (from *stemunorler-*) and *tikissaagut* 'we shall come' (stem *tikit-*). There is hardly any difference left in the language between k- and t-stem verbs as such, though stems in *ut(i)* behave in a somewhat divergent manner.

The interrogative, used in questions, overlaps with the indicative paradigm. Note that the answer to a negative question in Greenlandic is *aap* 'yes' if the person answering agrees with the content of the question, unlike in English. Thus *anigaateqanngilatit?* 'don't you have any money?' may be answered with *aap*, meaning 'yes (I don't)'.

The participial mood also has endings similar to the indicative, except that it has *su* (*tu* after a consonant) instead of *vu* in the intransitive, thus *-sunga*, *-sutit*, etc., and *gi* instead of *va* in the transitive (*ki* after consonant). The /i/ of the latter becomes /a/ before a vowel, hence 3s-3s ending *-gaa*, as opposed to ls-3s *-giga* and lp-3s *-gipput*. There are also 4th person forms like 3s-4s *-gaani*. This mood has important functions in object clauses (as in *oqarpoq toqusimasoq* 'he said he had died'), in temporal clauses (action prior to that of the main clause) and in relative clauses (intransitive only). 'Headless' relative clauses are common, as in *tikittoq* 'one who has arrived' (compare with *angut tikittoq* 'the man who has arrived').

The conditional and causative moods (the so-called 'relative' moods) share the same set of endings, only with different mood markers before them. There are special forms of the causative with negative affix *nngit* - *nnginnuma*, etc. - and with contingent affix *gaa*, as in *anigaangat* 'every time he goes out'. The conditional is used to express either condition or time-when in the future, the causative to express cause or time-when in the past. The imperative (2nd person and lpl endings only) and the optative (1st and 3rd persons) can be collapsed into one paradigm, with only peripheral overlap in certain lpl subject endings in the transitive. The transitive optative has endings similar to the indicative, but with mood marker *li* (3rd person) or *la* (1st person) instead of *va*, and with 3rd person subject-object forms as in the conditional. It is used for giving orders (*anigit* 'get out') or suggestions (*anilanga* 'let me go out').

The last mood, the contemporative, has the same set of endings whether intransitive (for subject) or transitive (for object), the subject of such a clause generally being coreferential with that of the main clause. Forms with single /l/ occur only in connection with affixes like *gi* and *qi* (thus, for example, *arnaralugu* 'having her as his mother'). There is a special negative paradigm with *na* instead of *of(lu)* (and with 2s form *-nak*). The mood has important subordinative and coordinative functions, for example in, respectively, coreferential object clauses and sequences of action clauses

involving the same subject (e.g. *iserluni ingippoq* 'he came in and sat down'). In combination with causative affix *tit* it is used in temporal clauses such as: *pujortartillugu neriuoq* 'while he smoked, he (another) ate'. It is also used as an alternative means of expressing imperatives.

Sentences in Greenlandic do not necessarily have to include a verb, thus note the common 'copular' construction with particle *tassa* 'here/there is', as in *Hansi tassa pisortaq* 'Hansi is the leader'. In the following complex sentence, the way in which clauses in different moods may be combined (with several levels of 'embedding') is illustrated:

*Ippassaq Paaviap angutaata niuertup qimmii angalanermit qasullu-
tillu*

yesterday Paavia's father - rel. storekeeper's his-dogs from-the-journey
being-tired-and

kaammata ungaluukkamut isertillugit puisip neqaanik nerlerpai

because-they-were-hungry into-the-yard letting-them-enter seal's
meat - instr. fed-them

'Yesterday Paavia's father fed the storekeeper's dogs, because they were
tired and hungry after the journey, with seal-meat, letting them into the
yard.'

Derivational Morphology

The following examples illustrate the kind of internal complexity Greenlandic words may display. Successive morphemes are divided off by hyphens and their approximate meaning given below them:

Tusua-nngit-su-usaur-tuaannar-sinnaa-nngi-uip-putit
hear-not-intr. participle-pretend to be-all the time-can-not-really -
2s indic.
'You really cannot pretend not to be hearing all the time'.

Aliikkus-ersu-i-llamma-ssua-a-nera-ssa-gukku
entertainment-provide-'half-transitivizer'-one good at-big-be-say that-
future-ls-3s condit.
'If I should say that he's a great entertainer'.

Nuunnaar-uti-gi-nni-ffigi-sinnaa-sa-a
be happy-means for-have as-'half-trans.'-have as time/place of-can-
pass. participle-his
'Something from which he was able to derive pleasure'.

Table 11 (adapted from Fortescue, 1983) contains a fairly comprehensive list of affixes productive in West Greenlandic today. They have been divided up into semantic groups to show the range of meanings involved. The forms found following vowel-stems are indicated. A '+' before an item means 'assimilating' (otherwise an affix is usually truncative). Somewhat less productive items occur in brackets (which are also used to indicate possible extensions of an affix).

Groups 1-8 are verbalizers, forming verbs from nominal stems. Any external modifier of the nominal stem remains outside the derived word in the instrumental (or in the case of verbs of 'being', absolutive) case, as in (*angisuumik*) *illoqarpoq* 'he has a (big) house' and *illoqarfiuvoq* *angisooq* 'it is a (big) town' (stems *illu* 'house' and *illoqarfik* 'town' respectively).

Groups 9-14 are verb-extenders: they do not alter the verbal nature of the stem, but may change its transitivity. Thus a transitive verb stem may be passivized or 'anti-passivized' (in order to de-specify the object). The latter process results in the so-called 'half-transitive' construction, as in *tutumik toqutsivoq* 'he killed (a) caribou' (instrumental case), as opposed to *tuttu toquppa* 'he killed the caribou' (absolutive). Also included amongst the verb-extenders are the so-called 'double-transitivizers' like *tit* 'cause/let' and *sori* 'think that', which may be added to transitive as well as to intransitive stems. Thus *Nuummiissoraara* 'I thought he was in Nuuk' with 1s-3s inflection (cf. *Nuummiippoq* 'he's in Nuuk'). On transitive stems, if the subject of the stem itself is to be retained, it must be in the allative case, as in *nuliaminut mattak nereqquaa* 'he asked his wife to eat the *mattak*', with *qqu* 'ask to'.

Groups 15-18 are verbal modifiers indicating degree, manner and aspect, and groups 19-23 are 'sentential' affixes appearing towards the end of the verbal word-forms, preceding the inflection, usually in the order given. Note that past tense in Greenlandic is a relative matter, the indicative mood being in itself neutral as to past as opposed to present, and that 'conjunctive' affixes (many of them occurring in other functions within the word) are only found in direct combination with specific moods, as indicated.

Groups 24-26 are nominal. Note in particular the common nominalizer *neq* which may nominalize whole clauses, as in *ikinngutiminut neqimik tuniussinera* 'his giving of meat to his friends', with the 3s possessor ending after *neq* referring to the clausal subject. Also the passive participial affix *sag* may appear possessed in 'headless' constructions such as that illustrated in the third complex word-form example at the beginning of this section.

Finally, there is a group of enclitics (added after any inflection) for expressing various conjunctive and other meanings, most commonly attached to the first word of clauses. The demonstrative *una* used enclitically is particularly common in connection with the participial mood in focal constructions such as *Niisi-una tikissasoq* 'it is Niisi who will come'.

The native Greenlandic terms for phonological and inflectional categories, in use in connection with the teaching of the language in Greenland since the early 1950s, have been added to the tables.

TABLE 8
The West Greenlandic Phonemic System

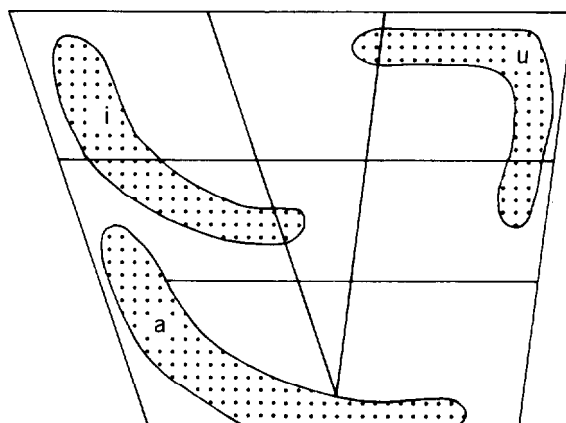
Consonants (**aappersarissat**)

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	
Stops	P	t		k	q	(misaqqasut)
fricatives	v	s*	ʃ	ɣ	r	(nilaalasut)
nasals	m	n		n (ng)	(N)**	(sorlukkoortut)
lateral	l					

(qarlormiut) (oqarmiut or kigummiut) (qilaarmiut) (nerilittarmiut)

The new orthography uses the orthographic symbols given above, but with 'g' for /y/ and 'ng' for /n/. The uvular nasal appears (geminate only) as 'rng'. All geminate fricatives are voiceless, thus, 'll' is [tt], 'gg' is [xx], 'rr' is [xx] and 'ff' is written for [vw]. This applies also to 'rl'([tt]) and 'rf'. Geminate 'ng' is written 'nng', 't' before 'i' is [tsi], and /Cti/ is written 'tsi'.

Vowels
(ersiutit)



The most centralized/lowered allophones are those occurring before (and especially between) uvulars, which in the orthography are written 'e' and 'o' (no difference for /a/).

* Many central West Greenlandic speakers still have a distinction between this and palato-alveolar /S/ (ʃ).

** Outside the central dialect area this is replaced by ordinary /r/; it occurs as a single segment only as the result of nasalization of a word-final /q/ before a vowel-initial enclitic. The same speakers have /m/ rather than INN.

Source: M. Fortescue.

TABLE 9

Nominal inflections (taggisit)

Demonstratives: (uparuartomiutit)

a) Non-possessed

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Absolutive	(i)t	(taasiinnamiut)	una	uku(a)
Relative	(u)P	(i)t	uuma	uka(a)
Instrumental	+mik	+nik	uuminnga	ukuninnga
Allative	-mut	+nut	uumunnga	ukununnga
Locative	t-mi	+ni	uumani	ukunani
Ablative	+mit	t-nit	uumannga (aniit)	ukunannga (aniit)
Prosecutive	kkut	+tigut	uumuuna	Ukunuunal/ukuatigut
Equative	+tut	+tut	uumatut	ukuatut

Bracketed 'i' and 'u' only with 'strong' consonant stems ending in 'weak' consonants undergo gemination before consonant-initial endings.

b) Absolute possessed

c) Relative possessed

<i>Possessor</i>	<i>Sing. possessed</i>	<i>Plural possessed</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1s	ga	kka	+ma	ma
2s	(i)t	tit	+(r)pit/vit	vit
3s	a		ata	isa
4s	ni/i	ni	+/-mi	t/-mi
1P	+(r)put	vut	tta	tta
2P	+(r)si	si	ssi	ssi
3P	at	i/at	ata	isa
4P	+(r)tik	tik	+/-mik	+/-mik

4s 'i' causes gemination; 3p 'at' occurs after stems in **a(C)** or 'i2'.

d) Oblique possessed: locative

<i>Possessor</i>	<i>Sing. possessed</i>	<i>Plural possessed</i>
1s	nmi	nmi
2s	nmi	nmi
3s	ani	ini/ani
4s	mini	+/-mini
1P	tsinni	tsinni
2P	ssinni	ssinni
3P	anni	ini/anni
4P	minni	+/-minni

3p **anilanni** with stems in a(C) or 'i2'. The other oblique cases are similar.

Source: M. Fortescue.

TABLE 10

Verbal inflections (oqaluutit)a) **Indicative** (oqaluinnamiut)

Intransitive Subject	Transitive object						
	1s	2s	3s	1P	2P	3P	
1s	+vunga		+vakkit	+vara		+vassi	+vakka
2s	+vutit	+varma		+vat	+vatsigut		+vatit
3s	+voq	+vaanga	+vaatit	+vaa	+vaatigut	+vaasi	+vai
1P	+vugut		+vatsigit	+varput		+vassi	+vavut
2P	+vusi	+vassinga		+varsi	+vassigut		+vasi
3P	PPut	+vaannga	+vaatsit	+vaat	+vaatigut	+vaasi	+vaat

Negative: *nngilaqhnngilaa*, etc.

b) Interrogative (apersuiniut)

Same as indicative except for intransitive 2s *uit*, 3s *va*, 2p *visi* and 3p *ppat* (and 2nd person subject transitive forms with *vi*(si)- 1).

c) Participial (taggisaasaq)

As indicative, but with intransitive *su* instead of *vu*, alternating with *tu* after a consonant (3s *soq*, 3p *sut*), and with transitive *gi* (*ga* before a vowel) instead of *va*(*r*).

d) Imperative/optative (inatsiniut/kissarniut)

Intransitive Subject	Transitive object				
		3s	3P	1s	1P
2s	(g)itf+na	(g)uk	kkit	nnga	+tigut
1P	+ta/sa	+tigu	+tigik		
2s	gitsi/gisi	+siuk	+sigik	+singa	+tigut

The optative (1st & 3rd person) is as the indicative but with *la* (1st) or *li* (3rd) instead of *vu* / *va*(*r*) (3s instr. *li*, 3p ***lit***).

(TABLE 10 cont.)

e) Conditional (pissanersorsiuṭ)

Intransitive	Transitive 3s and 3p object		
1S +guma	+gukku		+gukkit
2s +guit	+gukku		+gukkit
3s ppat	ppagu		ppagit
4s +guni	+guniuk		+gunigit
1P +gutta	+gutsigu		+gutsigik
2P +gussi	+gussiuk		+gussigik
3P ppata	ppassuk		ppatigik
4P +gunik	+gunikku		+gunikkik

Other forms as expected from indicative/participial, but note 2s-1s *gumma*.

f) Causative (pisimasorsiuṭ)

As conditional, but with *ga* instead of *gu*, 3rd person forms with 'mm' rather than 'pp' and 4th person forms with 'm' rather than 'n' (thus *+gami*, etc.).

g) Contemporative (aappiuttartoq)

Subject/object

1s	+(l)lunga		
2s	+(l)lutit	3rd person object	
4s	+(l)luni	Singular	Plural
1P	+(l)luta	+ (U)lugu	+ (1)lugit
2P	+(l)lusi		
4P	+(l)lutik		

The negative paradigm (also used for negative imperative) replaces (i)lu with *na*.

Source: M. Fortescue.

Table 11

Productive affixes (uiguutit)**1. Being and becoming**

giiaar	(be mutually - several)
gig	(be mutually)
kkuminar	(be good for)
(kkuutaar)	(be grouped in -s)
+miit	(be in/on)
nngor	(become)
ssaqqig	(be good for)
U	(be)

2. Lacking

ilatsi	(be short of)
erser	(have lost)
(ssa)erut(i)	(have no more)
isag	(have very few)
(it)	(be without)
ssaaleqi	(lack)
ssaasua	(lack)

3. Feeling

gug (thirst/long for)	
(ersi)	(feel cold in one's)
katag	(be fed up with)
(leri)	(have pain in one's)
nngor	(like/be crazy about)
(nngu)	(feel bad in one's)

4. Having

gasag/gasaar	(have scattered)
gi	(have as)
gig/gissaar	(have a good)
gissi	(have got a better)
(erluer)	(be smeared with)
kitkillior	(have few/little)
kisaar	(have rather little)
(lisaar)	(be wearing)
lisar	(have with one)
lissuu	(have much/many)
+lug	(have a bad/painful)
(maar)	(be wearing)
qar (have/there is)	
(qqor) +tu	(have much/a big)
+tuj aar	(have rather a big)
(+tusi/ttor)	(have got a more/a bigger -)

(TABLE 11 cont.)

5. Acquiring

(a)	(catch several)
isor	(fetch)
lerngusaatii)	(fight for)
+nialug	(hunt - small game/a little)
+(n)niar	(hunt)
(nig)	(get/have come)
+niut(i)	(hunt-several)
nnag	(get - as gift/plenty)
(raar)	(catch so many)
+si	(get/buy/find)
+sior	(look for)
(t/g)	(catch)

6. Movement

kkoor/(a)goor	(move in/through)
liar-liar	(go to)
+meer/minngar	(come from)
+mukar	(go to)
+mukaa	(go to - several)
(+moor)	(move towards)
(+sior)	(travel on)

7. Acting and seeming like

(lisar)	(resemble)
nga	(resemble)
+(r)palaar	(seem/sound like)
+(r)pallag	(act like)
+(r)palug	(resemble/seem like)
+(r)pasig)	(look like)
(ssi)	(act/be just like)
+sunnit	(smell like)
+toor	(act like/speak - language)
usaar	(act like/seem)

8. Doing with and providing

(iar)	(remove - several)
er	(break/damage)
erniar	(be removed/sell)
er	(sell)
erut(i)	(remove/deprive of)
liari/ssiari	(remove/deprive of)
ler/er	(make into)
lerileri	(provide with)
lersaar	(occupy oneself with)
lersor	(tell about)
	(provide with - several/bit by bit)

(TABLE 11 cont.)

lior/ior	(make)
liut(i)	(use for)
ller	(offer/serve)
t+mig)	(touch with one's)
(+meer)	(do with)
nngor(tit)	(make into)
	(loan-word verbalizer)
(riar)	(do so many times)
(ror)	(hit on the)
ssit	(give to 1)
(+ter)	(cover with)
+tor	(use/eat)
+tuuma	(like to use/eat a lot)

9. Judging and saying

gi	(consider)
gissaa	(complain that)
+gunar	(look like)
naar	(find too/more than expected)
+nerar	(say that)
(nni)	(look like)
+(r)palaar	(appear/sound like)
+(r)pallag	(sound like/he said)
+(r)palug	(look/sound like)
+(r)pasig	(look like)
(r)	(say/shout -)
ssanga(tit)	(think - will)
+(ga)sugi	(think that)
+(ga)sori	(think that)
(+tit)	(think)

10. Wishing and wanting

+juma	(want to)
+jumagaluar	(would like)
+j umaller	(get an urge to)
+jumatu	(always want to)
katag	(be tired of)
qquneru	(prefer to)
(lla)(q)qu	(hope to)
rusug/+gusug	(would like to)
+(t)ser/(t)sii	(wait for)

(TABLE 11 cont.)

11. Causation and request

(qatiseri)	(want/ask someone to - with one)
qqu	(ask/want someone to)
qqunngit	(ask not to/forbid)
qqusaar	(try to get people to - one)
qqusaa	(be allowed to)
(+sa(a)r)	(try to get to)
+tit	(cause/let)
+titer	(cause/let - severalby stages)
+t(s)aali	(prevent from)

12. Striving and intending

+giar/(gi)jartur	(go and/to)
lersaar	(intend)
+naveersaar	(try not to)
+nialug	(try a little)
+niar	(try)
+niarsari/niarsuaar	(try - despite difficulty)
+niinnar	(try at all costs/just try)
+neqqisaat(i)	(compete at)
(qqaan)+niut(i)	(compete at)
riaraluar	(try unsuccessfully)
ssamaar	(intend)
ssamaartuu	(look forward to)

13. Potentiality

ja	(apt to/can easily)
jaat	(not likely to)
janngit	(cannot/never)
juit	(cannot/never)
+juminaat	(not be easy/good to)
+juminar	(be easy/good to>
llaqqig	(be good at)
+naat	(not to be -ed)
+nar	(such as to be/-able)
+naveer	(can no longer)
nngitsuugassaanngit	(cannot not)
rataannaa/ratarsinnaa(nngor)	(can easily)
riaa(nnaa)	can easily)
+sariaqaarut(i)	(need no longer)
+sariaqanngit	(mustn't/needn't)
+sariaqar	(must)
+sassaa	(is to be -ed)
+sinnaa	(can)
+seriar	(be easy/liable to)
+seriit	(not be easy/liable to)
+sussaa	(be supposed to)

(TABLE 11 cont.)

14. Relation shifters

i/si/+si)	(intransitivizer)
+neqar	(dynamic passive)
qatigi	(do together with)
qatigiig	(do reciprocally)
+saa/gaa	(Native passive)
+soor	(happen to one that)
ussor	(do with/for - bit by bit)
(ss)ut(i)	(do with/for/with respect to)
(ss)utigi	(transitivizer - reason/time/means)
+ffigi	(transitivizer - place/time/person)

15. Degree

alug	(rather/here and there)
kanner	(more or less/rather)
kujug/kujoor	(somewhat)
kulug	(somewhat)
ku(t)soor	(greatly)
laar	(a little)
+(l)luinnar)	(completely)
(miner)	(a little)
misaar	(a little)
ngaanngit	(not especially)
ngaar	(greatly)
ngajag	(almost/more or less)
+nerpaa	(most)
+neru	(more)
+nerujussuar	(much more)
+nerumaar	(a little more)
(nnguar)	(a little)
pajaar	(more or less/partly)
Pajug	(just a little)
+(r)piar	(exactly/really)
qqar	(barely)
qqanngit	(a lot)
aaig)	(completely)
qqinnaar	(completely)
rujug/rujoor	(a little)
(pilo)rujussuar	(enormously)
ruttor	(at height of;/very much)
+tigi	(so)
tsiar	(rather/a bit)
umi	(a little)
usar	(more or less)
+vallaanngit	(not so much)
+vallaar	(too/very much)
vig/vissor	(really/completely)

[TABLE 11 cont.]

16. Manner

allag	(suddenly a bit)
arsug	(half-heartedly)
(+r)su/ju)ataar	(powerfully/hard)
+galuar	(nevertheless/formerly/though in vain)
+gasuar/+nasuar	(quickly)
(+s)innar	(just/only)
jaallu	(early - habitually)
jaar	(early)
lertor	(quickly/a short time)
llarig	(well)
+(1)luar	(well/a lot)
lussinnar	(in vain)
+nerlug/+nerlior	(badly)
palaar	(half-heartedly/with difficulty)
pallag	(quickly/hurriedly)
pilug/piloor	strong/violently)
qqissaar	(carefully/exactly)
riasaar/riataar	(suddenly)
rulug/ruloor/ruller	(hard/violently)
rusaar/luusaar/ruusaar	(at ease/slowly)
+(r)suar	(strongly)
(tsag)	(with emotion)
ummi/ummer	(suddenly - feeling)

17. Phase of completion

+gallanngit	(not yet-for long time/though expected)
+galuttuinnar	(gradually more and more)
(+gi)ijartuaar	(gradually more and more)
(+gi)jartur	(more and more)
+jumaarnertu/+jumaataar	(take a long time)
+junnaar/gunnaar	(no longer)
(+li/+si)	(become)
ler	(begin/about to)
(nga/ma)	(in state of)
ngajag/ngajassaa	(about to/almost)
+nialer	(set about)
nngikkallar	(not yet)
nngiler	(not yet - but should)
nngersaar	(about to)
qqa	(in state of)
qqajar/qqajaa	(about to/almost do)
riar	(set about/dynamic state/all at a go)
reer	(perfective/already)
(+r)sari	(be in middle of)
+sima	(perfective state)
(+simaar)	(continuing/intense state)

(TABLE 11 cont.)

ssaar	(stop/no longer)
(sungar)	(almost/be danger that)
(+ter)	(one by one/gradually)
18. Frequency and duration	
a/kaa./rrat/(i))	(several do)
(+s)ar(i)	(repetition/habit)
+gajug	(often/habitually)
+gallar	(still/for time being)
innar/+(t)tuinnar	(always/continually)
+juaannar	(always/continually)
+juaar	(continuously/on and on)
+juar	(continuously/still)
jortor/jorar	(one after another)
kula(ar)/kullatsit	(often)
llatsiar	(for a short while)
llattaar	(from time to time)
(loor)	(for some/the whole time)
mmersor	(for some time)
nngisaannar	(never)
qattaar	(again and again)
qqaar	(first)
qqig	(again/further)
+saannar	(often/all the time)
+sar/tar	(repetition/habit)
(+r)sor)	(repeated action)
(lla)tuar	(for once/at least)
umisaar	(back and forth)
(or/ar)	(prolonged/repeated action)
usaar	(keep on -ing)
19. Tense	
+jumaar	(vague future)
+niar	(intended/inevitable future)
(qqamminngit)	(some time ago)
qqammer	(recently)
riikatag	(a long time ago already)
+sima/+nikuu	(perfect)
ssa	(future/should)
20. Modality	
+gunanngit	(certainly not)
+gunar	(it seems/no doubt)
+junnarsi	(probably/no doubt)
+naviar(sima)nngit	(certainly not)

(TABLE 11 cont.)

nnguatsiar	(probably/as far as one can see)
qqajaqi	(would - if)
(ssa)qqoor/qqooqi	(undoubtedly/must have)
(ssa)+sima	(apparently)
(+sima)ssa	(must have/be)
ssagaluar	(should/would - if)
21. Negation	
+galuanngit	(not a bit/didn't however)
nngilluinnar	(not at all)
nngit	(not)
nngitsoor	(happen not to)
nnguanngit	(not a bit)
+(r)pianngit	(not really)
qqajanngit	(not at all)
Vinngit	(not really/at all)
22. Subjective coloration	
ataar	(in a big way - exclamatory)
+gallar/laar	(imperative softener)
+galuar	(sure/formerly - but)
+galuttuaqi/+galuttuar	(now we'll see/look out)
+gi/gu	(and so (at length)/moreover)
(+s)innar	(just)
kasig/kassag	(disdain/complicity/naughty/poor)
kisar)	(negative imperative/stop -ing)
kulug	(dear/poor)
(ria)llar	(vivid/surprising action)
llariaa	(negative imperative strengthener)
llarumaar	(just wait and see)
llassa	(just wait and see - more definite)
+(l)luinnar	(really)
+(m)mi	(and then - vivid/why!)
+niar	(imperative softener)
+ner	(I wonder/whether/maybe)
nnguar	(affection/comfort)
(ngusar)	(thank heavens/dear - ironic)
qi	(intensity/very)
qina	(there's danger that/take care not to)
ratar	(suddenly/surprisingly)
riannguar	(vivid - often for discovery)
riar	(vivid action)
riassa	(let's/why don't you)
ssaqqaar	(will -just wait and see)
+vallaar	(so very much)

(TABLE 11 cont.)

23. Conjunctive

+gaa(-ngat)	(whenever)
+galuar (-mat/-luni/toq)	(although)
(ssa)+galuar (-pat)	((even) if)
(+s)innar (-toq/-luni)	(after)
+juma/qqu (-lluni)	(in order to)
llar (-mat)	(just as - vivid)
ngaar(-mat)	because so much)
ngajaler (-soq)	(just before)
+niaqa (-luni)	(just as/even though)
+niar(-lunibtoq)	(while)
+niariar(-toq)	(just after)
+niassa(-mmat)	(so that)
+niassaqa(-luni)	(though one should have)
+ner(-soq)	(if perhaps/I wonder)
nngikkallar(-mat)	(before)
(lla)nnguart-anibnani)	(without even/in the least)
qqaar(-luni/-mat)	(only/just after)
qqajannngiti(-soq)	(long before)
riallar(-mat/-toq)	(when - surprise)
riar(-mat/-pat)	(as soon as)
riar(-luni)	(after)
ruttor(-toq)	(just as)
+(t)siisiga(-lugu)	(until)
ssa(-nani)	(without)
ssaaqqaar(-teq)	(while still)
+tit.J-lugu)	(while)
itiff-nagu)	(until/before)
utigaa(-lugu)	(at same time as)

24. Nominalizers

+gajooq	(one who often)
kkajaaq/kujooq	(one that is rather)
llammak	(one good at)
+naq	(how - it is!)
+niaq	(one who tries to)
+niku/nikoq	(remains of/one who has -ed)
+neq	state/result/action)
(ineq)	(the most/more)
+nerpaaq/nersaq	(the most)
+nertoq	(one who strongly)
+niut	(thing for -ing)
nnguarsi	(how-!)
+(r)paluk	(sound of)
qat	(fellow in/at)
qqaaq	(something newly -ed/one who has just)
qqammeq	(one who has just)

(TABLE 11 cont.)

(riaq)	(place/thing where one)
(rlaaq)	(one who newly/just)
+saat	(means for -ing)
+saq/gaq	(passive participle)
(+si)	(agent/-er)
+(t)siiq	(something left to be -ed)
ssuseq	(quality of)
+soq	(active intransitive participle)
useq	(manner of)
(ss)ut	(means/instrument/cause)
+(f)fik	(place/time)
(ffaarik)	(one that is very -)

25. Nominal extenders

giit/giaat	(a pair/mutual -s)
gik	(one with a good)
erniaq	(seller of)
kkaa	(one with a big)
kkut	(and family/companions)
(kkuutaat)	(at intervals of-s)
ku/koq	(remains of/previous)
(koorfik)	(place for discarding)
liaq	(traveller to)
lik	(provided with/owner)
lersaarut	story/account of)
(lisaq/nisaq)	(something from last -)
livik	(container for)
mineq/minaatsiaq	(piece of)
+miu/mioq	(inhabitant of)
(qat)	(fellow)
+siut	(means for going in/seeking)
ssiaq	(something intended for)
+sunni	(smell of)
+toq	(one with a big/much)
(+tooq)	(something in a language)
usa(a)q	(something like a)
usiaq	(model/copy)

26. Nominal modifiers

(+pa)aluit	(several/group of)
araq	(small)
(gi)+galuaq	(which otherwise/formerly)
innaq	(only)
kanneq	(almost/more or less)
kasik/kassak	(bad/poor)
kujuit	(dear ones - ironic)
ku(l)lak	(rather big/clumsy great)

(TABLE 11 cont.)

kuluk	(bad/small/dear)
kulooq	(big)
liaq	(something made)
+(r)luinnaq	(complete(y))
ngaaq	(considerable/large)
ngaatsiaq	(quite a bit)
ngajak	(almost)
ngusaq	(dear little)
nnaq/nnaaq	(main/favourite)
nnguakkuluk	(poor old/little)
nnguak	(small/dear)
Pajuk	(bad)
palaq	(bad)
palaarsuaq	(bad/damned)
+(r)passuit/+(r)paat	(many/crowd on)
+(r)piaq	(real/just)
piluk	(bad)
rajuk/rajussuaq	(damned)
ralaannguaq	(tiny)
ralak	(bad/poor)
rujuk	(bad/big)
rujussuaq	(enormous)
+siaq	(bought/found)
ssamaaq	(intended)
ssaq	(future)
ssa(tsia)rsuaq	(which should have been)
+(r)suannguaq	(naughty)
+(r)suaq	(big/had)
+taa	(new)
+taq	(pertaining to/part made of)
tsialak	(good/nice)
tsiannguaq	(good little/usable)
(a)tsiaq	(fair-sized)
tuaq	(only)
toq	(old)
ugaluaq	(previously/decreased)
uneq	(highest/chief)
ut(i)(owned/belonging to one)	
vik (real)	

(TABLE 11 cont.)**Enclitics**

aa (vocative)	
aasiit	(again as usual)
gooq/nngooq	(he/they say(s))
+li	(but)
+lu	(and)
+lusooq	(as if)
+luunniit	((even/or/-ever)
+mi	(but/yet/indeed - contrast)
+mita(ava)/maa	(I wonder)
+(t)Naaq	(also)
+toq	(would that/I wonder)
una	(you see/it's that)

Source: M. Fortescue.

Greenlandic in Schools

Christian Berthelsen

Everyone knows that the Greenlandic people constitute a linguistic minority in the Danish realm. Greenlandic is the language spoken by all Greenland's native inhabitants, though with some dialectal variations. Despite these differences, which are of course more marked in the isolated areas of Thule and the East Coast, the more than 44,000 Greenlanders in Greenland can communicate with each other in their own language.

Greenlandic has a long tradition as a culture language. The old oral traditions were preserved for many generations before being written down. Greenlandic has also been used as a literary medium for over 250 years. There is a distinct Greenlandic literature with original works of poetry and prose. The complete collection to date does not fill many volumes, but there is a good deal of activity at present., especially in the field of poetry. A considerable number of books have been translated from other languages, and the number of textbooks printed in the mother tongue has grown to be quite impressive.

A reliable estimate would put the number of titles of Greenlandic books in the regional library at Godthab at about 2,000, including religious works and textbooks.

Danish too, however, is a part of the everyday life of Greenland in many ways. There are approximately 9,000 Danes in Greenland - borough officials employed by the State and private persons who have set themselves up as independent businessmen. Many Greenlanders have learned Danish and there is a high proportion of mixed marriages, the children of which usually speak either Danish or both languages, although with the emphasis on Danish.

There are large collections of books in the libraries and Danish books and magazines can be bought in the shops. Practically all the necessities and everyday articles bought in the shops come from abroad, so that the text on the labels of commodities is almost invariably printed in a foreign language. Danish is heard in many places of work because many functions are still performed by Danes. This, however, varies from place to place. Laws and regulations are printed in Danish and Greenlandic. Greenland's national newspaper *Atuagagdlitit/Gronlandsposten* and a number of local papers are printed in both languages. Radio Greenland broadcasts in both languages, and television programmes are almost entirely in a foreign language for the time being.

This is a summary of the linguistic situation in Greenland today, but since the present linguistic situation is directly related to earlier language policy, we shall therefore refer briefly to the past too, and especially the 1950s and 1960s.

A number of factors -among them the presence of the Danish language in Greenland - can be expected to have an influence on Greenlandic. Legislation and related measures - *inter alia* the distribution of annual grants-may affect it both directly and indirectly. Here mention should be made of education legislation as a factor that is of importance to the status of language in society. During the period of colonization, the Greenlandic population had no formal influence in the field of legislation. Since 1953, however, Greenland has two representatives involved in the Danish Parliament's legislation on Greenland, and Home Rule was introduced in 1979.

Since the beginning of colonization, Greenlandic has been used to mediate external influence resulting inevitably from the presence of Europeans in the country. Foreign missionaries had to learn the language, and entirely new concepts were introduced into the language in connection with the transition to the new religion. We shall not discuss this special chapter in the history of the Greenlandic language in any detail here, but simply point out that the formation of new concepts in the language is a process that continues in our time and has far-reaching consequences for its further development.

It is no doubt quite a unique fact that a distinct minority language, i.e. Greenlandic vis-a-vis Danish, was permitted not merely to exist, but also to develop without being ousted as a competitor by a majority language. It was possible because the colonizer kept the country hermetically sealed against foreign intrusion, while the country's geographic position, making access difficult, has itself acted as a safeguard in this connection.

The Danish State has taken many major steps down the years that have been particularly encouraging for the development of the Greenlandic language. The first printing press, for example, came to Greenland in 1856 with the result that the oral traditions could be collected and printed and so preserved for posterity. The initiative to found a Greenlandic-language newspaper in 1861, *Atuagagdlitit*, was of very great importance. Down the

years the paper has been an important instrument to assist ordinary Greenlanders to learn to write, and in this way has exerted influence on the development of the language.

The Greenlandic language continued to play its dominant role until the second half of the twentieth century. During the time of colonization there was no particularly great demand for higher education or special training, though the teacher training college in Godthab has been in operation since 1845. This in itself set bounds to the opportunities for expansion and development of the language, the few Greenlanders who were employed in special tasks being trained in Denmark. However, when the monopolistic trade was abolished, the doors were thrown wide open to the world and with that, the language was no longer preserved in Class A. This is borne out *inter alia* from the two Education Acts (1950 and 1967) which are discussed here.

In 1950 the reorganization of education commenced in Greenland; it was to change the conditions of Greenlandic society totally and make heavy demands on education which, in the view of many people, would be provided in Denmark, i.e. in Danish. The same year a new Education Act was passed representing a clean break with previous education legislation, which dealt solely with the Greenlandic language. This Education Act contained provisions, not only giving Danish a prominent place as a subject but also allowing its introduction as a medium of instruction in primary schools, beginning in the major towns. This Act furthermore instituted a four-year secondary school system with Danish as the language of instruction and Greenlandic as a compulsory subject. Classes in secondary school were to be taught thenceforth in Danish and accompanied by an examination equivalent to the one given in Danish secondary schools. A secondary school diploma was required for admission into Ilinnarfissuaq (the Greenland teacher training college) where Danish also held a prominent place.

The next Education Act, passed in 1967, continued the work begun by the 1950 Education Act. The Education Act in force in Denmark at the time, i.e. 1967, provided the basis for the drafting of the 1967 Education Act in Greenland, embodying modifications to suit specific Greenlandic activities. One particular item in this Education Act led to lively discussion: this was the provision that allowed Greenlandic as a subject to be deferred until the third year of school depending on the wishes of individual school committees and parents and bearing in mind the local teacher situation.

The background to the 1950 Education Act was the clear wish of Greenlanders to learn Danish properly, not merely as a foreign language but also as a medium of instruction. The Greenlanders' aim, expressed in articles and lectures, was to make Greenland Danish-speaking in the long run and to give Danish and Greenlandic equal status.

Isolated statements can be traced, clearly voicing the view that Greenlandic had no future and that Danish alone ought to be the common language in Greenland. Obviously, such radical and well-formulated opinions on the language question, maintained by prominent Greenlanders, were bound to

impress many people and influence the 1950 Education Act and developments in subsequent years.

While preparing the draft of the 1967 Education Act, Gronlands Landsrad (the Provincial Council in Greenland) stated *inter alia that* what was being aimed at was a situation in which coming generations of Greenlanders should be able to make an educational choice according to their abilities and interests without being hampered by linguistic considerations, as was the case during the period of the so-called 'policy of equality'.

Moreover, the idea of a year's schooling in Denmark, regarded by Greenlanders as a temporary measure due to a shortage both of classrooms and of Greenlandic teachers, was strongly supported by politicians and parents. For many years, private arrangements had been made for the purpose, financed by parents without help from the State.

These were the two earlier Education Acts and their background. However, the shortage of Greenlandic-speaking teachers actually strengthened the position of the Danish language in schools. In discussions, one frequently hears the opinion that the presence of so many Danish teachers in Greenland is due to the fact that the Danish State has flooded the country with Danes with the sole purpose of danicizing it. However, the situation is not that simple. The reason for appointing more Danish teachers than would ordinarily have been the case in normal circumstances was the sudden upsurge in classroom enrolment in the 1960s. During the 1950s the birth rate spiralled and the infant mortality rate fell. The result, of course, was that school-enrolment in the 1960s rose sharply. The number of pupils almost doubled during the 1960s. On the other hand, the age group which usually provides teachers remained very small. An estimate based on statistics indicates that those aged 7 to 17 (i.e. school age) were almost double the number of those aged 21 to 31 (i.e. those who became, *inter alia*, teachers) during the 1960s and 1970s.

For this reason, the teacher training college in Godthab was rather poorly attended. Other factors contributed to this, of course, among them the unsatisfactory salary situation of teachers and the many alluring offers of new and exciting training opportunities in other fields. This is why a large number of Danish teachers and Greenlandic assistant teachers had to be appointed in order to provide the children with some education at least.

We have dwelt a good deal on the background of the two Education Acts and on the teachers' situation because they have influenced the language situation ever since 1950. We consider that Danish politicians have always listened to Greenlanders' wishes in regard to legislation for Greenland. This is the case - and perhaps here more than elsewhere - in the area of education legislation. Incidentally, a rather extraordinary thing happened in connection with the reading of the Bill for the 1967 Education Act: the Danish Parliament reacted to the above-mentioned provision of deferring the use of Greenlandic until third class by asking if it was not going too far and, before the final passing of the Bill, sent the Parliamentary Committee

on Education Acts on a tour through the southern part of Greenland to gain for themselves an impression of general opinion by talking to Greenlandic politicians, representatives of parents, schoolteachers and many other persons.

In conclusion, it may be said that the above-mentioned agreements mean that many young people today have an excellent knowledge of Danish, which will stand them in good stead in higher education. There are instances to prove that a proper combination of the two languages can lead to good results. However, such streamlining of the teaching of Danish has affected knowledge of Greenlandic. In some cases, the stress has been on Danish, partly at the expense of Greenlandic, and in others neither language has been developed sufficiently. Many circumstances have contributed to these less fortunate results, not least the teacher supply situation which prevented desirable and ideal teacher combinations in the various subjects.

The political situation in Greenland has changed during the last twenty-five years. Today there are reactions against the policy of equality of the 1950s and 1960s and too much influence from outside. People now want development based on Greenlandic realities. This means that Greenlandic will occupy a position of greater importance from elementary up to higher education in the education system in the future.

In 1979 Home Rule was instituted in Greenland and so a number of decision-making processes were transferred to the political authorities in the country. Among the fields that have been transferred to the new Government are primary, secondary, further and higher education. A New Education Act has been passed by the Greenland Parliament under Home Rule. Preparations for this Act had already begun after a fashion in 1970, i.e. three years after the passing of the 1967 Education Act. At the time, the new political views in Greenland were becoming clearer. With the drafting of the so-called prospective plan for Greenland, the *Gronlandsradet* - a council of Greenlandic and Danish politicians - debated the future policy of education, from elementary up to higher education. On the basis of the views expressed at the time, a Bill was drawn up for the new Education Act. Without enlarging on the contents of the Act, suffice it to say that it maintains clearly that Greenlandic is Greenland's main medium of instruction and Danish its first foreign language.

The position of Greenlandic in schools is to be strengthened in various ways. The School Board has taken a number of steps with the aim of alleviating the want of Greenlandic-speaking teachers. For a short period, a two-year training programme for teachers of individual subjects was introduced as a stop-gap solution. Short-term courses have been initiated for the large number of part-time Greenlandic-speaking teachers employed throughout the country. None the less, about half of the fully-trained teachers are still Danish-speaking teachers from Denmark. One area where considerable progress has been made is the publication of school texts in Greenlandic.

In 1973, a new phonemic orthography was introduced that has considerable pedagogical advantages over the one employed until that time and is now used everywhere.

Major initiatives in the education of young Greenlanders have been taken on a very wide front. It is clear that in the long run these will lead to more and more Greenlanders taking over the functions of the Danes in Greenland, and that Greenlandic will gradually replace Danish in places of work. A better and faster type of education will thus strengthen the position of the Greenlandic language. A thorough knowledge of foreign languages - above all Danish - will still be necessary, and the demands may be even greater, with English coming to play an increasingly important role as a means of international communication, e.g. in connection with the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC).

In the Greenland of the future, it is Home Rule politicians who will mark out the lines for all levels of education, and consequently establish the range and level of learning of foreign languages. Minority societies which would like to preserve their distinct features, but which in various ways are dependent on contact with the rest of the world, will always be in a certain dilemma as to the ideal balance to strike in the relationship between the mother tongue and other languages, which for many people are the key to broader opportunities. In this way, Greenland, with its 44,000 Greenlandic inhabitants and a language so utterly different to many others, is of course no exception.

Endnote: Since 1979

In 1980, authority for education was transferred from Denmark to the Home Rule administration in Godthab/Nuuk. The Greenlandic Parliament (Landsting) passed legislation giving prominence to Greenlandic as a medium of instruction and subject for study. Compulsory schooling was extended to nine years, with the option of continuing for a further 2 + 2 years.

The great majority of Greenlandic teachers have been educated at the teacher training college established in Godthab in 1845. The provision that one of the four years of training should be spent in Denmark has been dispensed with under Home Rule, so that the total training period is now three years.

Several specialized training programmes have been introduced in Greenland, e.g. in journalism and pre-school training. These programmes, like the training of special health assistants, have been specially tailored to Greenland's needs and are not copies of Danish models. Such measures, it is felt, will strengthen the position of the language further and redress the incipient drift towards 'semi-lingualism' that has been seen to affect a generation of young Greenlanders sent south for critical years of their education in the past.

The seeds of the development of university-level studies were planted in the 1980s with the establishment of an Inuit Institute in Godthab. In addition to conducting research, the Institute gives courses in Greenlandic culture and language corresponding to courses in the same discipline at Copenhagen University but conducted primarily in Greenlandic. A programme for training priests in Greenland began in Godthab in 1983. The two programmes were finally integrated in 1987, in addition to a new programme of business administration, when the Inuit Institute (Ilisimatusarfik) was granted full university status. The aim of Home Rule is that the highest possible level of education should be obtained in Greenland itself. University studies in specialized fields will still have to be conducted in Denmark.

The Home Rule authorities have taken steps to improve facilities for Danes resident in Greenland to learn Greenlandic, e.g. by organizing free evening courses on a purely voluntary basis. Danish teachers, i.e. those who have the most immediate need for familiarity with Greenlandic, may devote a number of hours of their working week to this end during their first year in Greenland. It should be pointed out that the Danish segment of the population is quite mobile and the limited period of residence presents a real obstacle here. The Greenland Home Rule Act of 29 November 1978, which took effect on 21 February 1979 following a referendum in Greenland, contains the following proviso: § 9. Greenlandic is the principal language of the land. Danish is to be taught thoroughly. Both languages may be used in matters of public concern.

Debate and Linguistic Usage in Connection with Double Place-Names in Greenland

Inge Kleivan

The great majority of place-names in Greenland are of Greenlandic origin, but there are a number of localities which have both a Greenlandic name and a Danish one. Greenland itself (Grenland in Danish) is thus called Kalaallit Nunaat in Greenlandic. The capital is called Godthab in Danish but Nuuk in Greenlandic, and the largest airport in the country is called Søndre Strømfjord in Danish but Kangerlussuaq in Greenlandic.

Since early colonization in the eighteenth century, it has been customary to use Danish names in Danish and foreign contexts, and Greenlandic ones in Greenlandic contexts. Recent years, however, have seen a shift in linguistic usage related to the political development of Greenland. The country discarded its colonial status in 1953, becoming an integral part of Denmark, a growing demand for greater self-determination led to the introduction of Home Rule in 1979.

In 1973 the suppression of Danish place-names was called for in the Greenlandic Provincial Council. Even though the matter was not followed up, it did lead to a change in the linguistic usage of the media in Greenland, with the result that Greenlandic place-names are now generally employed even when Danish is being spoken or written. The Danish media have sought to comply with the wishes of Greenlanders by frequently employing both Greenlandic and Danish names.

A Place-name Committee for Greenland was set up as long ago as 1934, but with headquarters in Copenhagen. Following the introduction of Home Rule, the question of jurisdiction over place-names in Greenland was raised in the Greenlandic Parliament and the right of jurisdiction accordingly transferred to the Greenlandic authorities on 1 January 1984, following the unanimous passing of a Bill on the subject by the Danish Parliament.

Danish reaction in the question of double place-names ranges from resentment and appeals for tolerance to an understanding of the Greenlandic viewpoint. The latter emphasizes that consistent use of Greenlandic place-names is a demonstration of the fact that the colonial period is over and that the native language of the country itself should naturally have precedence. Yet here, too, voices have been heard urging that some allowance be made for Danish names because of Greenland's close relationship with Denmark. The Greenlandic authorities, however, have not yet come to any final decision as to the fate of Greenland's double place-names.

Greenlandic Literature

Christian Berthelsen

Introduction

This overview is primarily concerned with Greenlandic literature which has evolved since European influence first made a considerable impact about a century ago (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 62 ff.). However, we should begin by mentioning pre-European poetry and prose known to us through old legends which were passed down from generation to generation orally.

The old legends are of fundamental importance in understanding Eskimo culture and psyche. In those old legends that have been collected, we learn about everyday events and beliefs that were common to Eskimo society. These tales of daily life are dramas in themselves, and fantasy was given free rein. The themes of the tales reflect the eternal struggle for survival and, at the same time, the fear of invisible forces that have power over life. Animal fables give a clear impression of the Eskimos' close relations with animals. Witchcraft played an important part in both a benevolent and a malevolent sense. Killing was a part of the Eskimos' daily life. This created insecurity and fear for certain individuals and families. Tales of heroes were often exaggerated; they accomplished incredible feats against nature with their bare fists.

Poetry was used to settle disputes at large gatherings. Two opponents would sing satirical songs before a large audience who passed judgement, expressing sympathy with delighted cheers or laughter and disapproval with hoots (Thalbitzer, 1950, p. 228).

Magic spells were recited to lure prey closer or appeal for help when in danger and, as personal possessions, were passed on from generation to generation. For Eskimos, the power of the word was tremendous.

Oral tradition has continued down to modern times. What some older Greenlanders can remember from the story-tellers of their childhood belonged to the more primitive Greenland of 40 or more years ago. Good story-tellers were kept busy in the dark winter. They were sometimes invited into homes and rewarded for their entertainment with food. In other cases, they simply called because they knew they would be welcome. Many old Greenlanders can still recall the atmosphere in those small houses as they listened to the monotonous voice of the storyteller. It was windy and dark outside, and the silence in the room and the dim light helped to create a special atmosphere around him. The men of the house sat and worked on their equipment. The women sat on the bed and sewed. The children were already in bed, perhaps. When the tension and suspense reached a climax, the children crawled right under the bedclothes and those sitting on the bed lifted up their legs and sat cross-legged. One could not see exactly what was under the bed among all the skin, provisions and washing bowls, but something dangerous might well be lurking there. The monotonous delivery, in winter often accompanied by the howling of the wind, was conducive to sleep. Loud yawns could be heard now and then and finally the sound of snoring. But the story-teller continued undaunted; it was part of his task to make his audience drowsy.

Christianity

External influences came with the colonization of Greenland in 1721. The priest Hans Egede began to preach the Gospel. Even though the new influences began as external ones, they adopted Greenlandic terms in so far as Hans Egede and his followers had to acquire a working knowledge of the Greenlandic language in order to even begin preaching the Gospel. On the other hand, Greenlanders had to learn the art of reading so that they might read the Bible and be taught the Christian faith. A new kind of prose and poetry began to emerge, that of the Bible and hymnals (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 24-5).

The teaching of reading progressed quite satisfactorily, but there was very little ordinary reading material apart from the Bible and the hymnal. We know that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, handwritten Danish tales translated into Greenlandic were circulated from house to house until they became so tattered that they were no longer readable (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 25-7). Not until 1830 were a few books printed, and in the 1850s a printing house was finally established in Godthab (Oldendow, 1957, p. 39). Within four or five years, ten or twelve books had been printed, among them a collection of legends in Greenlandic and Danish with copious illustrations by Aron from Kangeq, Jens Kreutzmann and Rasmus Berthelsen, all of whom were 'discovered' at the time (Berthelsen, 1983, p. 38).

The most significant product to emerge from the printing house was the newspaper *Atuagugdliutit* ('reading material that is offered') which began publication in 1861 (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 47-8; Petersen, 1970, p. 328; Oldendow, 1957, pp. 107-26). Today it is called *Atuagagdliutit /Gronlands-posten* because the Danish language newspaper, *Gronlandsposten*, founded in 1942, was taken over by *Atuagagdliutit* in 1952.

Atuagagdliutit was of the utmost significance for intellectual development in Greenland. It was in this paper's columns that ordinary Greenlanders began to express themselves in writing. The newspaper came out in 12 issues per annum which were distributed only once a year, since the communication network at the time did not allow for more frequent distribution. It was illustrated with coloured lithographs and wood-cuts in black and white by Greenlandic artists who copied some of the illustrations from Danish journals. These illustrations were produced by the newspaper's editor, Lars Moller. This newspaper gave Greenlanders local and foreign news a year late, but that did not matter. They had never had anything better. *Atuagugdliutit's* primary objective was to entertain and inform, as explained at the time of the newspaper's inception by its founder, Dr. H. R. Rink, then Inspector for South Greenland. The newspaper's material was multifarious. Greenlandic seal hunters described their settlements, the weather and unusual occurrences noted while hunting and accidents. In the earliest issues we find a number of translated Danish legends and some classics of world literature such as Robin Hood, Robinson Crusoe and 1001 Nights. There were also accounts of Arctic expeditions and wars in various parts of Europe.

Danish missionaries created the Greenlandic hymnals, *'Iungerutit okko 119, arsillyput, kalalin opertut attuaegekseit nalektarangmik* ('These 119 Songs are Written for Use by Faithful Greenlanders during the Service'; Thalbitzer, 1950, p. 232). Even now, many hymns are being translated and adapted into Greenlandic. The first Greenlandic hymn writer of repute was Rasmus Berthelsen (1827-1901). He was educated at the Seminarium or teacher training college in Godthab, founded in 1845; he later taught at the same college. His hymns may be found in several publications including a small hymnal entitled *Tussiaatit* (Hymns) which he published in 1877. His name is closely associated with a particular Christian hymn, *Guuterput qutsinnermiu* (Our Lord in Heaven), based on the angels' song to the shepherds on Christmas Eve. It is a kind of carol or national anthem which is now part of the Greenlandic Christmas when everyone rises spontaneously to sing it in part-song.

Since Rasmus Berthelsen's day, the writing of Greenlandic hymns has gradually been assumed by Greenlanders (Berthelsen, 1983, p. 56).

The beginning of the twentieth century was, in many ways, a time of upheaval in Greenland (Berthelsen, 1976). There were improvements in the field of education. Greenlanders' participation in the country's affairs was extended by the creation of district and regional councils, and the Arctic

climate became significantly milder for a period. This meant the creation of new occupations for Greenlanders i.e. fishing and sheep breeding, in addition to traditional seal hunting. A religious revival began in Godthab and took root along the west coast. From 1911 to 1920 there was a running debate about Greenland's identity, which was something quite new (Berthelsen, 1983, p. 60).

It was during this exciting period, with its numerous movements, that two of Greenland's poets achieved recognition. They are still considered as being among the most important of Greenland's writers. These were the priest Henrik Lund (1875-1948) and the organist and college teacher Jonathan Petersen (1881-1961). Lund and Petersen continued in the tradition of Rasmus Berthelsen's hymn writing. The common theme of their popular verses is the homeland of Greenland. They described the beauty of their country and wrote songs about the people living there. Some of the verses criticized society, although it was not the system - in this case Greenland's status as a colony - that is criticized, but rather the people themselves. Other verses contain rousing and admonitory passages directed at society as a whole - a kind of pedagogical manifesto in the spirit of the times.

Henrik Lund's verses advocated, to some degree, the retention of old traditions such as collecting supplies for the winter. Yet at the same time he chastised people for clinging to old ways from force of habit. He urged them to welcome new ideas. One of Henrik Lund's poems, '*Nunarput utoqqarsu-anngoravit*' (Our Ancient Land), which is sung as Greenland's national anthem, recognizes the identity of Greenlanders and appeals to the country's children to become aware of modern influences. Henrik Lund wrote very subtle descriptions of the Greenlandic landscape, especially of beautiful places in the most southern part of Greenland where he was raised. He was a humble admirer of the Creator's works, which he praised in graphic and evocative poems. For him, however, this earthly beauty was only an introduction to the beauty awaiting us after death. He often used visual images and metaphors to describe what he saw and heard (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 62-75).

Jonathan Petersen was an interpreter of patriotic passion and defender of traditional ways of life. The basic theme of his socially-oriented poems was quite clearly that life in Greenland should be based on what the country has to offer, in Greenlandic terms as used today. Those who live by hunting should by all means follow their ancestors' way of life, whereas those employed by the State to teach their fellow countrymen should acquire all the knowledge they can. Jonathan Petersen also acknowledged Greenland's colonial status on the grounds that Greenland could not survive without being firmly attached to another country. In one of his poems he called the country 'Denmark's property' and expressed great devotion and gratitude to Denmark. He urged coming generations to take part in building the country in collaboration with the Danes (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 75-86). Another

popular poet of the time who deserves mention is Josva Kleist (1879-1938), principal catechist and long-time member of the Regional Council for South Greenland. His poems express his outright indignation at the excessive use of European stimulants, such as coffee and tobacco, which people acquired by selling seal&ins that should have been used locally to cover women's boats and kayaks. At the same time he reprimanded his fellow-countrymen for their conservatism and obstinacy. People may make all sorts of excuses, but they often forget that it is they who are to blame when nothing changes (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 86-9).

The First Novel

The first two Greenlandic novels, which appeared in 1914 and 1931, are concerned with the future and are in fact political writings in novel form. The first is called *Sinnattugaq* (*The Dream*) and was written by the priest Mathias Storch (1883-1957). The second, *Ukiut 300-nngornerat* (*The Three-Hundredth Anniversary of Hans Egede's arrival in Greenland*), was written by a college teacher and later member of the Danish Parliament, Augo Lyngé (1899-1959). *Sinnattugaq* is, above all, a criticism of the established order in Greenland at the turn of the century. The author levels criticism at the ignorance prevailing among Greenlanders at that time and which put them in an inferior position in relation to Danes. The book's main character, Pavia, an intelligent young man, experiences a number of situations in which ignorance and adherence to the old ways lead to misunderstandings and end in misfortune. Pavia is affected by the consequences of ignorance and prejudice. In despair when his sweetheart is given to another at the insistence of her parents, he falls asleep on a bench in his college classroom and dreams of the town of Nuuk (Godthab) in the year 2015, or 200 years in the future, where everything has changed for the better because people have become enlightened. The reader is led to suspect that the transition was extremely difficult (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 89-96).

In Augo Lyngé's *Ukiut 300-nngornerat* we also look forward to the year 2021, or about 100 years in the future. Augo Lyngé's Greenland in 2021 is part of the Danish kingdom. Greenlanders and Danes now have equal rights. Commercial fishing is the principal industry. Agreements have been made with Newfoundland and Iceland concerning fishing rights. Augo Lyngé's optimistic remarks with regard to the new occupations of fishing and sheep-raising should be seen in the light of the prosperity of the 1920s and 1930s. This boom period, which included the two new occupations, was partly due to climactic amelioration.

The book's plot is enlivened by the use of techniques of suspense as one might find in detective novels. Augo Lyngé mentions in his book that air routes to China and Japan have been opened over the North Pole. He talks

about the United States of Europe, a modern hotel on a *nunatak* (a peak surrounded by glaciers) in the Inland Ice, and an invention that makes it possible to melt the Inland Ice. Greenland's capital is described as an important fishing port with high-rise buildings. When the book first appeared, people no doubt smiled at these ideas. Yet, much of his subject matter is now a reality (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 96-103). The first period of European-influenced poetry and novel writing was therefore concerned with current social conditions and speculations about the future. Greenland had become more outward-looking.

New Inspirations from the 1920s

We now turn to a poetry revival which began about 1930. The direct source of inspiration was, without doubt, the external orientation taught at the Seminarium. Danish had been introduced into elementary schools, and consequently became more important in the college curriculum. Danish literary texts were used in Danish lessons in so far as students' language level would permit. This new opportunity to view the outside world was seized by some of the brightest students at the college who, at the same time, displayed their own literary talents in various ways. They were inspired by reading Danish poetry and prose.

These new sources of inspiration brought new and broad subjects to Greenlandic poetry. The new poetry was clearly more emotive and included many nuances of experience of beauty; some of the poems expressed spontaneity and youthful *joie de vivre*. Poems stressing social issues with a moralistic bent were no longer predominant. The trend in prose was to look back in time to find new themes, in some cases right back to the Eskimo past. Current problems were only indirectly treated. There was no longer concern with the future. The main figures in these new trends in poetry and prose were Frederik Nielsen (b. 1905) who trained as a teacher and later became head of Radio Greenland, Pavia Petersen (1904-43), a principal catechist, and Hans Lynge (b. 1906), an artist and sculptor. The three went to college together in Godthab and, without a doubt, were an inspiration to one another (Petersen, 1970, pp. 332-5; Berthelsen, 1983, p. 110).

Frederik Nielsen's poetry is filled with praise of the beautiful Greenlandic landscape, excellent period portrayals, situational descriptions and profound meditation on life. His prose works are set in the past. The plot of his first book, *Tuunarsi* (Thomas), is based on a historical event: the famine that devastated a settlement on the west coast of Greenland in the middle of the last century. The descriptions in *Tuumarsi* present a sequence of portrayals of settlement life at the time, with scenes taken from daily life to illustrate particular kinds of friendly and unfriendly behaviour, special kinds of humour, happiness and sorrow, as well as other situations.

Frederik Nielsen's main work is a trilogy that portrays the Eskimo's long migration from Canada to Greenland's coastal regions, their contact with the Norsemen who inhabited southern Greenland for approximately 400 years, and their establishment of settlements, including various episodes in the development of Greenland up to about 1900. The portrayals of the oldest periods are based to a great extent on the old native legends, whereas the author naturally refers to historical sources on which to base the later section (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 110-31).

Pavia Petersen managed, in his short life, to make his mark with two books. He also wrote poems which are among the most beautiful in the Greenlandic hymnal. In his evocative verses, he succeeded in expressing distinctive Greenlandic feelings about landscapes and traditions. One is especially aware of his pronounced feeling for colours in poems describing the seasons, especially autumn. He wrote a short play, the plot of which is taken from everyday life in a Greenlandic town at the start of the 1930s. In the play, changing social conditions are having an adverse effect on young people. An unstable, shallow youth, who earns his living through casual labour and a little fishing and hunting, is contrasted with the reliable, sensible seal hunter and his equally reliable mate. Pavia Petersen's sympathy for the hunters' way of life is patent (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 131-45).

Hans Lynge wrote a number of short plays that have been performed under his direction down the years. Only a few have been published. The Eskimo world is the theme of these and other works; in them he emphasizes features from the Eskimo's free and independent way of life and conceptual world which was filled with fantasy. His book *Ersinngitsup piumasaa* (*The Will of the Invisible*) portrays two brothers who take revenge on their stepfather who killed their father in order to marry their mother. The description is dramatic. The portrayal is also of interest in that Hans Lynge tried to express the ancient world view of the Eskimo. Finally, he published a book of memoirs called 'Greenland's Inner Life' in which he recounts the Eskimo world-view that prevailed at the beginning of the twentieth century as well as living conditions at the time. He also wrote a number of prologues in connection with special events (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 145-60).

Inspiration from the Old Hunting Culture

The steady cultural influence of Europe came to an abrupt halt at the outbreak of World War II. For about five years, Greenland had no contact with Denmark which was occupied by the Germans for most of the war years.

During the war, the United States and Canada undertook to protect Greenland and supply the population with food and other essential commodities. Air bases were established and foreign troops stationed in the

country. Greenland was thereby brought into global war and political upheaval in a sudden and very real fashion. After the war, Greenlanders voiced very clear demands for changes in existing conditions. The social and economic development of Greenland began on the basis of a modern fishing industry. We shall not go into details of this development here, but suffice it to say that the new arrangement began in 1950. The country shed its colonial status in 1953 when it was incorporated into the Kingdom of Denmark. These substantial changes, which were generated by political decisions conforming to the wishes of Greenlanders, had unforeseen and far-reaching consequences. The cultural aspect of the country's development began to lag behind technological matters. Changes in social development during the first years of the new arrangement constrained cultural activities. It was as if Greenland was overwhelmed by its new developments. It was not until 15 or 20 years after the new arrangement began - once the reorganization of the school and education system had taken effect - that one could find signs of literary revival. Literary works in the last 30 to 40 years can be divided into two thematic categories: (i) portrayals clearly inspired by the old Greenlandic hunting culture, and (ii) politically inspired poetry and writing.

Tales of the old days have always been loved by the Greenlandic people, and the need for them became more topical and more strongly felt during the years following the implementation of social change. These portrayals, involving some romanticization of the good old days, have at the very least provided very popular reading and good material for the radio. One should, of course, remember that, for Greenland, the concept of the 'good old days' is not of a distant past, but rather is close to the present. East Greenlanders have been in contact with Europeans for less than 100 years. Because Greenlandic identity is an important issue, it is only natural that the portrayals of the old days serve as a focus in the search for cultural roots, whether conscious or unconscious.

One of these writers about the past was the priest Otto Rosing (1896-1965). He is exceptional in his treatment of material taken from historical accounts. An example is his very popular historical novel, *Taseralik* (The Place with an Inland Lake) in which the plot centres on the mid-nineteenth century. Hunting families from North and South Greenland met at the Taseralik hunting ground in summertime to collect special food for winter supplies to barter for various utensils, and ultimately to meet other people. It often happened that young people found a wife or husband at these summer meetings, thereby bringing new blood into the family (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 170-80).

The teacher Ole Brandt (1918-81) emphasized in his writing the free and independent way of life of the early Greenlanders. His trilogy, *Qooqa*, *Tulluartoq I*, and *Tulluartoq II* (named after persons) is a family saga set in the eighteenth century. Sturdy and determined hunters, fine examples of their type, are described in the books. There is a veritable orgy of exploits

and displays of strength when out hunting. These magnificent people had high moral standards too. They wished to live in peace with their neighbours, that is without the killing and blood feuds which were part of everyday life at the time (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 191-203).

The literature of Greenland also includes non-fiction. The priest, Otto Sandgreen (b. 1914), wrote a number of books describing conditions in East Greenland from earliest times to the coming of Christianity about 1894. He was a priest in East Greenland for a longtime and collected many tales about the pre-Christian period through conversations with Greenlanders who had experienced it at first hand, or who had learned of the old ways from their parents or grandparents. Sandgreen made many interesting cultural-historical observations, some of which are recorded in his books and smaller publications (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 203-10).

Villads Villadsen (b. 1916), the principal catechist, is, among other things, author of *Taarnerani* ('In Heather Darkness'). The first part, 'Qasapi's Last Day', is about the Greenlander Qasapi who killed the Norseman, after which he announced that victory had been won and that Greenlanders would live in their country for ever. In the second part, we read of terrible events that occurred in East Greenland, stories of killing and revenge from the introduction of Christianity until the end of the nineteenth century. The events centre on two characters, Katiaja, who in a fit of jealous rage set fire to gunpowder in a seal bladder container, and Aattaaritaa the shaman, who killed his wife and Katiaja and ate their hearts. The same Aattaaritaa later travelled to West Greenland where he was baptized and received the name Kristian Poulsen. The third part is about a family who became victims of an envious person. The head of the family was killed and the other members driven to suicide (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 180-911).

The Present in Poetry and Prose

The first politically inspired poetry came from young Greenlanders who had studied in Denmark. This was no coincidence. In the 1960s almost all higher education following high school graduation in Greenland was provided in Denmark, since Greenland has neither the facilities nor the teaching staff. As a result, there was a significant accumulation of young Greenlanders in Denmark. A new national consciousness arose during the social upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s (e.g., the activist peace movement in Europe) and interest in the Greenlanders' own identity was aroused (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 219-20). These were the young people who had been through the new school system and who launched the debate on political change for the country.

In the politically inspired poems, social conditions are sometimes treated in a very rough, satirical and polemic style on a par with the so-called

protest poems that flourished in many Western countries at that time. Among the contributors were Moses Olsen (b. 1938), now Home Rule Minister for the Economy. He has written, among other things, a politically charged short story about the Danes' dominating role in Greenland. Aqigssiaq Mailer (b. 1939), the present Director of Education, deals with recent problems in some of his poems in an ironic manner, e.g. the exaggerated expectations attached to learning Danish. He touches on identity problems too and comments: 'Is it really impossible for Greenlanders to find their way in today's Greenland, when before now one could find one's way without even using a compass?'. Aqqaluk Lynge (b. 1947), Programme Secretary for Radio Greenland and now Home Rule Minister for Social Affairs, writes harsh poems on social conditions and foreign dominance in Greenland. He has published a collection of poems entitled 'For Honour and Glory', *Tupigusullutik angalapput* (1982), which is politically inspired. Kristian Olsen (b. 1942), headmaster of a Greenlandic boarding school, wrote a collection of poems called 'The Ballad about Identity' (1978). The title is self-explanatory (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 223-5, 246-63; Nerregaard, 1980, pp. 93-137).

One book, entitled *Seqajuk* (The Useless One) and written by teacher Hans Anthon Lynge, was the first real attempt at a socially critical novel. The situation of young people in today's Greenland is described, and the author treats problems such as lack of family roots, irresponsibility, drinking, indifference about life's direction as well as the generation gap. The book's main character, Juuna, has difficulty organizing his life. Frustration overtakes his girl-friend, Regina, by whom he has a child. She commits suicide. Junna now worries about the small child who must grow up at his grandparents' house and will later be sent to an orphanage when the latter retire to an old people's home (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 264-9).

Since the publication of *Seqajuk*, many other books have treated current social conditions. In addition, the problems of Greenlanders living in Denmark have been the subject of a small number of novels. *Silarsuaq ammarmat* (When the World Opened Up) by Inooraq Olsen (b. 1939) deals with the problems of Greenlandic students in Denmark. Even though students think they have good language skills and the required technical knowledge, the change of country and social milieu may still lead to difficulties. It is difficult to cope with Danish daily life without sufficient familiarity with the language or knowledge of social conditions. Shattered illusions can lead to human tragedies. Unfortunately, examples of this occur. These are dealt with in a novel entitled *Bussimi nuupinneq* (The Meeting on the Bus), written by Maaliaaraq Vebaek (b. 1917). The Danish version of this book was published in 1983, two years after the Greenlandic original, under the title 'Historien om Katrine'. This novel was the first to be written by a Greenlandic woman (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 290-8).

A word should be said about Greenlandic pop or beat music which in tone and text reflects the currents of the time. The lyrics naturally are written in

Greenlandic and deal exclusively with conditions in Greenland. Present-day social problems are treated. Without a doubt they have made young people *more* socially aware, and they have had a uniting effect, e.g. in connection with the so-called Aasivik gatherings, a summer camp tradition since 1976 in which Greenlanders from all over the country meet at a locality on the coast, inspired by the ancient custom of summer get-togethers at hunting grounds. Many such lyrics voice protest against modern life-styles with their over-emphasis on imported materialism. What is expressed here may be summed up in the words: 'Life on Greenlandic terms'. However, when the old way of life is romanticized in a subjective and biased fashion, it can verge on nostalgia (Berthelsen, 1983, pp. 280-7).

Finally, it should be pointed out that recent Greenlandic literature, written under external cultural influence, is of quite modest scope to date. A population of 45,000 (a mere 23,000 in 1950) can little support an independent Greenlandic literature. But what has been created so far is of special significance, when measured against a cultural-historical yardstick. Other reading material consists of translations of technical and fictional works by Danish or foreign writers. The rate of literacy is close to 100 per cent and has been for some time. There is now a great urge to write about Greenland, and the field of ethnic literature, in particular, is flourishing.

A Greenlandic Tale: Alummioq, the Man from Aluk*

Alummiorsu unngooq nunani qimanneq ajorpaa, allamullu aallasanani aammalu ukiumi ajorsassanani. Ernera ilitsoraaq qimannguajuillugu. Nunaqqatini aallallaraangata usorinnguaraluarlugit soorlu piumasarinngilaq. Ilaanni angunni kajumissaaraluaaraangamiuk killormut oqararaaq:

‘Alussuaq nunagilerakku sulii qimallugu misiginngilanga.’

Ingammik kisimiileraangamik inuusuttoqataarukkaangamik nipaarlualallaallaraaq. Aasarissisorlu angussua ullaakkut sineeruttaraaq seqernup nuinissaata tungaatigut. Alianaagisaqigamigooq aasarissil-laraangat seqinersuaq imaannarsuakkut nuileraangat kittorartaar-torsuulluni, tamannagooq pillugu qimanneq ajorpaa.

Angussuani angalarpiarunnaarmat ernersua kisimi piniartuulerami ilaanni upernaakkut napputiinnaqaaq: ‘Massakkulli nunakasiga qimakkumaarpara. Avannaanut nunamik allarpasissumik takornarniar-allarumaarujunga.’

Angussuani oqarsiigaluaramiuk oqanngitsoorpoq. Oqanngitsuuginnallarmat kingorna tassa oqanngilaq. Kingunerileraa isumani artorluinnaleramiuk, akuerippani kisianni nipangiukkumaaramiuk, ilaanni qamalluni tikikkami unnussilerlutillu angussuani oqarfigigaluttuaannarpaa:

*Transliteration and translation of the original by Michael Fortescue.

'Tamatumuunali nunakasiga qimallugu avannaanut nunamik allarpasis-sunnguamik takornarniaannallarumaarpunga.'

Akuerissanngilaani. Aappassaanik ernersuani oqaannallarmat allatut sapileramiuk oqarfigiinnarpaa:

'Kisiannimi alivallaarnagu avannarparpallaarnata kingumut uterfigiumaarpaput.'

Ernersua qiimmaallapoq. Pikiinnaleqaaq umiami pequtai upalungaarsorai. Ilaanni ullaakut pitsaariarmat avannamut aallaannarput. Taannaqa avannamukalerput, kigaatsumillu ernersuata avannarpariartorlutik nuna nuannersiartortillugu.

Ingerlapput, ingerlapput, aatsaallu angussua taama misigilerluni, nunani taama sivilutigisumik qimassimalerlugu. Aasarissiartortillugu kigaatsumillu nunamik pissusia takorlooriartorlugu. Takorluuinartaraluaramiuk kigaatsumillu sinissaarussutigiartorlugu. Ullaakkut seqernup nuilerneragut sinissaaruttaannaleqaaq. Seqineq nuileraangat taamatut pissasoralugu iteriakasikkaluaraangami, suali nunap qaatigut nueqisoq. Ernersuani tusarlinnginniartaraluaramiuk ilungersuleriartuinnarami oqalu figilerpaa:

'Nunatsinnut angerlaannarniarta, kipikkaluttuaannaqaanga!'

Soorlu ernersua kujammut saassanngitsoq, nunarsuaq nuannersiartortutlersoq. Taamaattoq kujammut saaginnaqaaq angunni tusaqqoornarilerlugu. Iteraraat tupip silataani angussua tamaani aneerujoortoq.

Ingerlagamik, ingerlagamik nunarsuamik tikikkaluttaannaqaat. Tikiinnallarsinnarpaat. Ernersua ullaakkut sinikkami, sinikkami sulii sinillarluni nipaani itilerpoq allamik oqaaseqarpalunngitsoq:

'Alussuaq taamaasigaangat sooruna qimakkusunnaatsuullaaraaq. Seqinersuaq nuillaraangami imaannarsuakkut kittorartitaartorsuulluni.'

Taama oqarlunilu iimerpalullarami, iimerpalullarami taamak nipaaruteqaaq, kingornalu nillerpallagani, ernersuata naalaaraluaramiuk umiup silataaniilluni nilleqqinngimmat makiterani umik ammariallaraa seqinersuaq saallugu paloqqaavarsinnaq. Makiteriallaramiuk anerneqannghmioruna. Sunaaffa takullarlugulu kipillarunilu.

Ernersuata namminerimi pisitarigamiuk qaqaatsiannguup qaanut ilerfiorpaa, utoqqakasiinngooq issanngutukasillaraangata. Angussuanigooq assilillugu angussuarmisutililluni nuna taanna. Alussuaq qimatsaalillugu utoqqalisarfiginnguarujaa.

It is told that there was a man from Aluk' who never left his home to go off hunting elsewhere, and even in the winter he never suffered any shortage. His son, as long as he could remember, had never left Aluk. Whenever his fellows set off hunting, although he envied them a bit, it was as if he didn't really feel like going. When he sometimes tried to encourage his father, he would answer back:

'Since I settled down at Aluk I've never felt the need to leave it.'

When they were left completely alone without any other young people around, he (the son) would become silent and withdrawn.

When the height of summer approached, his father would lie awake in the early morning until the appearance of the sun. He thought it was so wonderful when summer arrived and the sun would rise over the ocean, its rays shooting out and fragmenting across the surface; they say it was because of this that he would never leave.

When his father was no longer able to go out hunting, his son became his only provider. Once in the spring, he felt a great yearning to depart:

'Now I'm going to leave this miserable place. I'm going to head north and visit a different part of the country for once.'

Though he waited for his father to speak, he said nothing. Since he said nothing, he spoke no further himself. But before long he began to have difficulty holding himself back; only when his father had given his consent would he be able to stop talking about it. Once when he came back from hunting seal as evening was drawing in, he spoke to him again:

'This time I'm going to leave this miserable place and visit a different part of the country.'

He (the father) wouldn't agree with him. But when the son spoke a second time, he could find nothing else to say than:

'As long as we don't go too far away towards the north and come back afterwards.'

His son was overjoyed. He began busying himself, getting the equipment ready on the umiaq. One fine morning they set off, heading, as expected, towards the north. The further north they came the more the son was delighted by the country.

They travelled on and on, and the old man really began to feel that he had been away from his home for a long time. As it approached midsummer he began to imagine how it was back home, and when he began to imagine this he started losing sleep over it. In the early morning before the sun's appearance he would be unable to sleep. Thinking that the sun would come up just like at home he would wake up early in vain, for the sun would come up behind the land. Though he tried not to let his son know of this he began to take it more and more to heart and finally spoke to him: 'Let's go back to our own land, I miss it more and more!'

* Near Kap Farval in southernmost Greenland.

His son didn't want to head south, the land was so delightful up here. However, he did turn back south when he constantly had to listen to his father's words. Although he was now heading south, he (the father) grew more and more obsessed with getting back. When he awoke in the morning his father would already be pottering around outside the tent.

They travelled on and on and finally approached their home territory. Then they were home at last. The morning the son slept and slept and only awoke at the sound of his father's voice saying:

When it's like this at Aluk, how could you ever want to leave it, when the sun appears over the ocean, its rays shooting out. ...'

After these words there was a great cry of joy, then silence, and no further sound was heard. The son listened but there was nothing to be heard from inside the tent, so he got up and opened the flap: there was his father lying prostrate, facing the sun. When he lifted him up he was no longer breathing. From seeing it come up he had died of longing.

Since he was responsible for his death, the son buried his father on top of a hill,* for old folks tend to suffer from breathing difficulties. Just like his father he never again left his home at Aluk, where he grew to a ripe old age.

Alungmiok †

AlungmiorsstivngoK nunane Kimangnek ajorpâ, avdlamutdlo autdlasanane amalo ukiume ajorssasanane.

enera ilitsoraos Aluk Kimanguajuitdlugo. nunarKatine autdlatdlarangata usoringuaraluardlugit sordlo piumassaringilaK. ilane angune kajumigsaraluarangamiuk kigdormut ottararaok:

'Alugssuak nunagileravko sule Kimatdlugo misigingilanga.'

ingangmik kisimilerângamik insugtokataerütikangamik nipaerd-lûvatdlatlitdlaraok.

aussarigsissordlo angÿsua uvdlakut sinerutaraok sekernup nuinigsâta tungâtigut. alianaigissakigamiugok aussarigsitdlarangat sek-inerssuak imainarssuakut nuilerângat kigtorârtartorssuvdlune, tamanagök pivdlugo kimangnek ajorpâ

angussuane angalarpiarungnaeremat ernerssua kisime piniartulerame ilane upernakut napativmakaoK:

'massakutdle nunakasiga Kimagkumarpara. avangnânut nunamik avdlarpassigsumik takornarniaratdlarumârujunga.'

angussuane o Karsigaluaramiuk okangitsörpok.oKhngits~ginatd~armat kingorna tassa okangilak. kingunerilerâ isumane artordluinaleramiuk,

* As though to make sure he would have fresh air.

+ Extract from original text in the Kleinschmidt orthography in *Kalatdlit ok'alugtuait ok'aluâvilo*, ed. Kristoffer Lynge. Nuuk, Atuakkiorfik, 1957.

akuerigpane kisiane nipangiukumâramiuk, ilane Kamavdlune tikikame
linugsilerdlutigdlo angussuane o Karfigigalugtuainarpâ

‘tamatumunale nunakasiga Kimatdlugo avangnânut nunamik avdlar-
pasigsunguamik takornarniainatdlarpunga.’

akuerisangilâne. aipagssânik ernerssuane otinatdlarmat avdlatut
sapileramiuk okarfinarpâ

‘kisianime alivatdlârnago avangnarparpatdlârnata kingumut uterfi-
giumârpaput.’

ernerssua kimâtdlagpok. pikinalekaok umiame pekutai upalun-
gaerssori.

ilane uvdlakut pitsaoriarmat avangnamut autdlainarput. -

Language Policy and Planning under the Home Rule Administration

Aqigssiaq Moller

When the Home Rule Act of 1978 came into effect, a bilingual language policy was instituted under which Greenlandic is the main language of Greenlandic society, and a high level of proficiency in Danish is generally required.

This policy is intended to cover all areas within Greenlandic society. Its purpose is to preserve and develop Greenlandic culture -and therefore the Greenlandic language - while recognizing its participation in a steadily changing world.

Bilingualism is the aim throughout the administration, although in some contexts, e.g. legislation, texts are still drafted in Danish for practical reasons and then translated into Greenlandic.

In the media, TV and radio, 80 per cent Greenlandic and 20 per cent Danish coverage is aimed at, while writtenmedia receiving support from the Home Rule administration are invariably bilingual. The role of the media in language development can hardly be overestimated. Information made available through the media plays an important part in moulding fresh conceptualizations besides being a prerequisite for the democratic process.

Greenlandic is intended as the main language throughout education. The lack of Greenlandic-speaking or bilingual teachers and materials, however, means that considerable flexibility is called for.

For schools in general there are four main areas of activity:

- (i) supply of bilingual teachers;
- (ii) development of curricular guidelines, i.e. for teaching in relation to aims, methods and educational experience in all school subjects;
- (iii) development of parent and pupil motivation for education in/through school;

(iv) development of general awareness in society of the importance of language in regard to the dimensions of language/communication, language/society, and language/political action in a bilingual society.

As for the language of instruction, the development of Greenlandic as a first language is of primary importance, both as to form/conceptual coverage and function.

Danish is important as the first foreign language. At present there is an ongoing process of change whose linguistic and quantitative outcome it is too early to estimate, and in which the balance between the two languages in terms of numbers of school hours devoted to them is changing; the number of hours during which Danish is used has decreased, while the opposite is true of Greenlandic.

A general improvement in the quality of teaching of Danish is currently being attempted:

- (i) new curricular guidelines have been developed, while materials are being developed that take into account the present and - not least - future use of Danish as a first foreign language and the particular use made of that language in Greenland; these should be completed within two or three years for Grades 1 to 9;
- (ii) a radical change in or abolition of present Danish-based exams;
- (iii) strengthening of teaching and in-service deliveries for Danish teachers.

Following eight years of Home Rule administration, the debate on languages in school has now become polarized, with a clear trend towards favouring the development of Greenlandic.

Parents may choose general schooling for their child in either a Greenlandic or a Danish-based stream, depending on the home language of the child. In Greenlandic-based teaching, there is a proviso that Danish teachers may be used if no Greenlandic or bilingual teachers are available. Danish is taught as a foreign language from the fourth year.

In Danish-based teaching, foreign language classes in Greenlandic are given for two hours a week.

However, a case has recently been made for definition of a third position reflecting the fact that there are basically three sociolinguistic groups in Greenland: Greenlandic, Danish and mixed. This is of interest and may prove influential in future developments in schools.

Parents are protesting at having to choose either a Danish or a Greenlandic-based education for children from backgrounds having a bilingual and bicultural identity. It is argued that neither choice is satisfactory and that, with purposive planning, such children could develop full bilingualism in school. A switch in this direction will call for a general change of attitude and new approaches in planning and teaching.

The question of the place of English is frequently raised. At present English is not compulsory. It is a clear wish, however, on the part of both politicians and parents that it should be made a compulsory subject in Grades 6 or 7 for communication with the world at large, and with the Inuit populations of Canada and Alaska in particular.

A glance at the language situation in Greenland shows that, whatever the changes, the one enduring factor is the country itself and the living conditions it offers now and in the long term.

Bilingualism is a fact of life in Greenland. The problems it raises are complex and will find no easy solution. Practical issues may change with time and according to situation and political and pedagogical policies. However, attempts to develop Greenlandic as an effective language in politics, administration and culture are based on unanimous consensus. The teaching of Danish will be developed to suit the purposes and uses of that language in a Greenlandic context.

The final - and deciding - issue is the child. Will bilingualism be a burden -possibly destructive - for the child or will it work as a challenge to achieve better understanding and conditions in Greenlandic society?

Asineq, an East Greenlander, says:

The word is the greatest power human beings have. With words you can wound others or make them happy - for life.

If one is wounded by a weapon, and the wound heals, it can still be seen, but it no longer hurts as does the word which has once been pronounced. Therefore the word is the greatest power human beings possess.

We believe in *Oqaatsip Kimia* -'the power of the word'. A wondrous power. The word is magic.

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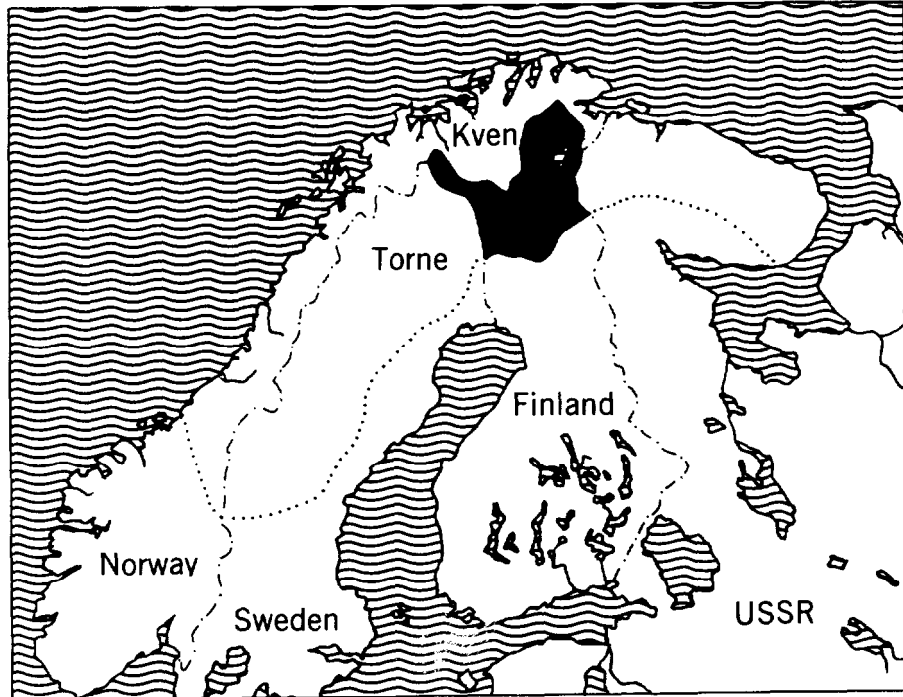
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Part III

NORTHERN SCANDINAVIA

THE SAMI LANGUAGE
IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES



MAP 9. The Finnish Sami population. Source: P. Aikio. 1983. *Poro ja peura 'seka' pohjoisten alkupetiiskansojen tulevaisuus*. *Journal Poromies (Reindeerherder)*, No. 1, p. 22.

The Finnish Perspective: Language and Ethnicity

Marjut Aikio

Linguistic Minorities in Northern Scandinavia

Today there are four linguistic minorities in northern Scandinavia: the Finnish-speaking residents of the Torne Valley in Sweden; the Finnish-speaking residents in the Kven area of Norway; the Sami who speak a Finno-Ugric language and who are scattered throughout northern Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Kola Peninsula in the Soviet Union; and the new Finnish-speaking immigrants scattered throughout northern Norway and Sweden (Map 9).

The one thing that these three linguistic minorities have in common is that they have been the objects of rather strong national assimilation policies. For example, active assimilation policy affecting the Sami has gone on for almost 400 years. In the seventeenth century, the magic drums of the Sami shaman were burnt. In the eighteenth century, priests in northern Finland intimidated their Sami parishioners by telling them that if they did not switch from their own language (the devil's language) to Finnish, they would go to hell when they died. Even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, serious efforts were made to transform the Sami into Norwegians, Swedes and Finns (Aikio, M., 1986).

The Sami -An Ethnic and Linguistic Minority

However, unlike the other linguistic minorities mentioned above, the Sami are more than just a linguistic minority. If we were to write about the status of the Sami and their ethnic language from a very restricted point of view,

we would discuss only those who live in Finland, and their language and their culture. To gain a full understanding of this people, we need to take a wider perspective which acknowledges that the Sami share linguistic and cultural characteristics and have a similar origin, ancestry and identity. In addition, the Sami have a common genesis and a sense of oneness. In Western European literature, since the time of Tacitus and Procopius, the Sami have traditionally and consistently been classified as an ethnically distinct people.

But ethnic groups are not everlasting. According to sociolinguist Joshua Fisherman (1965, 1972 and 1977), we should not forget the dynamics of ethnicity and the perpetual differences in degrees of belonging to an ethnic group. Nor should we make rash resolutions about the inaccuracy of ethnic boundaries. The boundaries between groups may be hazy and difficult to define, but the cores of ethnic groups are nevertheless clear. Allardt states (1981) that, because language is a necessary condition for the existence of a linguistic minority, it is impossible to speak of a linguistic group or minority unless some members of the group have the capacity to use the language in question. However, it is not necessary for every member of an ethnic group to have a command of its language. Again, according to Allardt, four conditions must be fulfilled by at least some members of a minority if that group is to be considered as an ethnic minority. Moreover, everyone considered as belonging to the ethnic minority must fulfill at least one of these four conditions: (1) self-identification based on one's classification; (2) ancestry; (3) special cultural characteristics (for example, command of a language), and (4) existing social organization for interaction among members.

The first three requirements for ethnic minorities pertain to characteristics possessed by individuals. The fourth is a quality of a group (Allardt, 1981, pp. 36-8).

The central questions - such as what a person's language, mother tongue or first learned language is, and what language he speaks best or most often - are not so easy to answer. The view points of both sociolinguists and social anthropologists with regard to these matters are worthy of consideration (Aikio M. and Aikio P., 1985, pp. 121-2).

No one has exact figures on the numbers of the Sami population. However, it is possible to reach an estimate. Published statistics have been based on varied criteria: language, ethnic origin and traditional Sami means of livelihood, especially reindeer-herding. However, no reliable figures for the Sami population have been produced. The confusion probably stems from the differing terms which have been used to refer to a Sami: in Norway, the term was *finn*, in Sweden *lapp*, and in Finland *lappalainen*. The term Sami comes from the word *sabmelas* and is both the term the Sami themselves prefer as well as the officially accepted name for this native minority (today the term in Norwegian and Swedish is *same*, while in Finnish the correct term is *saamelainen*). Historical legal research has established that the term *lappalainen* (in Swedish Lapp) is a legal term.

That is why it is appropriate at this point to introduce the term Lapp. According to recent research, this term seems to be based directly on legislation dealing with land and water rights (e.g. Hyvarinen, 1979). In this instance, a Lapp would be a person who had the legal right to engage in the so-called Lapp livelihoods of reindeer-herding, hunting, and fishing and who has paid the Lapp tax - a type of land tax - for that right. Thus the term Lapp is neither an ethnic nor a linguistic designation but maybe an imposed administrative term (Aikio, M., 1986).

This, to some extent at least, is the basis of the current reindeer-herding laws in Sweden and Norway. The right to engage in reindeer-herding has in fact formed the foundation for the whole definition of who a Sami is in these countries, although this definition has, quite justifiably, been considered inadequate. At present about one-third of the Sami in Finland are engaged in the traditional occupation of reindeer-herding. In Sweden and Norway, corresponding figures are 10- 15 per cent (< 2700 people) and 510 per cent (< 2500 people) respectively (Aikio M. and Aikio P., 1985). In addition, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the status of the traditional Sami livelihoods from the point of view of ancient legal rights is weakest in Finland, weaker, that is, than in Norway and Sweden (Korpjaakko, 1985, p. 2). It is possible too that this fact is reflected in the weak legal position of the Sami language itself in Finland. For example, the use of Finnish as the administrative language in reindeer-herding has accelerated the linguistic acculturation of the reindeer Sami (Aikio, M., 1984, p. 290). It has been ascertained that some reindeer-herding families, who are generally regarded as Finnish both inside and outside the Sami Home Region, are in fact of Sami origin. The same phenomenon often appears when considering the official statistics and censuses of the Sami population. It is difficult, therefore, to define exactly where to draw the line for establishing Sami ethnicity.

The situation in Finland is that not all people who are ethnically Sami speak the Sami language. Moreover the relationship between Sami culture, language, and reindeer-herding is more complex in Finland than elsewhere. The representatives of the majority culture in Finland on the whole believe that all Sami are reindeer-herders. Yet not all reindeer-herders in Finland are Sami.

The best or most natural starting-point for defining Sami ethnicity is offered by the fact that the Sami do exist as a cohesive population with their own idea or consciousness of a Sami nation and a distinct Sami identity. The most recent discussion on the problem of defining Sami rights states that the concept of Sami-ness must contain both measurable and immeasurable characteristics (Om samenes... 1984, p. 18). The measurable properties are considered to be language ability, family bonds and cultural ancestry. The core of Sami ethnicity (according to this definition) also contains items such as territorial and occupational livelihoods, group consciousness, kinship relations, individual cultural features and the expression of one's own personality through one's own language, music or other kinds of creative

expression. In practice it is difficult to take these latter factors into consideration. In addition, the definition of a Sami should describe what it is like for a person to be Sami or how the individual experiences being a member of this ethnic group.

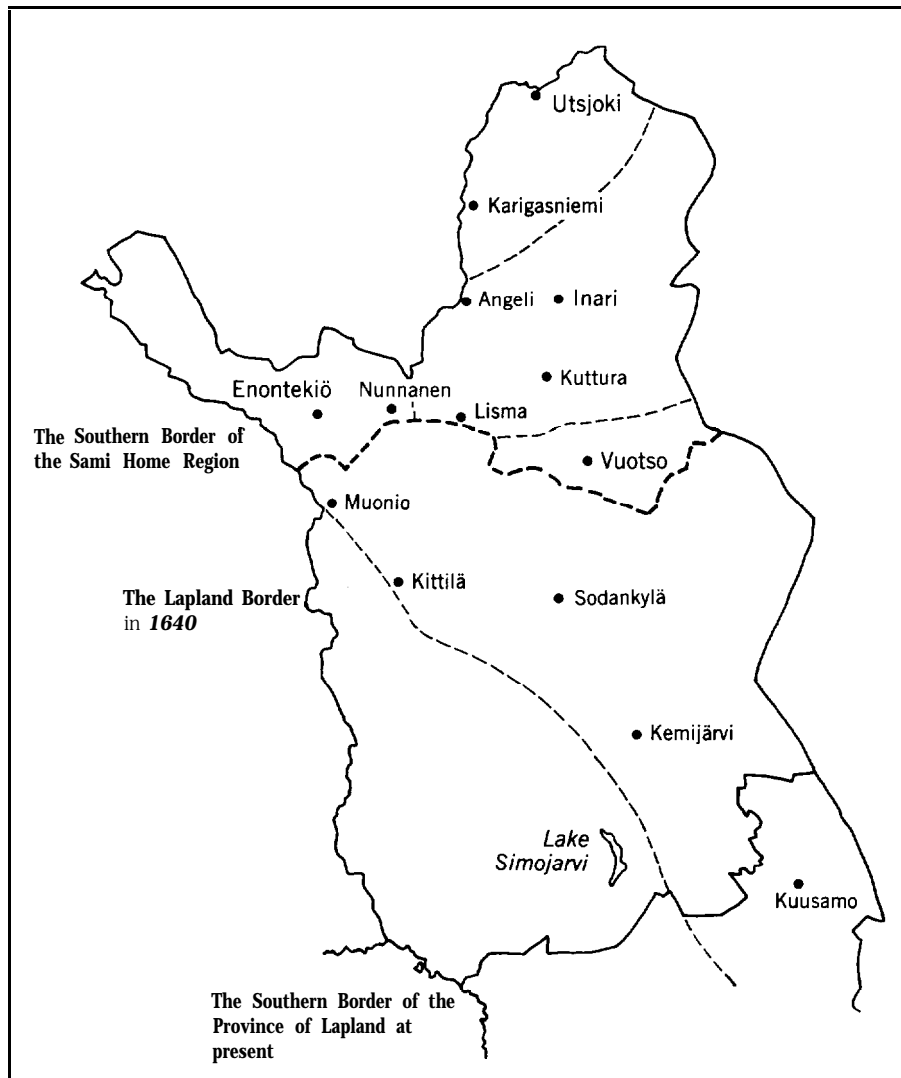
In a further attempt to define who is and who is not a Sami, the 1980 Nordic Sami Conference, held in Troms, Norway, approved a Sami Political Programme defining a Sami as a person with 'certain social rights' (Samiraddi, 1980) as described below.

A Sami is a person who (1) learned Sami as his/her first language or whose mother, father, grandmother or grandfather learned Sami as their first language; or (2) considers himself/herself to be Sami and has totally adapted himself/herself to the Sami society after having been accepted as Sami by a representative Sami according to the above conditions (compare Aikio M., and Aikio P., 1985, pp. 124-5).

In 1640 the borders of Finnish Lapland where the Finnish Sami population was defined as living stretched from Enontekio and Muonio in the west to Kittila (Map 10). The western and southern border followed the southern border of Sodankyla by way of Kemijarvi and south to Simojarvi Lake where it turned east to Kuusamo. Nowadays the so-called Sami Home Region only comprises Enontekio, Utsjoki and Inari Counties and the northern part of Sodankyla County. In other words, in the large areas of Kuusamo, Kemijarvi, Salla, southern Sodankyla, Kittila and Muonio, the Sami have been linguistically absorbed by the Finns over the last 300 years. The only trace of 'Sami-ness' to be found perhaps in some places are (a) the knowledge of being of Sami origin, (b) Sami loan-words in the Finnish language and place names and, above all (c) in some regions, involvement in the so-called traditional Sami livelihood of reindeer-herding.

Thus, although the present border of the Sami Home Region is geographically and ethnically authentic, it is in some measure linguistically and ethnically artificial. Its borders do not follow the previously mentioned old borders of Lapland, and a large population of ethnically native Sami remain inside the old borders in the southern part. Also to some degree, these people according to their present language and the official Finnish definition of Sami-ness, fulfil the Sami-ness criteria. They live especially in the Muonio, Kittila, Kolari, Sodankyla, Savukoski, and Salla Counties. Naturally this group does not include those Sami or their ancestors who live or lived outside the Sami Home Area since they have moved to Rovaniemi, capital of the province of Lapland, or to Helsinki or other places in Finland.

At the time of writing, various committees are working to define the legal status of the Sami population in the Nordic countries. Finland is the only Nordic country whose official, legal definition of a Sami is based on linguistic criteria. A person is a Sami if he/she speaks or has spoken Sami as his first language or if at least one of his/her parents or grandparents spoke it (cf. the Finnish statute for the establishment of Sami co-operation across the national boundaries of the Nordic countries because the Finnish



MAP 10. The administrative borders of Finnish Lapland.

Source: reproduced by permission of M. Aikio.

Sami are the only ones who base their representation in the Sami Parliament on elections).

There are at present about 5000 Sami as defined by linguistic criteria living in Finland. However, according to the Sami Parliament, there may be as many as 6000 living in Finland. Traditionally the number of Sami has been given as a minimal figure (i.e. between 3000-4500). This can still be seen in published works.

The Sami living in Finland may be divided, on the basis of their language or dialect, into persons speaking Northern or Mountain Sami (about two-thirds of the Finnish Sami population), Inari Sami and Skolt Sami. It has usually been assumed that two-thirds of the Finnish Sami speak the language, but this figure seems to be somewhat swollen. The figure of 5000 Sami includes all categories of Sami from those who have mastered the language fully (speaking, reading, and writing) to those with only one grandparent who spoke or speaks Sami. The most reliable population figures for the Finnish Sami date from 1962 when the geographical area covered by the census was restricted to the northernmost counties of Finland - the so-called Sami Home Region: Enontekiö, Inari, Utsjoki and the northern parts of Kittilä and Sodankylä (Aikio M. and Aikio P., 1985, p. 124).

Traditionally it is reckoned that some two-thirds of the Sami living in the Sami Home Region actually speak Sami. The true figure is lower. Another question is to know what is meant by 'first language'. Let us assume that it refers to knowledge and the use of the Sami language. At one end would be the 'ideal' Sami who speaks, reads and writes Sami fluently, while at the other would be a Sami who neither speaks, reads, nor writes the language but one of whose four grandparents spoke it as his/her first language. Outside this official definition fall the ethnic Sami whose great-grandparents spoke Sami. Whether or not a person's parents and grandparents spoke Sami as their first language does not in fact depend on whether or not they were ethnic Sami; rather, it is a function of external and primarily non-linguistic factors. These include the national policy on minority languages, the geographical location of the inhabitants, the fact that there may have been speakers of other languages in the locality, the school system, the teacher's and priest's knowledge of the attitude towards the minority language, the need to use the language of the majority and, above all, the spirit of the times, the age in which people live (Aikio, M., 1986).

The Sami - Four Nationalities

Complicating this picture is the fact that the Sami are an ethnic minority spread over four countries (i.e. Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Soviet Union). Each Sami is the citizen of the country in which he or she is resident, and each State pursues its own separate policy towards its linguistic and ethnic minorities. Then again, the Sami consider that there exists a common Sami land or area as a supranational phenomenon with common supranational goals underlying linguistic, ethnic, cultural and occupational policy. On the other hand, government policy affecting the Sami differs from country to country. In terms of language there are in reality four separate Sami linguistic minorities whose existence depends on each individual state. In terms of their survival as an ethnic and linguistic minority, the Sami are at the mercy of the national government wherever they reside (see also Aikio, M., 1984).

Status of Sami in the Light of Research

A lot of research has been done on Sami, but very little of it is of use to the minority itself. There is no current relevant material based on research on the status and use of Sami which covers the whole Nordic area where the Sami live. Only a few case histories are available for reference; an attempt must therefore be made to estimate how well this information reflects the general situation.

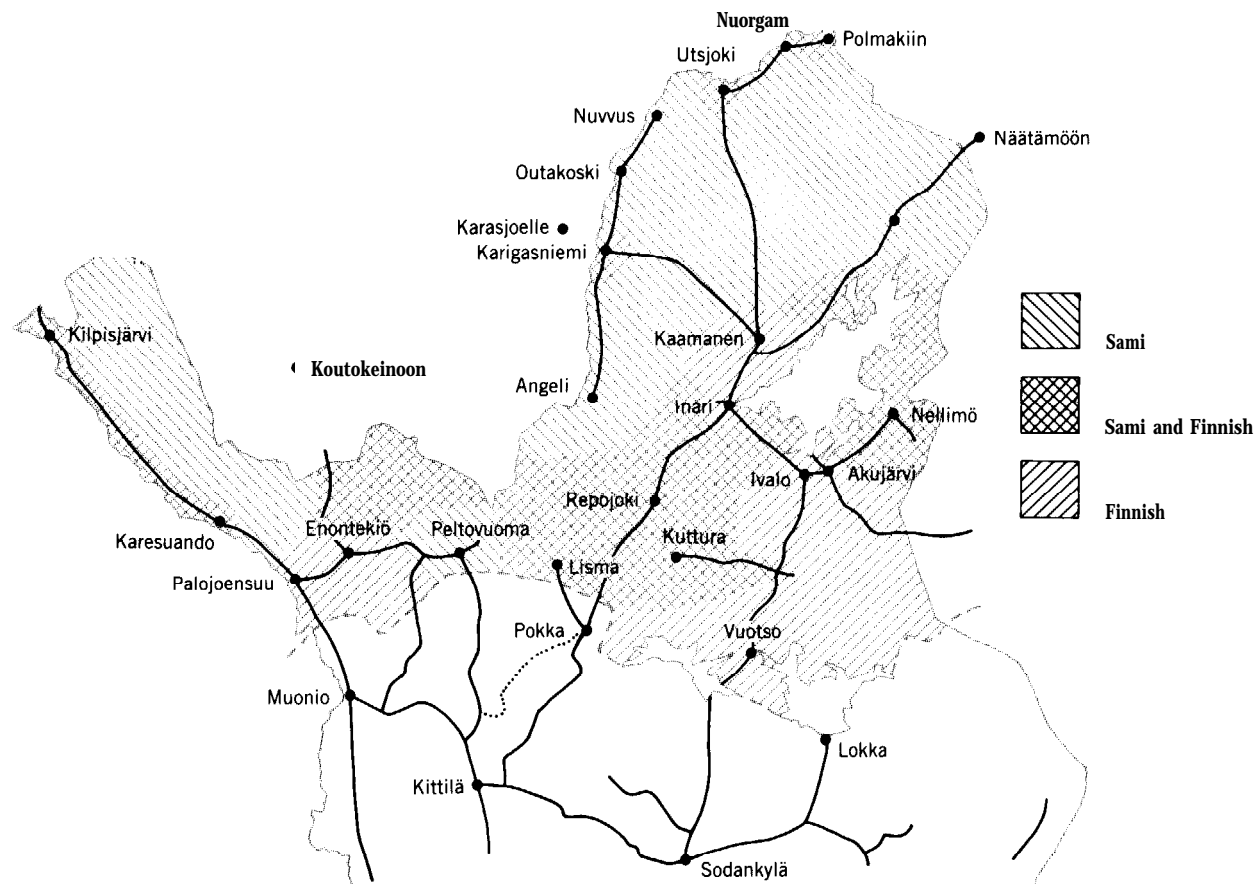
Questions focusing on the maintenance of Sami ethnicity and language have been touched upon in several studies (e.g. Asp, 1965, 1966; Aikio and Lindgren, 1973; Muller-Wille, 1974; Siuruainen and Ailio, P, 1977; Sammal-lahti, 1982, 1986; Aikio, M., 1976, 1983, 1984; Aikio, M. and Aikio, P., 1985). All of these demonstrate the weakening status of the Sami language which has been gradually giving way to Finnish as the everyday spoken language. According to the 1970 general census, approximately 51 per cent of the Sami in Finland spoke Sami as their first language, whereas 72 per cent of heads of families had learned it as their mother tongue. The Northern Sami dialect accounted for 66 per cent of speakers, Inari Sami for 18 per cent and Skolt Sami for 16 per cent.

The appendix to the last State Sami Committee report, published in 1973, includes a language report giving Aikio and Lindgren's maps on the language used in the home by the Sami according to age group (see Maps 13-16). There were three categories: Sami only, Finnish only, and both languages. There were also bar charts giving in percentages the language used in the home for four generations in four different counties. The diagrams were based on the writer's own research. To date this has been the only attempt to define the status of Sami as used in the home in the whole of the area where the Sami live.

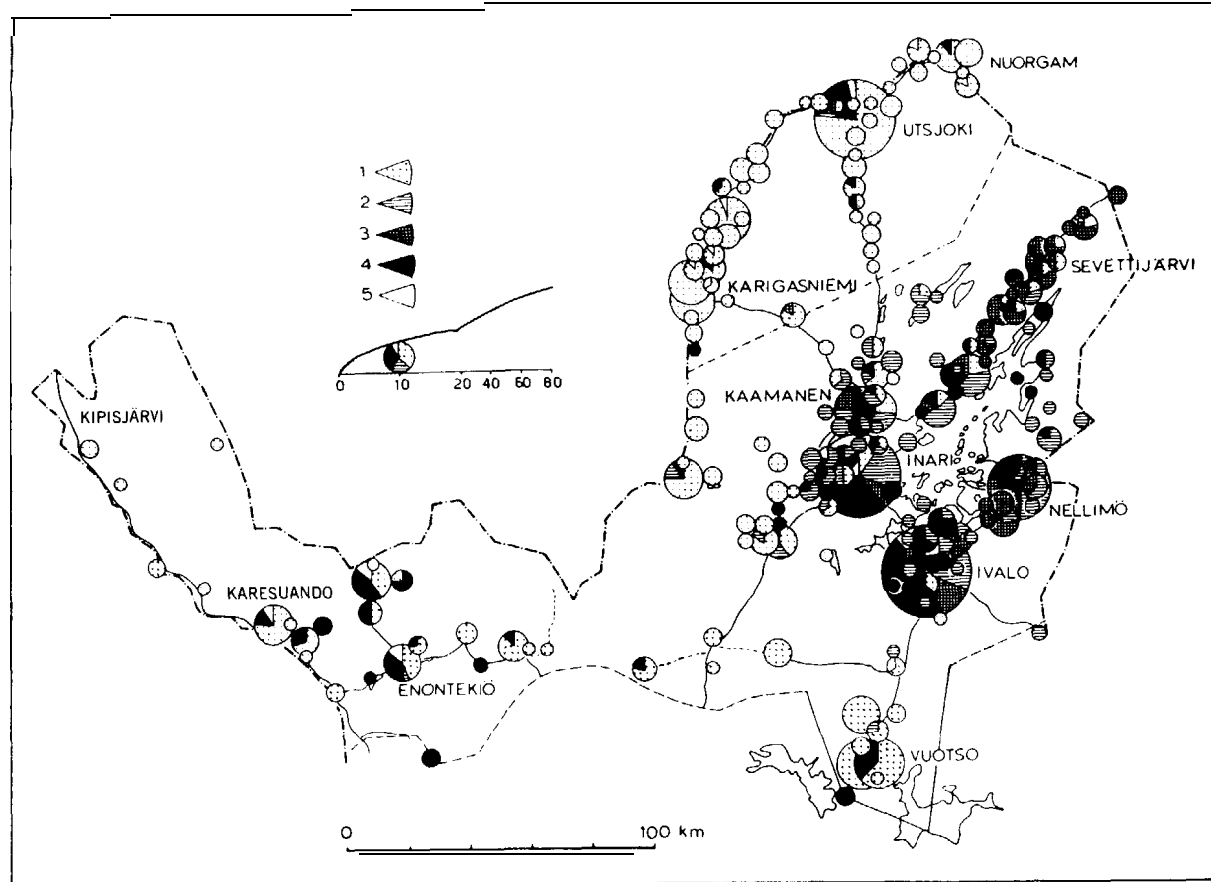
Aikio and Lindgren's research was summarized by Siuruainen (1976, p. 36) in Map 11 giving data on the first language learned in Sami families as of 1973.

The same author provided an illustration of the situation regarding the first language of parents of Lapp families living in the Sami area (Map 12).

In 1977 the Finnish Academy launched a cultural research project called 'The Adaptation of Culture to the Arctic Environment'. The project began with a study of socio-linguistics in the field in 1975 in three Sami villages, Angeli, Lisma and Nunnanen. The underlying assumption in this preliminary study was that the linguistic situation could be described as being one of 'bilingualism and diglottism'. Since Finnish is specified for official contacts, the use of Sami and Finnish by the Sami cannot be a matter of chance. The study examined precisely where and when Sami and Finnish were used. At first, informal contacts between neighbours and friends in the village were studied generally. Informal intercommunication within the family was studied more closely as was the language used in official, formal, public and organizational contacts, for example at religious gatherings,



MAP 11. Language spoken by 10-year-old Sami children among themselves. **Source: reproduced by** permission of E. Siuruainen (1973).



MAP 12. First language of parents of Lapp families in the Sámi area. (1-3) Lappish as first language, of which: (1) Tunturi Lappish; (2) Inari Lappish; (3) Skolt Lappish; (4) Finnish as first language; (5) some other language, chiefly Swedish, Norwegian or Russian. *Source:* reproduced by permission of E. Siuruainen (1976).

meetings, societies, associations and reindeer-herding as well as in places of employment, shops, government offices and the mass media. Preliminary indications of diglossia were also studied. The language used in school was handled separately. The purpose of the study was to gain an insight into the background of the language or languages used in the three villages and to map out the use of Sami and Finnish amongst the inhabitants.

The study (Aikio, M., 1976) showed that Sami was spoken inside families in 60 per cent of spoken situations, Finnish in 14 per cent of spoken situations, with both languages being used for the remaining 25 per cent of situations. Most Sami was spoken between parents. The children that spoke Sami amongst themselves lived in Angeli and Nunnanen, but not in Lisma. Almost all the population was bilingual with the exception of several old persons in Angeli and Nunnanen and children under the age of five in Angeli. The test group also included a few persons who could not speak Sami.

For the language used in official contacts, the example of the one spoken at church functions may be given. In general, Finnish is used at Lutheran church services and meetings of the Laestadian movement. Earlier, chiefly before World War II, church interpreters were used. In the churches of Inari and Enontekiö Counties, however, interpreters are no longer used unless in exceptional circumstances. No interpreters are used in Sodankylä County. In Utsjoki and the chapel at Karigasniemi, translations are still given from Finnish to Sami. At devotional meetings, S&&speaking preachers, or at least religious translators for the village or area, are used. There are no S&m-speaking priests, although some have a passable knowledge of the language. In Inari, the priests use two dialects of Sami in liturgy, and one uses Sami for the sermon too. Hymns are sung in both languages. In some places, the older population takes part several times a year in Sami church functions organized in Norway. These are always translated from Norwegian to Sami. On the Swedish side of the border there are similar church functions which are translated from Swedish into Sami (Aikio, M., 1976).

However, as stated above, Finnish was the main language used in church functions and in most official contacts or situations. The language of the church, government offices, shops, places of employment and organizations was Finnish, not Sami. This situation is not going to change easily, even though some minor concessions have been made. For example, it was not until the mid-1980s that the meetings of the Sami Parliament regularly used Sami, but Parliament still has to employ a Finnish interpreter because not all Parliamentary members understand Sami. The agenda and minutes for the meetings should be in Sami, but in actual practice this is not always the case. In the past few years, too, road signs and place-names have been appearing in both Sami and Finnish in the Utsjoki and Inari Counties, and some stores and coffee shops have Sami names. However, in 99 per cent of cases, official communications must be in Finnish. Contacts with officialdom in the Sami language do not as a rule meet with any response. For example, in the 1970s and 1980s, a few Sami began

writing letters to one another in their language. On the envelope, they would write the name and address of the addressee in Sami too, but because postal officials did not know Sami, the letters were returned if the sender wrote his address in Finnish, or else were left undelivered.

The place where official Finnish influence over the Sami population was strongest was in the schools. Many pupils lived tens or hundreds of kilometres from school. As a result, they had to be accommodated for days or months in an environment that was Finnish-speaking and foreign. In school dormitories, both Finnish-speaking children and adults belittled and ridiculed the Sami language and people. The effect of such an environment remains with the child for the rest of his life. The worst case we have researched was that of an informant in a linguistic research project on the process of language shift. The authenticity of the case was confirmed by people close to the informant in their spontaneous accounts of his tragedy. The person was from a remote village where only Sami was used. When the time came for him to attend school, he was sent to a Finnish-language boarding school because, of course, there were and still are no schools for Sami-speaking children. After experiencing total cultural shock, he decided that he would never again say one word in his own native language. This abrupt decision was preceded by several years of complete silence at school. Every Sami has lived this child's tragedy in part.

We may well wonder about the present-day situation of the Sami language in areas of Finland where the Sami live. Unfortunately, no one really knows. The last research into the use of the Sami language which covered the whole of the Sami area in Finland was published by Lindgren and the author in 1973. The situation now can only be guessed at. It is possible that the increase in Sami language instruction and the more positive attitudes towards the language have done something to slow up the Finnization process in Utsjoki County and parts of Inari County although not in the areas of Enontekiö and Vuotso. For example, the youth of reindeer-herding Sami families from northern Enontekiö who have recently moved to the larger population centres seem to turn into Finns almost overnight. Even the latest research results from Utsjoki indicate that those children who are Sami speakers speak Finnish with other Sami-speaking children, and whenever they are outside the home (Guttorm, 1985). The situation is alarming.

Status of Sami in Finnish Education

Before the 1970s, Sami was not taught in schools with few exceptions. More efficient planning of the education of Sami people in Finland dates from the beginning of the 1970s. Committee reports on the Sami question, such as the Report of the Committee for the Development of Sami Education (1971: B63) and the Report of the Sami Committee (1973: 46), included guidelines for the

educational policy for the Sami and detailed goals for developing their education. In the opinion of the Committee for the Development of Sami Education, the general goal for education was to develop educational opportunities both qualitatively and quantitatively, while at the same time taking into account the specific goals set by the linguistic and cultural background of the Sami. Those lofty goals have not been achieved.

The Planning Committee for Instruction in Sami in its first report (1973: 88) presented goals for developing the education of the Sami in Finland. The first report by the Committee included proposals for: (1) a plan of instruction to teach the Sami language to native Sami-speaking pupils; (2) a plan of instruction to teach Finnish to native Sami speaking pupils, and (3) the necessary legislative amendments concerning comprehensive schools in order to implement these curriculum plans. In its second report (1974: 96) the Committee drew up curriculum plans for each subject to include Sami cultural components for comprehensive schools in the areas where the people live. Furthermore, the Committee proposed the continuous development of curriculum plans to teach Sami and Finnish to Sami speaking pupils in order to promote bilingualism (Linnankivi, 1981, pp. 10-11). In the 1970s, concrete results from the Committee's work were already apparent. Instruction in schools was given as far as possible in the language of the students, in other words in the North Sami, Inari and Skolt languages.

According to Linnankivi (1981, p. 10) in Report 1970: A4 by the Planning Committee for the Curriculum of the Comprehensive School, attention was paid to the fact that children in linguistic minorities should receive initial school instruction in their mother tongue, if their knowledge of the school's language of instruction is not sufficient. The language of instruction in comprehensive schools in Finland is either Finnish or Swedish. Children in these language groups always have their own schools, even if they are in the minority. However, even now, Sami children do not have schools of their own.

Finland has accepted several international agreements which oblige a nation to guarantee equal rights to all its citizens. In 1971 Finland ratified a general Unesco agreement pertaining to the right against discrimination in teaching (Linnankivi, 1981, p.12). In actual practice, these agreements have been disregarded. Even with the establishment of the comprehensive school, Sami-speaking children have been compelled to start school with a foreign language (i.e. Finnish) as the language of instruction (Linnankivi, 1981, p. 10).

By 1973 an experimental Skolt and Finnish teaching plan started in Inari with very encouraging results. In 1980 the plan was further extended with the addition of a smaller upper secondary school experiment with 7 grades. The Inari Sami language teaching plan experiment began in 1979. Utsjoki's secondary school and upper secondary school got its own full-time teacher in Sami language and culture in 1979. Since 1980, it has been possible to sit the matriculation examination in Sami. The permanent post

for a teacher of regular subjects in Sami was created in Enontekio County in 1978. In 1980 a special education teacher's post was provided for in Inari and Enontekio. Among the posts open to school-teachers in Utsjoki is one for teaching in Sami.

The 1981 Law on children's day-care stipulates that children are to be cared for in their mother tongue in addition to Finnish, Swedish or Sami. At the end of 1981 Utsjoki County began an open teaching experiment for a travelling day-nursery in Sami language and culture.

A statute on elementary schools which is still in force states that instruction in Finland should be given as far as possible in the mother tongue of the pupil. In 1983 the following change was made to the law regulating the school system: 'Students living in the Sami Home Region may be taught in their mother tongue. Sami and Finnish may be the languages of instruction as defined in the teaching plan'. According to the law on upper secondary schools, 'In the Sami Home Region, the language of instruction for Finnish-language pupils may be Sami.

In the past ten years interest in Sami as a language of instruction and as a subject has grown considerably. This is borne out by the table and graph (Table 12) prepared by the School Department of the Provincial Government of Lapland.

The graph shows the increase in the number of hours of instruction per week per school year in twenty schools in four counties. Thus all schools are included. When we look at the graph, we should not forget that the 1975 starting level was low. Even now, instruction in Sami is not sufficient. There is still a long way to go before all children speaking Sami can receive instruction in their own language throughout their school education.

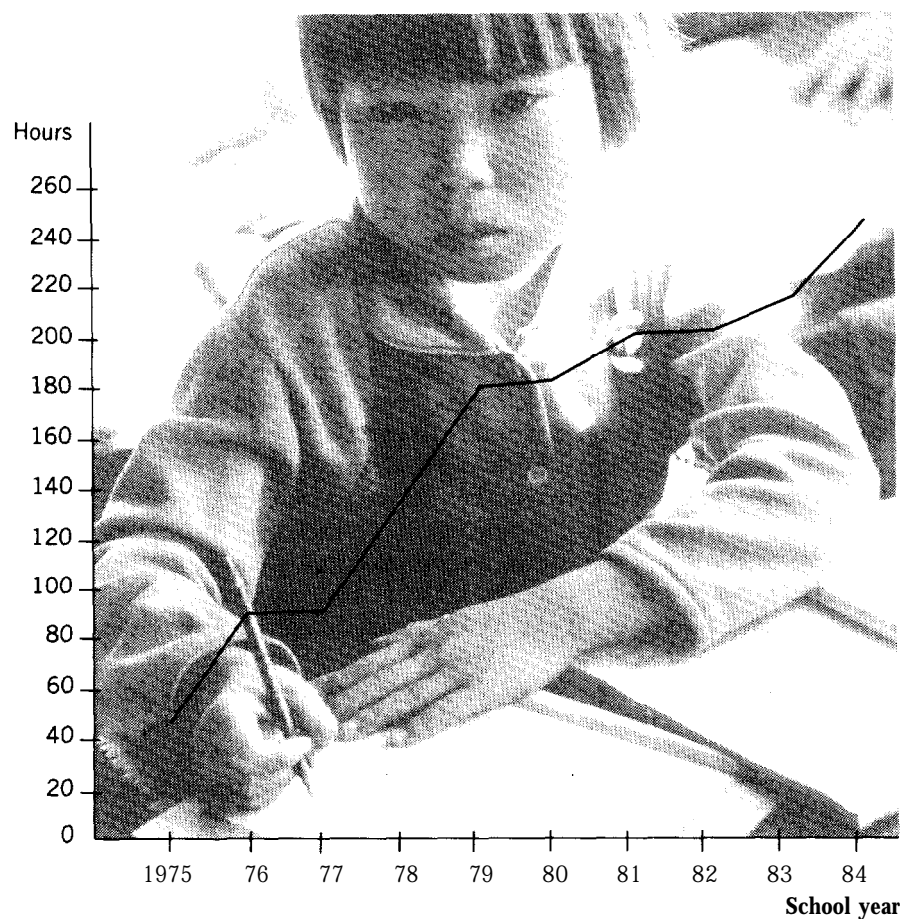
From the point of view of Sami, the best instruction has been organized in Utsjoki. The weakest instruction is given in Enontekio where seven schools have no Sami language instruction of any kind. An urgent need exists in at least three of the schools in the County of Enontekio. Children's parents themselves can decide whether their children shall receive instruction through Sami or are to be taught Sami. The school's earlier unfounded distrust of instruction through Sami has caused many Sami parents to place their children in Finnish-language classes. However, it seems that the situation of the Sami language in education is, in many ways, improving as time goes on.

New school legislation makes it incumbent on the counties in the Sami Home Region to organize Sami language instruction. Since the first pioneering efforts in the 1970s, teaching experiments have been carried out in four elementary schools in Utsjoki County and one elementary school in Inari County. Provision is made for Sami language classes and environmental studies in those schools.

In the Utsjoki secondary school, mathematical instruction is also given in Sami. However, in the secondary and upper secondary schools of Utsjoki, there are no classes using Sami as the language of instruction at present,

TABLE 12. The development of Sami language instruction and instruction in the SAMi language by county and school year: 1975/'76 to 1984/85 (Provincial Government of Lapland school department)

School year	75-76	76-77	77-78	78-79	79-80	80-81	81-82	82-83	83-84	84-85
county										
Enontekio	2	1	15	16	19	38	31	30	25.5	19
Inari	5	30	22	39	31	32	31	34	31	50
Utajoki	36	48	51	77	127	109	129	139	162.5	177
Sodankylti										
Vuotso	2	2	2	4	4	46	6	6	-	6
School year hours										
TOTAL	45	90	92	136	181	165	204	205	219	252



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 Photo: courtesy Unesco Dominique Roger.

even though more than half of the secondary school pupils are Sami speakers. Sami language instruction naturally includes lots of Sami cultural subjects, but the aim is to include other elementary school subjects such as handicrafts, environmental studies and music. In the Utsjoki secondary school, Sami culture is taught as a separate subject.

Teaching experiments in Sami have run into difficulty. Because of a lack of appropriate teaching materials, Finnish language textbooks have had to be used. Since 1981 those preparing educational materials in Sami have been entitled to take paid leave of absence.

Co-operation with the other Nordic countries has increased since the acceptance of a standard orthography for Sami. This orthography is to be the same for all Nordic countries. Some textbooks based on a teaching plan for a combined standard Nordic Sami language have already been prepared. Likewise, an environmental studies project is under discussion, as is the formation of a curriculum committee to draw up an educational outline for different subjects. However, the implementation of this proposal is being hindered by lack of funds.

One practical problem is also the lack of properly qualified S&m-speaking teachers. None the less, the situation has improved relatively quickly and will continue to do so when new teachers who have been studying Sami graduate.

Since 1975 teachers have been able to obtain paid leave of absence in order to study Sami, and the following year the Provincial Government of Lapland, together with the counties of Lapland, began organizing training for Sami teachers at least once every school year. Attempts have also been made to strengthen the status of Sami youth by providing them with further educational possibilities on the basis of their language. The University of Lapland has its own quota of Sami-speaking students. The Law Department has taken two students each year since 1982. The Social Science Department takes two students each year. The Department of Education, together with the University of Oulu, has taken a total of five students each year since 1975. However, these quotas when compared with the total student population are extremely small. A lectureship in Sami language and culture was created at the University of Lapland in 1979. It has been possible to study Sami as a major subject at the University of Oulu since 1980. At the University of Oulu, Sami is also the language of instruction in the scientific area 'Sami language and culture' which is part of the academic programme 'Finnish and its related languages'. In addition, at the Sami Home Region's Vocational Educational Centre located in Inari, the second language of instruction is, by statute, Sami. However, there is no full-time Sami language teacher, and the language of instruction is almost entirely Finnish. Generally the presence of Finnish speakers in a class has meant that the language of instruction is Finnish. One particular addition to instruction in Sami has been the small number of Sami language school radio programmes, the number of which is presently being increased.

At the provincial level, the further development of Sami language instruction is the responsibility of the Provincial Government's Sami Educational Group which is part of the Provincial School Department. The members of this Development Group include the school inspector for the Sami Home Region, the educational planner for Sami and the provincial instructor for Sami who is under the direction of the School Department of the Provincial Government of Lapland.

In 1984 a six-member working group was set up at national level with responsibility for the people's education and culture. The members are appointed by the Ministry of Education or the National Board of Education. A Development programme for Sami language instruction and instruction in the Sami language for the years 1984-8 was announced at the beginning of 1984 by the National Board of Education's working group for Sami education.

The development of Sami education is closely related to the production of Sami language teaching materials. These have consisted mainly of experimental books and booklets. The Department of Finnish and Sami Language at the University of Oulu had a planning group for Sami language teaching materials in 1972-5 (information on education from 1970 to the present kindly provided by the School Department of the Province of Lapland).

However it seems that almost all the educational measures and suggestions for the improvement of education in Sami are aimed at Sami children and youth of school-age in Finland. As yet, the needs of the adult Sami population for reading and writing their mother tongue have not been provided for. The greater part of Finland's adult Sami population have never had instruction in Sami and this has caused a rift between the generations. Even a large number of adults who have somehow managed to learn to read some Sami feel a great deal of uncertainty, unfamiliarity and even fear. This has weakened the linguistic identity of the whole minority.

In general, while there is a movement towards introducing Sami as a language of instruction and a subject in schools, the lack of teachers and materials has hindered developments. Also, even among Sami parents themselves, there is a great deal of mistrust. Parents fear that if their children receive instruction in Sami, they will be discriminated against in terms of educational opportunities and employment. The parent's apprehension derives from the fact that most of their children will leave the Sami-speaking areas in order to seek employment in the totally Finnish environment further south. The outlook for saving the Sami language through the Finnish school system, despite all the good intentions, does not look good. It is a matter of too little too late.

Literature in Sami

As was mentioned above, the number of adult Sami who can read and write their own language is small. When an ordinary Sami wants to read or write something, he does so in Finnish. As a result, the production of books, magazines, newspapers and advertising materials in Sami has been infinitesimal.

In general, the use of written Sami in Finland up to the 1970s was almost completely religious or was to be found in the *Sapmelas* magazine. Literature in the Sami language appeared in Finland very late. The first Sami language books published in Finland appeared at the beginning of the eighteenth century, about 100 years after the first publication in Norway and 200 years after the first publication in Sweden. Original literature in the Sami language was begun in Finland in 1915 by Pedar Jalvi. Pedar Jalvi, whose real name was Petter Helander, was from Utsjoki. He felt that the creation of literature in the Sami language was important. Jalvi died young and was only able to publish one small book *Muottacalmit* (Snowflakes) which included poems and stories. This small book was followed by 25 years of silence. In 1940 Hans-Aslak Guttorm published *Koccam spalli* (The Awakened Wind). From the outside, this is a modest book; on the inside, it has the same type of organization and contents as in Pedar Jalvi's booklet.

The Sami language used by Hans-Aslak Guttorm cast an entirely new light on what it means to be Sami. He connected community and social questions with the whole Sami way of life and thought. After Guttorm's collection, it was another thirty years before Kirsti Paltto's short story collection *Soagnu* (The Marriage Proposal) was published in 1971. In the 1970s poetry was a popular literary form. In the same decade, a Sami literature as well as a few ABC-books were published.

The most significant Sami prose writer of the 1970s is Kirsti Paltto who published short stories as well as plays, children's books and poems. A novel by her is now being translated into Finnish. From the 1970s and into the 1980s, literature in Sami continued to be published. Rauni Magga Lukkari has published two collections of poetry: *Jienat vulget* (The Ice is Leaving) and *Baze dearvan Bipehtar* (Farewell Peter). Nils-Aslak Valkeapaa published the poetry collections *Gitta iijat cuou'gudut* (The Nights of Spring So Luminous) and *Lavlo vizar biello-cizas* (The Silver Veins of the Stream) (1981). Kerttu Vuolab published the children's book *Golbma skinparacca* (Three Friends). The first large-scale novel in the Sami language, *Arbeeatnan luohhti* (The Chant of the Patrimonial Lands) was published by Eino Guttorm in 1981. Since then, Eino Guttorm has written two novels (still in manuscript), a collection of poems (in process of being published) and plays of which four have been performed by the Outakoski Theatre Group, Ravggs, in theatre tours to different parts of the Sami area.

Eino Guttorm's work *Arbeeatnan luohhti* is a universal description of topics that are current in every society, but this work is the first truly hon-

est presentation ever of subjects concerning the Sami. However, the biggest problem with literature in the Sami language is the lack of readers. Also, a healthy ethnic self-esteem has been left undeveloped. The Sami's contribution to their present-day culture has been weak. The main reason for this may be that the Sami language was already strange to the Sami as children because they did not learn to read or write it at school (Lehtola, 1984).

Sami in the Mass Media

The use and position of Sami in the mass media in Finland is insignificant. There are no Sami-language programmes on television, even though the Nordic Council of Ministers work group suggested in 1981 that there should be at least 5 minutes of Sami-language broadcasting each day on the national television network. Only in some special circumstances over the last few years has the Finnish Broadcasting Company (i.e. Yleisradio) shown the occasional Sami film or interview with Finnish subtitles. Even short programmes in Finnish on Lapland or on the Sami, with subtitles in the North Sami dialect, are rare.

However, it has become apparent that the need for TV programmes in the Sami language is very great. Young people in particular sorely need Sami language TV broadcasts (Aikio, M., 1976).

Offerings on the radio, too, have been far from adequate. The total number of Sami language broadcasts in the Nordic countries is approximately 13 hours per week: Norway, (some 6 hours), Sweden (about 4 hours) and Finland (some 3 hours). Joint Nordic broadcasts last for 80 minutes in Norway and 70 minutes in Sweden. In addition to this, in some areas of Finland, it is possible to listen to Sami radio broadcasts from another country (Norway approximately 4 hours 45 minutes, and Sweden approximately 4 hours). In some localities, broadcasts from the three countries may be heard. In Finland, programmes are in Northern, Skolt and Inari Sami. The broadcast area is the so-called Sami Home Region. The Finnish regional office for Sami broadcasts is located in Inari, with local offices in Utsjoki and Karesuvanto. Programmes are usually of the news type. All in all, the following programmes are broadcast in the Sami Home Region of Finland; Monday, a Skolt language programme (approximately 15 minutes); Tuesday, a Northern Sami language programme (30 minutes) and a school radio broadcast (15-20 minutes); Wednesday, a re-broadcast of the Tuesday programme (30 minutes); Thursday, a Northern Sami and Inari Sami programme (36 minutes) and a re-broadcast of the Tuesday school radio programme (15-20 minutes); Friday, a Nordic northern Sami language programme (30 minutes) and Sami language morning devotions (15 minutes); Monday to Friday, Northern Sami news broadcast (5 minutes daily).

Altogether, therefore, there are approximately 3.5 hours of broadcast time, the greater part of which is in Northern Sami

The publication of Sami-language magazines in Finland is really deficient. Few magazines are available, and there is no daily newspaper in Sami at all. On the Finnish side, the Lapin Sivistysseura and Sami Lbitto (Sami Union) publish a magazine called *Sapmelas* approximately 12 times a year, sometimes as a double number. The magazine was founded in 1934. *Sapmelas* is sent free to every Sami home. In 1975, the magazine became more of a news magazine and thereby increased its readership. For a short time, the *Vuoujos* magazine was published by the Johti Sabmelazzat Association. But publication of this magazine ceased recently. The *Sami Agi* newspaper is published twice a week in Karasjok, Norway. About one-third of its readers live in the Swedish and Finnish parts of Lapland, and the newspaper can with good reason be called *Nordic*. In other words, part of the Finnish Sami people read a Nordic Sami newspaper. However, the largest and most influential daily newspaper in Finnish Lapland (and the one that most people read) is the *Lapin Kansa* which is published daily in Rovaniemi, the capital of Finnish Lapland. The **Lapin Kansa** is entirely in Finnish. In the spring of 1985, an experiment was begun to publish a quarter-page article in Sami once a week. This article now appears only once a month. The *Lapin Kansa* also publishes a religious sermon in Sami 4 or 6 times each year.

If we compare the extent of Sami used in the mass media with comparable situations, for instance, elsewhere in Western Europe, we have to admit that the situation in Finland is quite inadequate. For example, in Friesland, Dutch radio has a short Frisian programme now and then. However, in Ljouwert, there is a regional radio station called Radio Fryskin. It had ample broadcasting time in 1983 (i.e. 7 hours per week), but this will soon be extended to eleven hours. There are two daily newspapers in Friesland, with Frisian appearing side-by-side with Dutch, and including a children's page (Boelens, 1982, pp. 47-8).

In Wales, the interest shown by delegates in the recently established Welsh language television service has been encouraging. The setting-up in November 1983 of a United Kingdom fourth television channel, which in Wales shows Welsh language programmes at peak times interspersed with a selection of English programmes, is proving remarkably attractive to the majority of Welsh speakers. Its twenty-two hours a week of varied Welsh output, together with a far more substantial radio service broadcasting up to eight hours a day of programmes in Welsh, are penetrating at the flick of a switch, not only homes where Welsh is the normal mode of communication and therefore enhancing its usage, but also those homes where the language of the hearth is possibly in the process of shifting from Welsh to English at that critical second generation stage (Edwards, 1984, pp. 249-50).

The situation of the Sami language in the mass media appears very weak when compared to that of the Swedish-Finns with their own radio broadcasts, regular Swedish language TV programmes, and several newspapers in Swedish. All in all, Sami radio is the major vehicle in Finland for the Sami language in the mass media at the present time.

Because of lack of instruction in previous years, the ability of many Sami people to read and write in Sami is almost nil. For this reason, listening to programmes in Sami on the radio is easier than reading Sami language newspapers or magazines, while the tremendous potential of television to revive the Sami language remains quite untapped.

We are at pains to emphasize the deficient situation of the Sami language in the media, being of the same opinion as D.G. Edwards (1984, p. 250) who wrote of the Welsh speakers' plight as follows: 'I have referred to the media because I am convinced that they have become central in the maintenance and spread of a minority language. The media provide the Welsh-medium education of our schools with an additional *raison d'être*; that is, learning and maintaining the language not just for the sake of the language itself, but for the resulting experiences that are gained. With varied range of radio and television programmes available to them, Welsh speakers can become accustomed to hearing the language used to transmit messages of substance. That is, threatened languages need formal social organizations if they are to survive.'

If Sami as a living language is to survive, then the media (and especially television) must become one such organization.

Legal Status of Sami Language and Culture

In Finland, the goals of State policy towards the Sami are somewhat in conflict. On the one hand, the Finnish state supports the Sami Parliament (which is elected by those Sami who are defined as such on the basis of linguistic criteria) yet, on the other hand, the Sami language does not have the status of an official language. In time, this circumstance could well lead to the total extinction of Sami as a living language (cf. Aikio, M., 1984).

As far back as 1756, a royal decree said that bailiffs should know both Finnish and Sami. Such old regulations concerning Sami have not been explicitly repealed, but changes and amendments in principle have occurred mostly in practice. Under present-day legislation, the Sami, because of their birth, do not have the same education, mass media, and government community services as other Finnish citizens. The limitations to the Sami's use of their language also undermines their equality before the law.

A Finnish citizen whose mother tongue is Sami should have the right to use his native language in court and with the authorities. Likewise, he should be entitled to use Sami in minutes of meetings and as the language of educational instruction. Public notices, announcements, advertisements and other documents should be worded in Sami when they concern the Sami-speaking population in particular. A Sami Language Board should be established with its office in the Sami Home Region.

To correct inequalities due to language, a Sami Language Law is under preparation in Finland. The first draft of this law was presented to the Sami

Parliament in 1983 and contained the proposal that the Sami language should be given the constitutional status of an official language of the Republic of Finland on the same level as Finnish and Swedish. It was hoped to accomplish this by amending the 1922 law defining the status of Finnish and Swedish. The question is a very complex one. The background of the Swedish language in Finland is quite different to that of Sami. The linguistic status of the Swedish-Finns is the best organized example of its kind in the world. However, for various reasons, the Finnish Ministry of Justice did not wish to attribute the same constitutional status to Sami as to Swedish. The Ministry wanted a separate Sami Language Law. Accordingly, a working committee of representatives from the Sami Parliament and the Ministry of Justice has been set up to look into the matter.

However, even under the law now being prepared, government officials will not be required to speak Sami, even in the Sami Home Region. However, the rights of the Sami to use their language will be protected through interpretation and translation in cases where government officials do not know Sami. To ensure the status of the Sami language in the civil service, the proposed law provides that the Provincial Government of Lapland, and other administrative and local government offices, shall establish a permanent post for a Sami language official.

When this law is enacted, it is hoped that the legal rights and social status of the Sami will improve, since legal institutions and community government services will have to have staff who are proficient in Sami. Social inequality will be removed once education and the mass media operate through the language. The cost of a chief secretary for the Sami Language Board, two translators and a typist, plus the seven translators for the counties as provided for in the draft legislation, would entail an expenditure of about 1.2 million FIM a year from the Finnish national budget.

However, it is obvious that the Sami Language Law was propounded by experts who were specialists neither in multicultural and multilingual research nor in native language questions on an international level. Such specialists may be found in Finland, for instance among those researching the bilingualism of the Swedish-Finns.

When one becomes familiar with this proposed legislation, and above all with its basic assumptions, it seems that the Sami Language Law is being formulated as if it concerned only a linguistic minority. What has actually been overlooked by the external decision-makers is the fact that the Sami people are not just a linguistic minority, but an ethnic minority having its own language. When all is said and done, according to Helvi Nuorgam-Poutasuo, Chairman of the Working Committee for the Sami Language Law and a Sami herself, the Sami law will be a political compromise that will fall short of Sami expectations.

The basis of the Sami political manifesto (Samiraddi, 1980), which has been adopted by the Nordic Sami, is the preservation of the Sami ethnic existence and the safeguarding of the Sami language through legislation. This

is partly linked to the rights of the Sami in society. In the opinion of the Sami Parliament, the Sami Language Law should secure: (1) the right to be taught the Sami language and to be educated in Sami; (2) the right of the Sami people to use their language in their dealings with the Government and to receive official documents in Sami, and (3) protection of Sami culture.

However, the Sami Language Law under preparation began as a movement to obtain educational instruction in the Sami language without being related to the overall question of the existence of the Sami people. We therefore feel somewhat doubtful that the proposed law will in fact be able to protect the status of the Sami language quite as successfully as those who formulated the law had hoped.

Present-day Linguistic and Ethnic Status of the Sami: Case-studies

At the end of the 1970s, as stated above, the final stage of a linguistic research project ('The Adaptation of Culture to the Arctic Environment' under the directorship of Pekka Sammallahti of the Department of Finnish and Sami Languages, Oulu University) became a comprehensive research project. The findings of this major project (with which we have had the pleasure to be associated) showed that many Finnish Sami are fast becoming unilingual Finnish speakers. The place chosen for our research was a Sami language area located on the Finnish Sami Home Region's southern border. The process of supplanting one language with another, and the time relationship required for this change, was researched in detail over a long period. Five small villages were researched.

The results of the research (partially published in the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development and Ethnicity in Canada: International Examples and Perspectives*, Vol. 5, 1984) may be regarded as indicative of the weak status of the Sami language. The Sami living in Vuotso, the area under research, are the descendants of reindeer-herding Sami who moved from Kautokeino in Norway, Karesuvanto in Sweden and Enontekiö in Finland when the borders between Norway and Finland (from 1852 to the present) and between Sweden and Finland (from 1889 to the present) were closed to reindeer-herders and their herds.

That research study dealt with the concepts of mother tongue, language first used and language best spoken, to which may be added the dominant language, for these, except the latter, are the terms employed when a census is made of the Sami in Finland. In the general census of 1950 in Finland, people were requested to indicate the language they spoke best. In 1960, they were asked to state their main language. In a population study of the Sami conducted by the Nordic Sami Council in the 1960s, people were asked to indicate the language they first learned.

According to Alf-Isak Keskitalo (1981, p. 153), after Nikul (1977), a Sami is best defined as a person who uses Sami as his or her first language. They feel that this is a more or less perfect indicator of ethnicity. The present author's study does not bear this out.

Of the 51 Sami speakers from Vuotso whose language we have thorough data on, only 10 gave Sami both as their first language in the 1962 census and their mother language in the 1977 census. Furthermore, there were 36 persons, according to the 1962 census, who indicated that their first language was Sami, but whose mother tongue in 1977 was given as Finnish. There were also 4 Sami who indicated Finnish in both censuses and one Sami who reported Finnish as his first language and Sami as his mother tongue. Of the 199 Sami in the main village of my study area, only 15 reported Sami as their mother tongue in 1982. So in reality, the published figures on first language and mother tongue are unreliable and inconsistent. We would like to remind the reader that being officially regarded as Sami is still based on linguistic criteria in Finland.

One may well ask what good it does a person to claim that Sami is his or her native language. It seems that, on occasion, it might be even more advantageous for a Sami to report Finnish as his native or first language, for instance to avoid stigmatization and social pressure, although such information might not always reflect the facts. This situation somewhat undermines the reliability of the official Finnish definition of a Sami citizen.

The family is generally considered to be the area in which one's own language is preserved longest.

One type of analysis is to examine the speakers of a minority language as links forming a historical chain in a tradition of language use. Above all, one can regard them as members of their own immediate and extended family. This gives us an opportunity to follow the process of language shift as a phenomenon related to interaction among different generations. Table 13 shows an example of the changes in one informant's choice of language with the members of her immediate family spanning five generations (the informant is from Vuotso).

The table describes the informant's language choice with her own parents (II, M, F) and grandparents (I, M, F), with her husband (III, M), four children (IV, M, F) and their children (V, M, F). This person, an old reindeer-herding grandmother, always spoke only Sami to her parents and to her mother's parents, both Sami and Finnish to her husband and children (with emphasis on Finnish), but always Finnish to her grandchildren (Aikio, M., 1984, pp. 285-8). Of the Sami living in the study area, this information was gathered from one of those rare individuals who still used Sami daily.

As can be readily seen from this diagram, the shift in language use is towards Finnish and away from Sami, especially in the younger generations.

TABLE 13. Choice of language-use alternatives spanning 5 generations. The informant, a woman, was born in Vuotso in 1915. In diagram, G = generation, B = born, F = female, M = male, S = Sami language, F = Finnish language.

Time										
G	B									
I	M	1859	S	S	S					
	F	1865	S	S	S	S	S			
II	M	1882	S	S	S	S				
	F	1889	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	
III	M	1906	s/f		s/f	f/s	f/s	f/s	f/s	
IV	M	1945					S	S	s/f	f/s
	F	1946						s/f	s/f	f
	F	1949						S	s/f	f
V	F	1951								f
	F	1971								f
	F	1972								f
	M	1977								f
	M	1980								f

Source: Aikio M. 1984. The position and use of the Sami language: Historical, contemporary and future perspectives. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multi-cultural Development*, Vol. 5.

Linguistic and Ethnic Influence of Reindeer-herding on the Sami: Case-studies

Reindeer-herding is usually mentioned in connection with the use of Sami by the Sami people. It is true that reindeer-herding may have the effect of preserving the Sami language in reindeer-herding centres in Norway. However, assumptions and claims have been presented but little research has been carried out. In our own research on the Sami, we have also looked into the relationship between reindeer-herding and the Sami language. Reindeer-herding is a highly specialized livelihood in the Arctic, and about fifty years ago the Sami language was still vital in this region. Nowadays, the Sami in Finland are beginning to use Finnish for the most part in reindeer-herding. In the area under study, Finnish is already the dominant language. Some of the reasons behind the development of this situation are surprising.

Strangely enough, even in reindeer-herding, which has been the chief factor in traditional Sami culture, it is increasingly difficult to use the Sami language. In Sweden and Norway, there is a possibility of using Sami as an administrative reindeer-herding language, but not so in Finland. At the

administrative level, the language used in reindeer-herding in Finland has always been Finnish. Sami reindeer-herders in Finland are forced to use Finnish in their occupation when dealing with the ever-expanding administration, although their thoughts and unquestionable skill in their work were originally formulated and expressed exclusively in Sami.

We feel a sense of disbelief at the fact that this matter has received no attention (see, for example, Nesheim, Nickul, Ruong, Collinder, Asp, Miiller-Wille and Ingold). Unlike many researchers, we believe that the effects of Finnish as the official administrative language in reindeer-herding will in time prove disastrous for Sami culture and, indirectly, for the Sami language (Aikio, M., 1984, p. 290)

In a previous study with Pekka Aikio (Aikio M. and Aikio P., 1985, pp. 126-71, we plotted the Sami population of the study area - here defined by ancestry - in the form of concentric circles by year of birth (Fig. 8). By so doing, it was possible to follow the process of language shift as seen in language use and in other ethnic indicators, such as ancestry and dispersal of reindeer-herding. Here we were able to give the example of one large Vuotso Sami family.

The circles illustrate Matti Ponku's family, his grandparents, parents, three wives and all his descendants including their spouses. Ponku was a famous reindeer-herder who owned several thousand reindeer. There are more than 400 individuals represented within these circles, of whom almost 60 spouses are of Finnish origin. When the assumed or verified knowledge of the language of every single person on the time circle is plotted, a comprehensive picture of the process of language shift is shown. The small round area, either alone or in a 'sausage', represents one individual. The dotted figures indicate those persons, 60 in all, who use or have used Sami as their home language. The vertically-hatched figures indicate those persons, 59 in all, who have used or use both languages -Finnish and Sami - in their personal contacts. The cross-hatched figures indicate the unilingual Finnish-speaking persons, who form the majority, i.e. 310 persons.

The great majority of all adults, at least those born before the 1940s still have a command of the Sami language, but do not use it. Of all the Ponku family members indicated in the circle, about 140 are ethnically mixed while more than 200 are Sami in origin. The Sami people are traditionally connected with reindeer-herding. This might support the argument expressed above to the effect that reindeer-herding helps to maintain the use of the Sami language. Let us examine these two statements.

The Ponku family is originally a genuine reindeer Sami family. More than 200 adults among the 429 persons included in the circle are still alive; but only 60 persons work with reindeer-herding to any extent. The majority of these 60 reindeer-herders use only Finnish, even in reindeer-herding. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that Finnish is the official language and must be used in the administration of reindeer herding. For example, it is not possible to use the Sami language to file reports, but Sami can be used

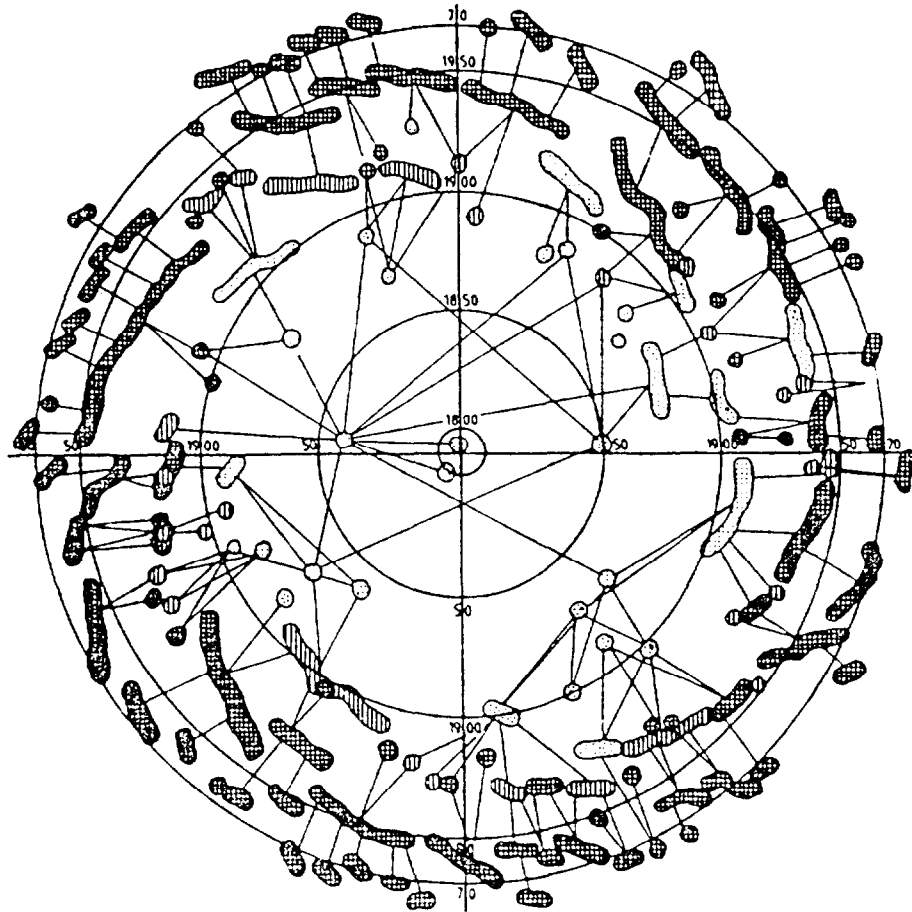


Fig. 8. Language shift in the Ponku family of Vuotso between 1800 and 1982.
 Source: M. Aikio and P. Aikio. 1985. Article in *Marburger Geographische Schriften*
 (ed. A. Pletsch), Vol. 96, p. 127, Fig. 2.

only in herding activities in the forest and the fields. In other words, the majority of all descendants of the richest Sami reindeer-herding family in Vuotso are no longer reindeer-herders nor users of the Sami language. Yet all of them, including their children (in all 370 persons), are nevertheless Sami. Their ethnic origin has not changed. Ethnicity and culture maintenance, as Fisherman (1971, p. 58) says, appear to be much more stable phenomena than language maintenance. Linguistic competence, although it too may undergo changes in both directions, persists longer than language use. The shift from the use of their ethnic language (Sami) to bilingualism, (Sami/Finnish) and thence to unilingualism (Finnish), must be looked upon as a process. Linguistic competence, language use and identification can

always alter (Fisherman 1972. Also Skutnabb-Kangas, T., 1981; Aikio, M., 1984; and Aikio M. and Aikio P., 1985). Ethnic origin is perhaps the only circumstance that cannot change.

Present Linguistic Situation of the Sami

When studying a rather limited population, consisting of some hundreds of individuals, an analysis of the status and use of the Sami language from a historical perspective yields a rather gloomy picture. Yet we may ask to what extent we can generalize about this situation.

In our opinion, the clear-cut examples from Vuotso may be regarded as an undesirable precedent, an example of what can happen elsewhere in Finnish Lapland and the Nordic countries if no swift and radical changes are made in current policy on minority languages. The present position of the Sami- language is similar to that of a population that knows how to swim but has no place in which to swim. The question is 'who is going to provide opportunities for the Sami to speak their own language?' The 'who' in this case must be the majority who can ensure the Sami minority the opportunity to use their language on an equal footing with the language of the majority. We pointed out at the outset that the opportunities for speaking Sami are severely restricted and are dwindling constantly - this is particularly the case in Finland -in contrast to what the representatives of the majority and various decision-making bodies would seem to imagine in all good faith (Aikio, M., 1984, pp. 284-90).

Sociologists have remarked that a language that is almost entirely without a written culture is unprotected in the modern world. O.H. Magga, a Sami, has stressed that the Sami do not have a tradition of reading books. This need has been poorly attended to. For example, in our research area where the Sami are losing their own language completely at this very moment, and where, over a long period of time, numerous researchers have studied the exotic Sami language, no Sami reading or writing courses have been organized for the ordinary adult population yet. Yet the people have a basic and fundamental right to their own language.

The orthography of the Sami language has been to a large extent the creation of the academic elite who have been mainly outsiders and representatives of the dominant culture. For the ordinary Sami, the complicated way of writing the Sami language has engendered additional fear and respect.

When minorities are researched, and decisions made on ethnic identity and origin, we are dealing with an ethnic minority. When we study the use of a minority language, 'speaking the language', then we have a linguistic minority. 'Speaking the language' is however a relative concept when use of the language is 'officially' prevented. We have here an example of an ethnic minority with its own language, hence it is also a linguistic minority. Official statistics on the members of the minority are compiled on the basis of the

language spoken, as is the case with the Sami in Finland. The result of such statistics is that the minority language gets into a strange vicious circle. The majority has never created nor permitted adequate conditions to ensure the existence of a minority. The members of the minority have to use the language of the majority increasingly. The minority does not have sufficient opportunity to use its own language. Favourable conditions are not created when the language is not used sufficiently. Since opportunities to use the minority language do not exist, the language cannot be used even to the meagre extent that it was previously. Since the language is not used, it is not learnt, and, because it is not well known, there is no point in creating the conditions for its use. In this way, the use of the minority language dwindles steadily, and decision-making bodies cite this fact to back their claim that nothing can be done (Aikio, M., 1986).

If the decision-makers want to do something to maintain the Sami language, their policy should be revised completely. Present measures might have been adequate some twenty or thirty years ago: now they are hopelessly out of date. Both the majority and the minority have partly false images of the present situation: the majority does not know, and the minority does not want to believe, that present measures will inevitably lead to the disappearance of the Sami language (Aikio, M., 1984, p. 240).

Sami Language and Ethnicity: Future Outlook

In the past, minorities of whatever kind have always felt the pressure of assimilation from the majority. The process of absorption into the larger group was often slow, taking many hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of years. However, since World War II, accelerated scientific and technological developments have engulfed ethnic and linguistic minorities and the pace of change appears to be increasing. With the outside pressure building up to the creation of an international world culture, ethnic and linguistic minorities, if they are to survive, need the active support and encouragement of the majority. Without such backing, they face extinction.

The Sami of Northern Scandinavia are faced with this prospect, unless all countries that have Sami residents actively and collectively pursue such policies as will foster and stimulate the environmental milieu so that the Sami may retain and develop their own language and ethnicity. When the majority expresses heart-felt interest in the Sami, this in turn will encourage a healthy self-respect in the Sami for their own heritage. At whatever point in time the Sami and the majority unite in their love for the Sami as individuals, and as a people and as representatives of a viable and living tradition, then the majority will be surprised at the cultural depth and wealth that the Sami have to offer. However, researchers have shown, for example in Ireland and Scotland, that it takes generations for ordinary people belonging to a linguistic minority to resist and fight against the

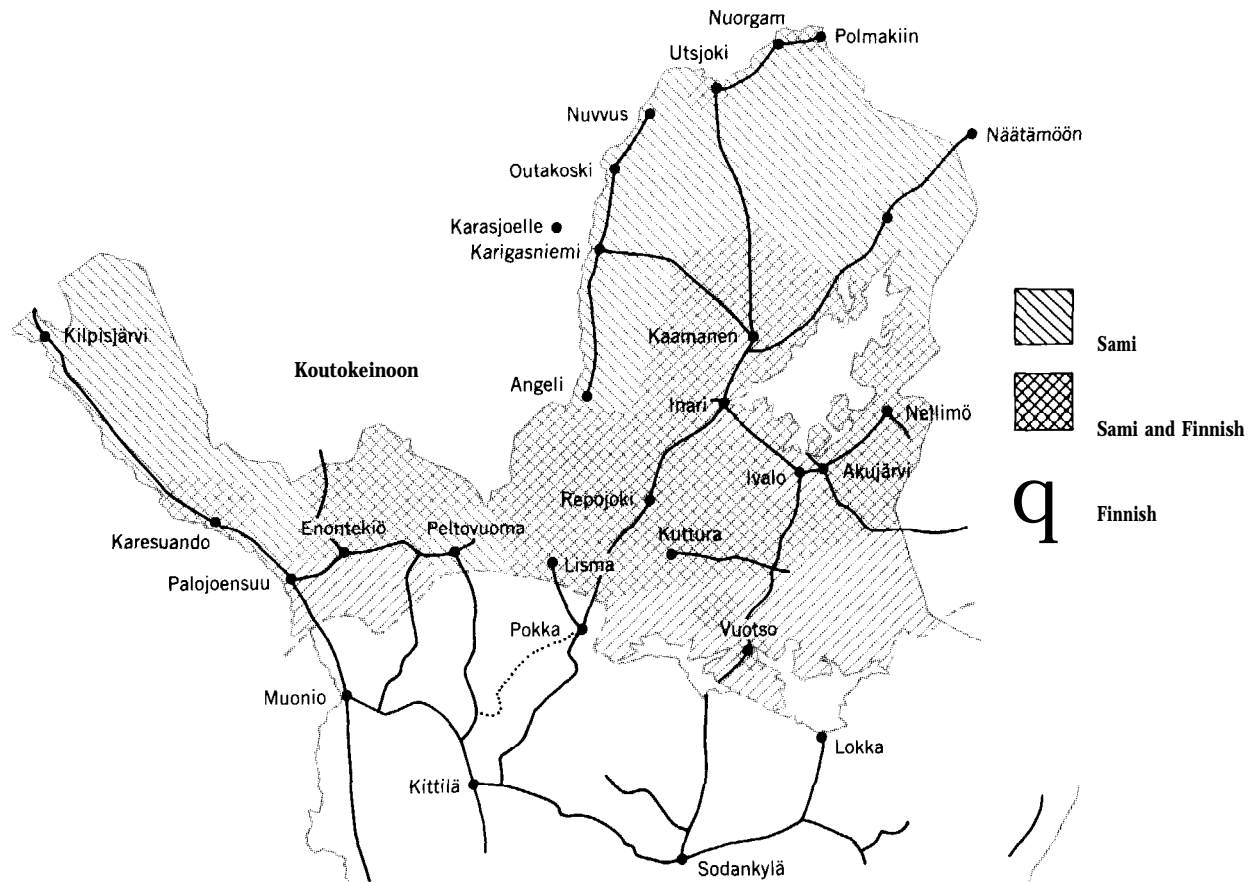
pressure of linguistic assimilation from the majority (Dorian, 1981). That is why it is unrealistic to expect such resistance from the Sami themselves. The majority have the greatest responsibility to stop this assimilation.

However, the track record of all the Nordic countries to date has not been encouraging. In terms of the Finnish experience, the Finnish Government, at all levels, has attempted actively to assimilate the Sami people through various measures. As mentioned above, the number of Sami speakers has been dwindling constantly due to pressure exerted by linguistic, economic, governmental, educational, mass media and legal forces. If this trend is not stopped and indeed reversed, the year 2000 may well find a mere handful of people living in Finland with a reasonably fluent command of the Sami language and who will be 'legally' accepted as Sami according to the official Finnish criteria. The death of a language leads to the decline of culture and ethnicity. It would be a sad loss for Finland and for the world should the Sami be no more. It is our duty to see that this does not happen.

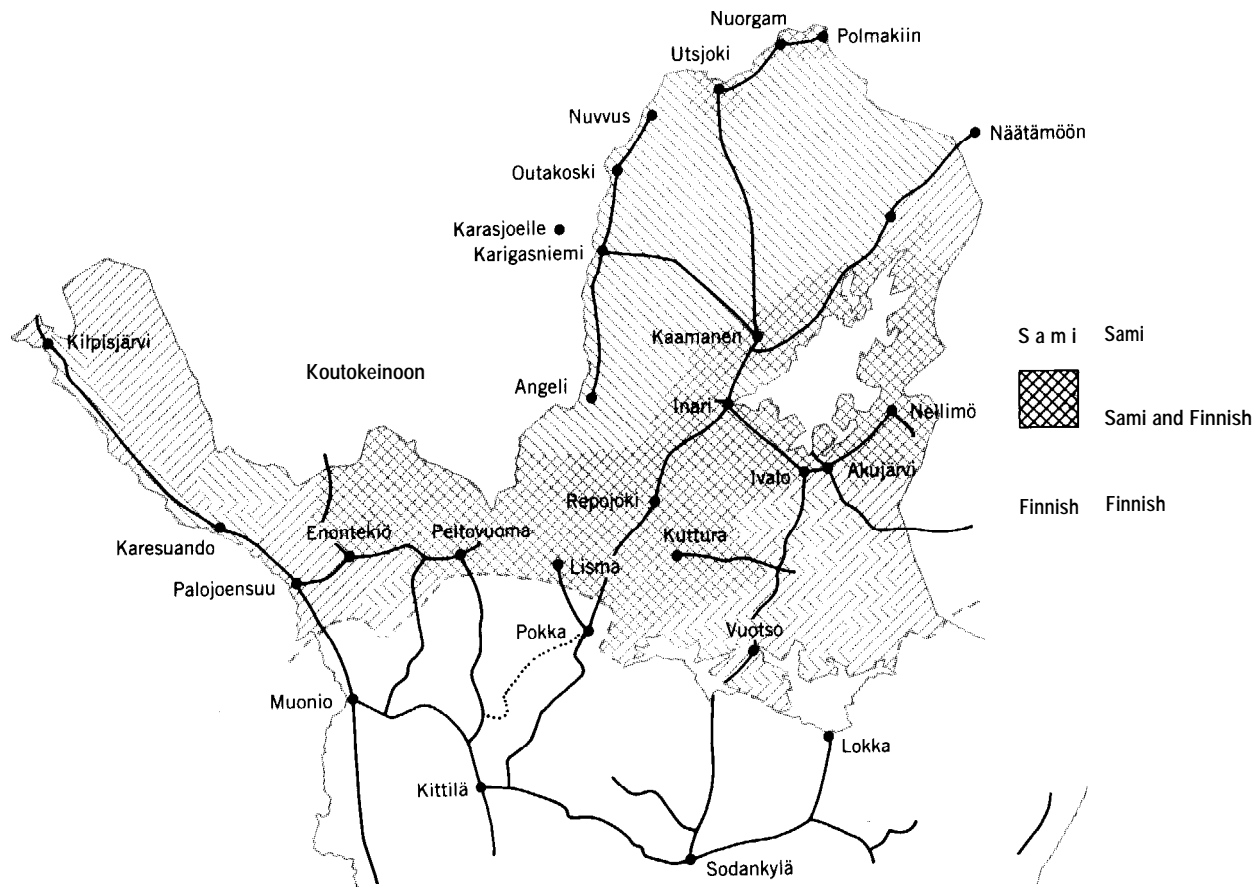
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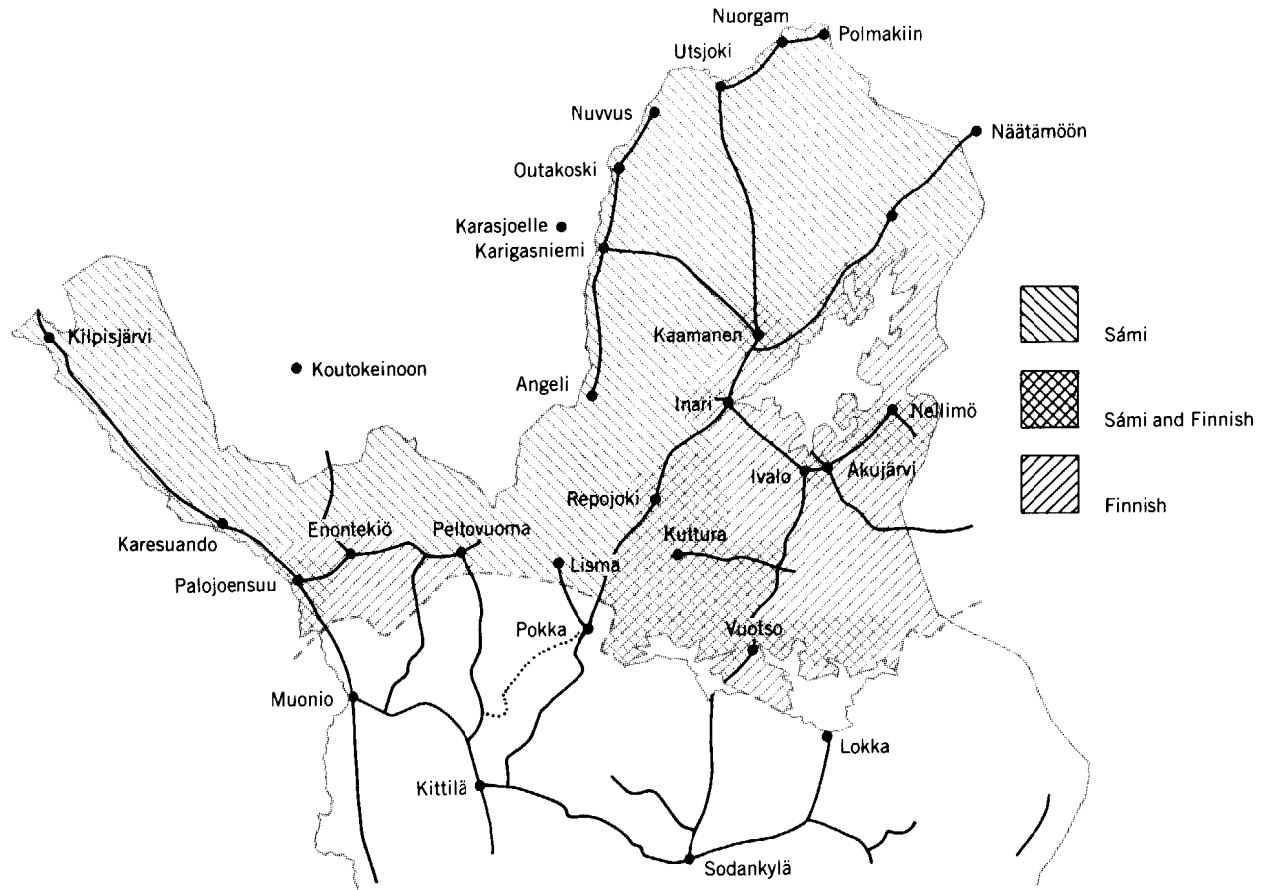
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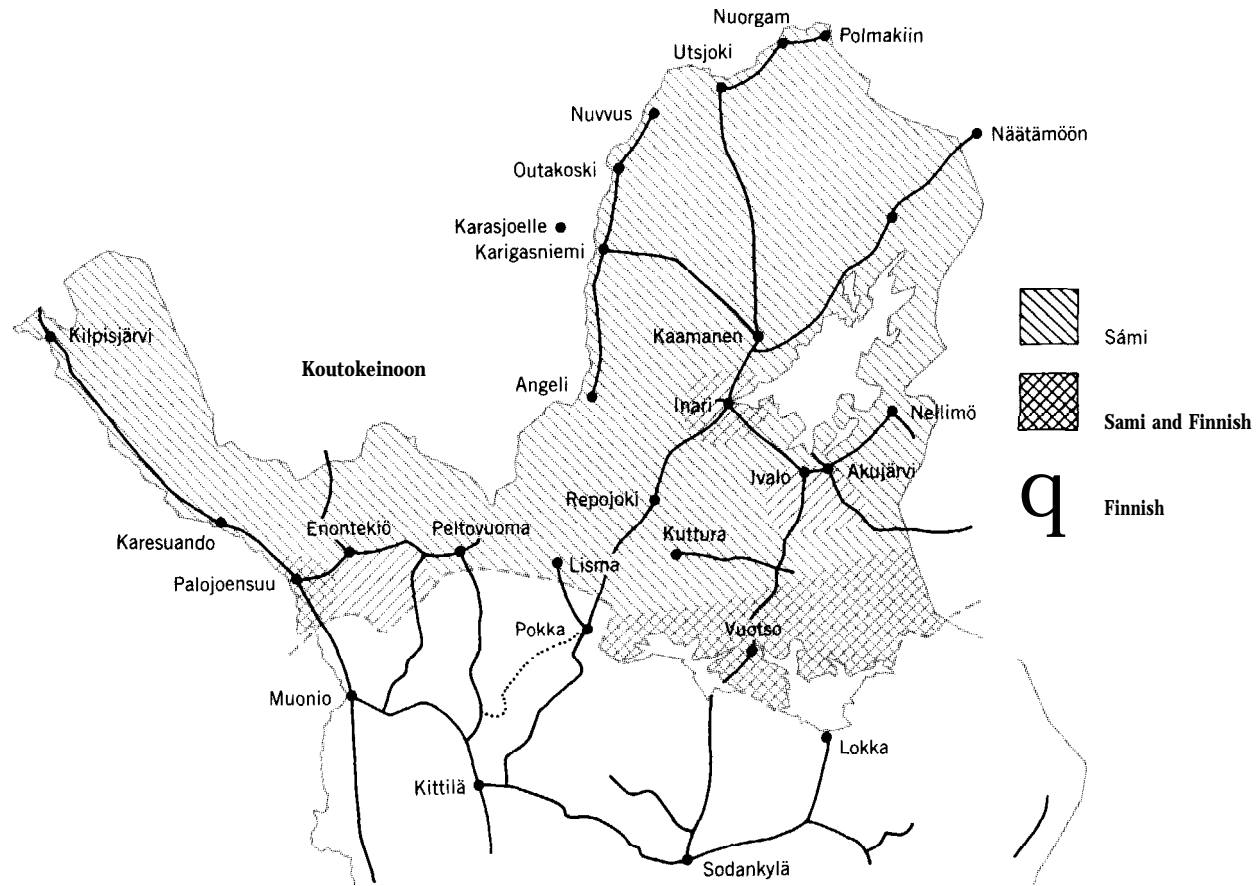
MAP 13. Language used in Sami homes in the Sami home region. *Source:* based on M. Aikio. *Kieliraportti Saamelaiskomitean mietinto 1973:46. Litte: Tutkimusraportti.* Helsinki. Maps 13-16 appear on pp. 103-6.



MAP 14. Language spoken by Sami under 30 years among themselves. **Source:** See Map 13.



MAP 15. Language spoken by Sámi aged 30-60 years among themselves. *Source:* See Map 13.



MAP 16. Language spoken by Sami over 60 years among themselves. Source: See Map 13.

Situation of the Sami Language in Sweden

Elina Helander

Number and Distribution of the Sami in Sweden

The Sami are an indigenous population in Sweden, being an ethnic minority within the Swedish population. The approximate number of the Sami population in Sweden is estimated at about 15,000-17,000. It is, however, difficult to provide exact figures as no official census of the Sami population has been made. The number of the Sami is largely dependent on the criteria by which their identity is measured. Reindeer husbandry is of great importance in defining the identity of the Sami people in Sweden. The idea that the Sami culture is homogeneous and tied to reindeer nomadism is misleading. In the past, and even in recent literature, emphasis was placed on the reindeer-herding Sami in particular. The legal rights of the Sami are connected to occupational reindeer-herding. Few Sami own reindeer or live as nomads.

The majority of the Sami (approximately 13,000 (SOU 1975: 100,239)) have occupations in sectors other than reindeer-herding. The non-reindeer-herding population is distributed in all parts of Sweden. In Norrbotten County there are 6098 Sami, in Vasterbotten County 2137 and in Jamtland County 930. In Stockholm County alone there are about 1100. Over 100 Swedish Sami live in other countries such as Norway, England, Canada and the USA.

The traditional Sami area in Sweden extends from the northernmost part of Sweden to the southern part of Idre in Dalarna. The reindeer-herding population comprises approximately 2,700 persons (SOU 1975: 100, 13). They live in their villages and are economically organized there. More than

2000 reindeer-herding Sami live in Norrbotten County, about 300 in Vasterbotten County and 400 in Jamtland County.

The Sami Dialects in Sweden

The Sami dialects spoken in Sweden are : North Sami, Lule/Pite Sami (Central Sami dialects) and South Sami. The border between the Northern and Lule Sami dialects is situated between Kiruna and Gallivare. North Sami is spoken north of the Kaitum River, while south of it, in the area of Jokkmokk and in Gallivare, Lule Sami is spoken. Reindeer herders living further south also speak North Sami in various southern Sami communities. On the whole, shifts occur in dialect borders for migrational reasons. Pite Sami is spoken mainly in the northernmost parts of Arjeplog and in Northern Arvidsjaur. The South Sami dialects include Ume Sami, Asele Sami and Jamt Sami. Ume Sami is spoken in southern Arvidsjaur and Arjeplog in Norrbotten County as well as in Mali, Sorsele and northern Tarna in Vasterbotten County. Asele Sami is used in Vilhelmina and southern Tarna in Vasterbotten County, as well as in Frostviken in Jamtland County. Jamt Sami is spoken in Kall, Offerdal, Hotagen and Skalstugan in Jamtland, as well as in Undersaker, Mittadalen and Tannas in Harjedalen. The total number of Sami who can speak the Sami language is estimated at 9,000-10,000.

Language Proficiency of the Sami

The State Commission on Sami (SOU 1975: 100) stated that their language proficiency in terms of understanding and speaking their mother tongue is excellent. About 95 per cent of the reindeer-herding population understand Sami. Eighty per cent of the reindeer herders and 60 per cent of the non-reindeer herders speak Sami. The Commission also showed that about 5 per cent of the reindeer-herding Sami can read Sami while about 20 per cent can write it. Corresponding figures for the non-reindeer-herding group are 35 per cent and 15 per cent respectively. Both groups, however, have insufficient skill in reading and writing the language (SOU 1975: 100,324 ff.). Sami women, generally, have better language proficiency than men.

This investigation was undertaken over ten years ago. It concerned Sami born during the period 1900-55. It is possible that if this research were done today, Sami proficiency in language skills would be found to be better, especially among the younger informants. On the other hand, in the Sami Commission's investigation, language proficiency was classified as basic to good.

Proficiency in the Sami language is best among the North Sami population. Those who live in the mountain area have a better knowledge of the language than those who are living on the coast or the inland lowlands. It was also shown that language proficiency in children is dependent upon the language proficiency of their parents. If the parents have a poor knowledge of the language, their children usually cannot speak Sami at all. At present, about 50 per cent of the children of reindeer-herding parents can speak Sami. The corresponding figure for children of non-reindeer-herding parents is 10 per cent. The interviewed non-reindeer herding South Sami stated that none of their children can speak Sami.

Sami Language Use

With regard to the language ability of the Sami, one could say that many of them are fairly skilled both in speaking and understanding their ethnic language. In Sweden, they show great interest in learning it. As already mentioned, reindeer herders have a better command of the language than others. About half of both groups attend Sami language courses. Parents whose children do not speak Sami are especially interested in Sami language training for their children. On the other hand, we do not know exactly how well or how poorly the Sami speak their own language. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that proficiency in Sami does not always indicate that it is used in oral communication. In this connection, some groups of factors that have a bearing on Sami language may be mentioned: lack of sufficient knowledge of the language and its usage, situation-related and attitude-related factors, the lack of opportunities to use Sami as the means of daily communication and, finally, lack of status.

Sami language proficiency has already been discussed above. It appears that one condition for the use of the Sami language in everyday life is that a speaker should possess proper proficiency in the language, including knowledge of its use in society. This kind of knowledge is acquired through frequent communication in various kinds of discourse situations. A person should also be able to put his language skills to use, and increase them if necessary. A Sami speaker may become insecure if he/she is unable to use the language frequently,

Persons who have low status, weak identity or poor knowledge of the Sami language are inclined to be more open to situation- and attitude-related factors in communication. Groups that lack possibilities of using the language are mainly categorized as non-reindeer-herding Sami (especially those living in towns) and South Sami. Status is a factor which affects the use of the Sami language. It can be a question of official status (see below) or personal status.

We have researched multilingualism among the Sami in Ovre Soppero (see Helander, 1982 and 1984). The aim of our research was to describe language choice among trilingual Sami in Ovre Soppero, in Northern Sweden, as well as to relate their language choice to social and cultural factors so as to establish whether or not systematic connections exist. In 1978 the population of the village of Ovre Soppero numbered 249. Over 100 adult persons were interviewed. The other method used was observation. The Sami spoken in Ovre Soppero is a Northern dialect and belongs to the Central language area. The factors systematically studied were, for instance, the sender and receiver (persons who are in communication with one another); sender properties such as age, profession, education and geographic mobility; scene, activity and place. The language choice was also related to the sender's attitudes to certain questions. Even the ethnic identity of the informants was studied.

The factor that most distinguishes the informant categories from one another is that the youngest group (20-37 years) and the professional category 'others' (three professional categories are included: reindeer herders, housewives and others) speak Swedish more often than the rest. These informants have as a rule a relatively high educational level and are socially as well as geographically flexible. The Swedish-oriented informants have been influenced to a great extent by a non-Sami environment (school, for example). This group shows a high degree of linguistic acculturation, presumably due to the fact that they have lived outside their own familiar surroundings. They have not learned about Sami life (language, culture, history, etc.), but have been in close contact with non-Sami and have lived in big cities. Unfamiliar environments can lead to individual anxiety. Thus he or she partly begins using Swedish, the language which has high status as an official language. The youngest informants and the professional category 'others' also use Sami relatively often in some situations (however, the informant category which uses Sami most often is the reindeer-herding group). One reason why both young and highly-educated Sami often use their language relates to ethnic consciousness. They intend to mark their identity positively and want to be typical of the ethnic group. For this purpose, they use the Sami Language. Strong ethnicity not only involves increased use of the mother tongue, but also use of the language for specific purposes: for example, in order to strengthen one's identity or to mark the distinction between different groups. Every person lives with some kind of audience in mind. It is reasonable to assume that some Sami have reindeer herders as their public audience. Through the Reindeer-Herding Act, reindeer herders have been granted a certain legal position different from that of non-reindeer herding Sami. Many of the latter stand in a relationship of dependency to the reindeer-herding population. Certain features bound to traditional culture traits are now treated as central values and are attributed to reindeer herders and their livelihood; they 'represent the heartland of the ideological system and act as identifying values, which are

symbolic of the group and its membership. Rejection of such values carries with it the threat of exclusion from the group' (Smolicz, 1981, p. 75).

The main difference between reindeer herders and the professional category 'others' is that the language choice of the reindeer herders is usually ruled by the interlocuter (a person one is interacting with) and not by the audience (persons who are present) as well as other changes in the situation, surroundings and so forth. Reindeer herders do not use the language as an ethnic marker or to strengthen their identity. Those who are in a recognized position do not need such ethnic markings, but instead may choose the language that is most appropriate to a given situation. Characteristic of the language choice of the reindeer herders is that they speak Sami more often than other Sami occupational groups. Reindeer herders live in an environment that favours the use of the Sami language. That environment implies the existence not only of a certain type of livelihood and a language to accompany it, but also of an area that from time immemorial can be described with the help of Sami place-names and terms. It includes daily interaction with people who speak the same language. Even certain topics and behaviour are associated with such an environment. Those Sami who live outside such conditions are the object of considerable pressure from the majority group.

Sami who are not active reindeer herders are in a more uncertain situation, more or less removed from the reindeer-herding environment. Many live in villages without steady employment, others practise occasional reindeer-herding. Many of the non-reindeer herding Sami move away from the traditional Sami villages to study or work. Others look for alternative combinations or solutions. The reindeer-herding status includes certain legal rights and cultural features associated with reindeer herding and persons working with reindeer within the reindeer-herding area. Such factors are recognized as Sami ethnic criteria in Sweden.

The sex of the informants is of importance concerning language use in Ovre Soppero. One hypothesis suggests that women generally have a better language proficiency than men. This is also applicable to Sami in Sweden (see section on language proficiency above). Even if women have better language facility than the latter, they still use the Sami language to a lesser extent than the latter. According to our research material from Ovre Soppero in Sweden, young Sami women use Swedish more often than young Sami men. Even elder women use Swedish more frequently than the actual situation demands. Generally speaking, women have lower status than men in some northern Sami villages. The men join reindeer-herding more actively and are members of various organizations with decision-making rights. The Reindeer-Herding Act of 1971 is in many cases interpreted to men's advantage. This weakens the Sami identity of women and creates uncertainty about the future of women and their children. In order to enhance their identity, they use Swedish more often than necessary. Women are of the opinion that the Swedish language is a prerequisite for a better

future. Many women use Swedish, parallel with Sami, in interaction with their children. They have also begun to grow accustomed to life in Swedish society: an orientation which manifests itself, for example, through the use of Swedish (see Helander, 1985).

In Sweden there are about 2,500 South Sami. The number of persons who speak some South Sami may be estimated at 300-700, most of whom are older people. The South Sami are spread throughout large geographic areas. Many of those proficient in South Sami speech have no possibility of using the language on a daily basis. If there are no opportunities of speaking the Sami language in certain communities or villages, it becomes extremely difficult to learn the language, achieve communicative assurance in it and maintain it as a living means of daily communication. Although few South Sami can speak their own language, their sense of identity is strong and their interest in language and culture great (see next section). It is certain that under more favourable conditions, the number of Sami able to speak and use the ethnic language would increase.

Sami Identity and Language

In Sweden there is no official definition of the conception denoted by the word 'Sami'. Prof. Israel Ruong (1903-86) emphasized cultural features. He equated central elements of Sami culture with Sami identity. He considered such core elements as Sami language, environment, reindeer-herding, tents, yoik (Sami music), handicrafts and so forth.

Even if certain cultural features can be an important criterion for ethnic identity of the Sami, these attributes are scarcely relevant for everyone nowadays. In modern times, if Sami identity is measured, it is reasonable to analyze all components out of clusters of descent, self-identification, cultural traits and organizations. In this connection, one has to analyze the way in which these components are manifest. The Sami orientation of an individual is measured in this way (see Helander, 1984, p. 28 ff).

The interpretation of the non-Sami population has been of some consequence in Sweden. The ownership of reindeer is an important criterion for the Sami. Extensive government legislation has been passed concerning reindeer-herding and pasturing added to the fact that reindeer-husbandry has assumed a strong position as a widely recognized Sami criterion. In this way, an external identity criterion has become an internal criterion, i.e. the conception that the Sami have of themselves. The fact that external recognition is of such importance for group identity formation may be due to the fact that a group's organizations and institutions may not be sufficiently developed to ensure that identity. The collective identity of the group can best be formulated from within the group itself. During the Seventh Nordic Sami Conference in Gällivare in 1971, the Sami came to an agree-

ment about the Sami political programme. However, it was not until the Sami Conference in Tromsø in 1980 that the Sami people specifically defined their own ethnicity. Thus Sami identity became crystallized and acquired some concrete elements. The definition emphasizes the significance of the language, the descent and identification of an individual and the group, as well as a certain adjustment of an individual to the group (*Samepolitihkallas programma*, 1984, p. 4).

We investigated the ethnicity of the Sami in the village of Ovre Soppero in Sweden and found that they regard themselves as Sami in a natural way. This is probably due to the fact that they live in the centre of recognized traditional cultural elements. Ovre Soppero is in fact in the Sami core area. There is a pronounced concentration of Sami there with strong social ties and consequently frequent communication. In addition, they have opportunities to work in traditional industries and to use the Sami language in daily interaction. These investigations showed that ethnic awareness favours more frequent use of the Sami language. Recently the Sami in Sweden have become more aware of the value of using their language in as many situations as possible. For example, interpreters are frequently used at meetings in order to enable speakers to make use of the Sami language in a context where some of those present do not understand the idiom.

Language is of very special importance for a person's ethnicity. The State Sami Commission of 1975 (SOU 1975:100,350) showed that there is a connection between the language ability of the Sami and their cultural awareness. Sami who have a good knowledge of their language use it actively, and probably have greater understanding of their minority situation and of the measures taken for its improvement (cf. Keskitalo, 1981, p. 160). In some cases, adverse pressure on a language can stimulate interest among the speakers to maintain it. It is possible that when the status of a language as a means of communication decreases, its symbolic value increases. The language functions no longer as a mere symbol but develops a value of its own which means in practice that people start to take an active interest in learning it. We feel that this is the case with the South Sami language. It is no longer a mere symbol. The chances for the South Sami language to become a living means of oral communication for everyday use, however, are limited.

Proficiency and ignorance can both stimulate an interest in a language. It would seem, however, that the former is more effective in maintaining the language and other cultural traits. Minority groups who have lost their language may well tend to lose the will and ability to maintain their culture in broad, concrete terms (see also Helander 1982b, pp. 127 ff.)

Education, Documentation and Research

Sami Schools and Kindergartens

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Sami lived primarily by hunting, fishing, trading and transport. Reindeer-herding on a large scale began to develop at the end of the century. During this period and even later, the Sami had no real need of schools. Knowledge and skill were acquired within the family and group. The shaman helped to maintain the ideological and religious traditions.

The Swedish State, however, planned to assimilate the Sami into Swedish society and to Christianize them, whence the necessity to educate priests, teachers and officials who could speak Sami. Already Gustav Vasa planned to educate the Sami. The first Sami school system dates from 1617 when a Sami (Lapp) school was established in Pitea. Later in 1632 the *Skytteanska skolan* (Skytteanska School) started in Lycksele and replaced the first Sami school in Pitea. Sami education was arranged so that the pupils could later continue their studies at the Harnosand High School or at the University of Uppsala. The educational goal of the Sami schools until the twentieth century was to spread religion and provide training in reading. Education was given in Sami, Finnish or Swedish or in a combination of these, depending on circumstances.

At the start of the twentieth century, there were five different types of Sami schools in Sweden, and the medium of instruction there varied likewise. Many Sami children of the mountain Sami did not attend school at all or only to a very limited degree. The school year was very short. After the 1913 School Reform, the Swedish language was given priority as the medium of instruction. Reorganization and improvement of Swedish schools started after World War II. The Sami demanded a school system similar to the one governing other Swedish schools. This led to the 1957 Nomad School Commission which presented its report in 1960. Before 1962 the reindeer-herding Sami had to send their children to Nomad Schools. Children of non-reindeer-herding Sami could attend the Nomad School but were not automatically entitled to do so. With the reform of 1962, the Nomad School was opened to all Sami children. Parents could choose between the Sami School and the conventional school. This reform placed the Nomad School on a similar level to the 9-year Swedish comprehensive school. Later, the name 'Nomad School' was replaced by 'Sami School'. Since 1980-1, there is a special Sami School Board with its office in Jokkmokk. There are seven Sami schools today, namely in Karesuando, Kiruna, Lannavaara, Gallivare, Jokkmokk, Tarnaby and Ange. Integrated higher levels of the comprehensive school (grades 1-9, junior level) are located in Arjeplog and Gallivare.

According to the Sami School Law (*Sameskolforordning SFS 1967:216*, revised 1980:437; 1982:747, 1036; 1983:615) Sami children are entitled to

attend Sami school instead of the conventional school. Only 5 per cent of the 2500 Sami children of school age attend Sami school. For specific reasons, non-Sami children can also attend Sami schools. This is the case today in Lannavaara. Education in Sami schools must have Sami goals and orientation, but otherwise resemble the one provided in comprehensive schools. Instruction is given through the medium of both Swedish and Sami. There is instruction in Sami in every grade according to the pupils' needs and interests. For example, in grade 1, pupils may receive 2-6 hours of instruction through the medium of Sami, if Swedish is not their first language.

In conventional schools, Sami children can receive instruction in the Sami language in compliance with the school law. In such schools, instruction may be provided in the home language for those pupils whose home language is a minority language (see below).

Sami nursery and kindergarten activities are now organized in Kiruna, Gällivare, Jokkmokk and Arjeplog. The Sami kindergarten in Kiruna is a three-year project. The Sami language is integrated in both Kiruna and Arjeplog in all kindergarten activities. The children even receive instruction in Sami culture. The aim is to strengthen the feeling of the children's identity and so make them aware of their dual culture. Sami children in Arjeplog can receive home-language-training if they attend a communal kindergarten. In Jokkmokk they may receive home-language-training in Sami and instruction in Sami culture. Since 1986 activities are run as part of a three-year project. Priority is given to Sami culture and language. Both Sami and Swedish are used, however, because not all Sami children speak Sami. The Sami School Board in Jokkmokk employs a Sami-speaking consultant in order to develop the Sami kindergartens. This too is an experimental three-year project.

The rights of minority children to receive home-language support at kindergarten is not directly regulated by law. The relevant regulations are found in the Social Service Law (*Socialtjänstlagen, SFS, 1981:620*).

Sami Community College (Samernas Folkogskola)

At the beginning of the 1940s, a Sami Community College was established in Sorsele. It is now located in Jokkmokk. Until 1968, all the pupils were Sami.

The College was established by the Swedish Mission Society which was founded for the Sami in the middle of nineteenth century. It is administered by a Sami principal, and many of the staff are Sami. Most of the members of the school board are Sami. Thus the Sami may influence the decision-making processes at the school. The College provides a wide variety of courses. In addition to year-long courses, shorter courses are offered in the Sami language on reindeer-herding and so forth.

Department of Sami Language and Culture, Umea University

The report of the Sami Commission from the 1970s also proposed the establishment of an institution for research and education in Sami at the University of Umei. Thus the Sami Department at Umea University was created in 1975. At the same time as officials at the University started to make plans for the Sami professorship, faculties were planned for the Humanities. Departments for other sciences were set up. The Government Bill of 1976-7:80,137 states that the establishment of the Sami Department at Umea University lays firm ground for continued support for Sami language and culture.

The Sami Department at Umea has a professorship and a lectureship, and provides both fundamental and higher education leading to the doctor's degree. Courses are given in North, South and Lule Sami for beginners and for students whose mother tongue is Sami.

Courses in Sami are also given at Uppsala University and at Lulea Teacher Training College.

Ajtte - Swedish Mountain - and Sami Museum

In 1983, 'Ajtte' - the Swedish Mountain - and Sami Museum was established in Jokkmokk. The aim of Ajtte is to carry on museum activities in Sweden in support of Sami culture, to do research and to document, illustrate and inform people about the development of Sami culture and traditions. A Sami department in Ajtte is also attached to the museum as an independent organization. Goals and finances are discussed and decided upon by the board on which the main Sami organizations have representatives.

Ajtte shows every promise of developing into an institution that actively supports Sami language and culture.

Nordic Sami Institute

The Nordic Sami Institute was established at the end of 1973 at Kautokeino in Norway. It was set up to provide a basis for Sami research in line with Sami thinking and needs and to enable the Sami to develop their own expertise in various disciplines.

The goals of the Nordic Sami Institute, laid down in the Statutes and approved by the Nordic Council of Ministers in 1973, are to serve the Sami population in the Nordic countries with a view to improving their social, cultural, judicial and economic position.

The Institute uses three or four languages on a daily basis: Sami, Norwegian, Finnish and Swedish, and its activities are organized in three

sections: (1) Language and Culture; (2) Education and Information; (3) Economic, Environment and Legal Rights. The activities of the Language and Culture Section, for example, consist of research on Sami syntax and terminology. A project on Sami terminology is under way at present in the Lule Sami language area of Jokkmokk.

In addition, programmes are being planned and implemented throughout the whole area of Sami settlements in the Nordic countries. The Institute organizes language congresses with the aim of providing information about the Sami language. Language courses are organized too. The Language and Culture Section acts as the Secretariat of the Sami Language Committee.

The Nordic Sami Institute has stated that the scope of its work should be expanded and the present employment structure changed if it is to achieve its goals and attract more researchers. One solution may be to create posts at higher subject levels (professorships and senior lectureships) and so-called recruiting posts (assistants) as in the universities. In 1986 the Nordic Sami Institute was granted a professorship in the Sami language. It also has a research fellowship. In the Education and Information Section, the Institute has also published textbooks for Sami language instruction in elementary schools.

The Sami Language in Cultural Life and the Mass Media

Literature

The first Sami book - an ABC primer - was published by Nicolaus Andreae in 1619, together with a liturgy and hymn-book. In 1648 Johannes Torndius published a church handbook: *Manuale Laponicum*. The language of this publication was mainly Teme Sami and Lule/Pite Sami, and is reminiscent of the Northern Sami variants of today. The first edition of the New Testament was printed in 1755 in the South Sami language. The translator, Per Fjellstrom, also published the first grammar and dictionary in South Sami. In this way Per Fjellstrom created the South Sami literary language. In 1780 the priests E. Lindahl and J. Ohrling published *Lexicon Lapponicum*, a South Sami dictionary with Latin and Swedish glosses and a short grammar. The first bible in Sami was published in 1811; it too was in South Sami.

Lars Levi Laestadius was the first to publish books in Lule Sami. In 1839 he published a 21-page collection of his own religious thoughts. Several publications came out later in this written language. It was, however, K.B. Wiklund who created the regular Lule Sami literary language. In 1903 the New Testament appeared.

The linguistic pioneers in the field of North Sami include: Rasmus Rask, Knut Leem, Nils Vibe Stockfleth, Jens Andreas Friis, Konrad Nielsen and Asbjorn Nesheim. The linguistic pioneers of the Sami language in Sweden are K.B. Wiklund (Lule Sami), Bjorn Collinder (Uralic and Sami languages), Harald Grundstrom (Lule Sami), Gustav Hasselbrink (South Sami) and Israel Ruong (Pite and North Sami). It was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that the Sami themselves became known as writers. The literary pioneer in Sweden was Johan Turi who published in 1910 *Muittalus Samid Birra* (Studies of the Sami people) with the help of Emilie Demant Hatt, a Dane, who translated it into Danish. Later translations appeared in Swedish, German and English. *Muittalus Samid Birra* is filled with rich cultural knowledge about the livelihood, popular beliefs and folk medicine of the Sami. In 1938 *Same Situ* (A Sami Village) was written by Nils Nilsson Skum in Sami with an accompanying Swedish text. In 1974 a collection of poems *Giela giela* (Grasp a language) by Paulus Utsi appeared. Six years later was published *Gielagielain* (Grasp the language). Turi, Skum and Utsi wrote in North Sami. The poems of Utsi are widely read and appreciated even outside Sami reading circles. In *Giela Giela* (1974, p. 12) he writes 'Among us Sami, there are few writers and poets. Isn't this unfortunate? Yes, we think that we should be able to write well in our own language, in order to write at all. Isn't this so? I admit that I have no knowledge whatsoever of the written language. This stems from the years when I was growing up, and is not my fault, because at that time our mother tongue was despised.. . The written language gives security like a place of refuge when one is being chased.'

Perhaps the most important of all books written in Lule Sami is Anta Pirak's *Jahttee Saamee Viessoom* (The Life of a Sami Nomad) which was published in 1937. *Jahttee Saamee Viessoom* was published in collaboration with a priest from Jokkmokk, Harald Grundstrom. The book also comprised a dictionary and a Swedish translation. There are no classics written in South Sami by the South Sami themselves. However, even though it was published in Swedish, a major work is Kristoffer Sjulssons' *Minnen* (Memories of Kristoffer Sjulsson, 1979) which describes South Sami life in Vapsten in the nineteenth century. The work contains South Sami words that describe things, persons, nature and beliefs.

The Sami have written few literary works. This is due to several factors. The total number of Sami is small and therefore one cannot compare the number of Sami books with the number of Swedish books published in Sweden. The Sami language has not been effectively taught in schools. Many Sami are still unable to read or write in the Sami language. The Sami oral tradition and *yoik* (music) are a part of literature. The Sami have maintained their traditions mainly through oral communication. Some of the old Sami stories have been collected and documented. A special kind of literature is the Sami song, the yoik. Yoiking exists with and without words. It is a way to remember other persons (Turi 1965, p. 104) and describe

people, animals, nature and events. Paulus Utsi writes that *yoik* is the place of refuge for thoughts and raises the mind of man (1974, pp. 64ff.). The oldest Sami poems (*yoiks*) are in written form, published in Johannes Schefferus' work *Laponia* in 1673. These two love-poems have been translated into several languages and have inspired many famous poets including Goethe and Longfellow. Some of the more celebrated yoikers in Sweden today are L. Heikka, L. Pirak and L. Rensund.

Producing textbooks and teaching aids are an important part of Sami language activities. In 1972-3, the Sami Community College in Jokkmokk initiated a project to produce Sami books for schools. The Swedish National Board of Education has financed the project until now; in the ten years from 1972 to 1982, about 40 books were produced. The project to produce Sami books for instructional purposes is now sponsored by the Sami School Board (*Sameskolstyrelsen*) in Jokkmokk together with the Swedish National Board of Education (*Skolöverstyrelsen*) and the National Institute for the Development of Educational Learning and Teaching Materials (*Statens Institut för Läromedelsinformation*).

Sami Theatre

In 1971 a Sami theatre named *Dalvadis* was opened in Jokkmokk. *Dalvadis* is now working in the Karesuando area. In addition to shorter plays, this group has put on about ten theatre performances. *Dalvadis* uses the Sami language whenever possible. Today (1986) only one Sami-speaking individual is with *Dalvadis*. The latest plays have been both in Sami and Swedish. Sometimes *Dalvadis* uses recordings as a component in their plays, thereby bringing the Sami language into use. The work of *Dalvadis* is financed by the State. Other financial aid is provided by Norrbotten County. The theatre group cooperates with Norrbotten Theatre in Luleå. In recent years a new theatre group has appeared in Sweden, namely the *Aarjel Saemien Teatere* (South Sami Theatre).

Radio and Television

During the 1950s Swedish Radio programmes for the Sami population began by concentrating in particular on the reindeer-herding group. Cultural programmes, news and so forth followed soon afterwards. In 1966 continuous broadcasting with fixed schedules was approved. A Sami was then employed on a full-time basis as a reporter and manager for Sami broadcasting. Various kinds of programmes are produced and broadcast simultaneously in Norway, Finland and Sweden. These carry news in North Sami (50 minutes a week) and *Miehta Sami*, a programme with varying topics (30 minutes a week). In addition, a Sami programme in Swedish (30

minutes a week) is transmitted from Kiruna, as are programmes in Northern Sami, Lule Sami and South Sami (30 minutes a week). Radio Norrbotten broadcasts Sami programmes with music, reports and news in North Sami (40 minutes a week). Radio Jamtland broadcasts a programme in both South Sami and Swedish (25 minutes a week). Radio Vasterbotten is planning to begin South Sami broadcasts (30 minutes a week). Some of the above-mentioned programmes are also repeated.

The Swedish Television in Lulei has three hours of transmission time per year for Sami programmes. In 1985-6 programming time was 3.6 hours. News reports, documentary films and so on were shown in the Sami language. There are at present three full-time posts for Sami broadcasting on Swedish TV with four Sami employees.

On the Swedish Radio there were, and still are, courses in the Northern Sami language, for both beginners (Dauuin) and more advanced students (Sami). Now Swedish TV has started to broadcast the Sami course (in Sami) which totals seven programmes of 20 minutes each.

Sarnefolket (The Sami People)

In 1958 the Sami in Sweden published their own newspaper: *Samefolkets Egen Tidning*, was founded by Torkel Tomasson. Since 1961 it has been published under the name *Samefolket*. The paper is now owned by a foundation in which the principal Sami organizations, *Svenska Samernas Riksförbund* and *Same Atnam*, are represented. In 1974 its editorial office was moved to Ostersund; its chief editor is a South Sami and the assistant editor a North Sami. The printed language of *Samefolket* is Swedish. Shorter articles, poems and *stories* are written in *Sami*. *Samefolket* deals with various questions and issues of concern to the Sami community: livelihood, education, research, politics and so forth.

Future prospects

Some factors are more important than others concerning the maintenance and development of Sami as a living language for both oral and written communication. Four of these are: (1) status; (2) institutional support; (3) experienced need and interest, and (4) use of the language in daily life.

Matters of a more thorough and structural character concerning the Sami were debated in the *Riksdag* (Swedish Parliament) as late as 1977. The *Riksdag* agreed on the general outlines recommended in Government Bill 1976/77:80 concerning contributions to the Sami. That Bill is based on the report of the Sami Commission from 1975 (SOU 1975:99,100). For instance, it emphasized that the Sami are an indigenous population that appears to be of at least as long standing in Sweden as the majority population. This

clearly gives the Sami a special status in relation to other minorities and to the majority population. When society is extending support to Sami culture, the latter may be considered as having special status. The Bill also stated that it is a question of justice for the Sami to live and thrive as an ethnic group and that this aim should be facilitated.

In 1982 the Head of the Ministry of Justice was authorized by the Swedish Government to set up a commission in order to discuss certain aspects of the situation of the Sami in Sweden. For instance, *Samerattsutredningen* (the Sami Rights Commission) was commissioned to pinpoint how to strengthen the position of the sami language by increasing its use in certain official connections. The first report has now been published and deals with the public international rights of the Sami. The report states: 'Summing up, we maintain that, under international law, Sweden incurs obligations towards the Sami in a variety of ways. Sweden must refrain from interfering with the natural environment in such a way as to jeopardize the natural prerequisites for the survival of reindeer-herding. Furthermore, Sweden must take steps to guarantee the necessary resources for the survival and development of the Sami culture. These are points which will have to be borne in mind both in the framing of legislation and in the administration of justice. They will also require due consideration in government and administration, both centrally and regionally.' (SOU 1986:36,33). The point of view of the Swedish authorities as it appears in this quotation is quite positive. The Swedish Constitution (*Regeringsformen*) of 1974 (1979) states (1. chapters 2 and 4) that the endeavours of ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities to maintain and develop their own cultural and social life shall be supported. Positive attitudes already exist at central level, but measures for improvement still have to be taken at local level (cf. Helander, 1982b, p. 125).

As a condition for its survival, the Sami language requires official status so as to be recognized and afforded legal protection. The Sami's efforts to maintain and develop their language and culture cannot achieve the desired effect if the majority population does not accept them. Accordingly, official status governing several areas of language use means that Sami is employed in official contexts. That status obliges local authorities to take measures for the benefit of the Sami language,

The granting of official status to a minority language leads to positive attitudes among the majority group towards the minority language and its speakers. The official status of the Sami language therefore gives people the courage to speak and use it.

The status of the Sami language is most clearly defined by the Sami School Law (*Sameskoldrordning*, SFS 1967:216, revised 1980:437; 1982: 747,1036; 1983: 615). Section II states that education shall be given in Swedish and Sami. Sami is found at all grade levels as a subject. Even Sami children in conventional schools have the right to home-language training. All children and young people who have a language other than Swedish as

a living element in their home environment have the right to home-language training and education, according to the Swedish Parliament decision. This right belongs even to children from the indigenous, linguistic minority in the country or to those whose family have lived in the country for one or more generations, if the linguistic environment of a child requires it. The communities have a duty to provide home-language training in schools on request. It may be difficult, however, to find teachers of Sami. The legal provisions for home-language support (**hemspraksstöd**) for children in kindergartens are to be found in the Social Service Law (**Socialtjänstlagen**) in Subsection 6, 12-18 and 67-68. This law can be interpreted in favour of minority children. The communities' duty to provide home-language training for children in kindergartens does not, however, come under any law.

The second condition for maintaining the Sami language is institutional support. This includes the use of the Sami language in official places and contexts. Sufficient opportunities exist to use the Sami language outside the home. This implies the need to learn Sami (it may be a question of personal advancement). The need and interest are partly dependent upon the awareness of when the language is actually used in official situations and of the fact that it may be an advantage to know Sami.

When a person experiences the need (the third factor mentioned above) to become proficient in Sami, his interest may stimulate his linguistic ability and he may end up actually using the language.

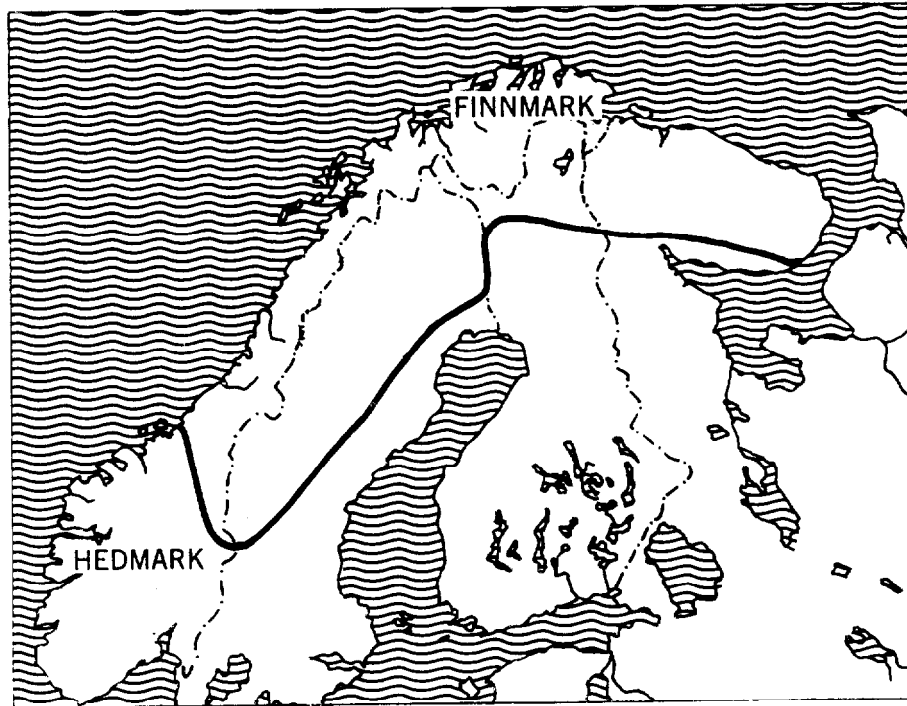
Use of Sami in daily life is the fourth condition for maintaining the Sami language and the one that is most relevant in this connection.

The four factors mentioned at the beginning of this section are therefore linked and show that measures taken to maintain a language are relevant to this complex issue and should be taken on a considerable scale, even if it calls for time and money.

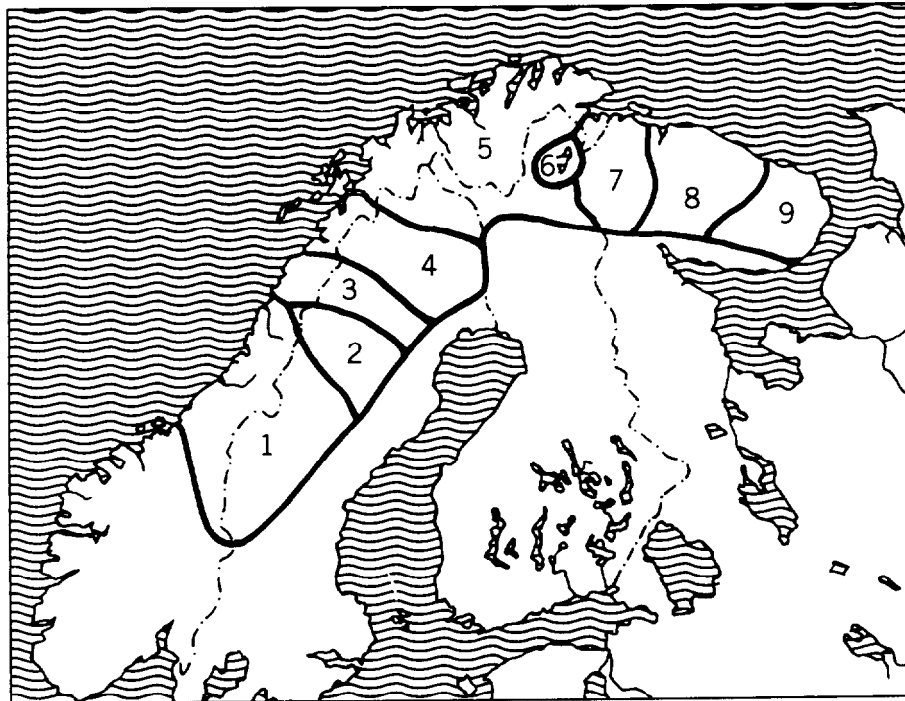
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MAP 17. The Sami area. **Source:** reproduced by permission of O. Kvalheim, Tromsø Museum.



map 18. The Sami dialects: (1) South; (2) Ume; (3) pite (4) Lule; (5) North; (6) I_{nari}; (7) Skolt; (8) Kildin; (9) Ter. **Source:** see Map 17.

The Sami Language in Norway

Ole Henrik Magga

Introduction

The majority of Sami¹ and speakers of Sami live in Norway. Following a long period of neglect and oppression, the language is acquiring definite status and even becoming the subject of laws and regulations that will decisively strengthen its position in society. Thus the future of the language depends very much on what happens in Norway, both locally and at national level.

The presentation of basic facts about the language area and dialectal distribution is followed by a sketch of the historical background in order to give a better appreciation of the current situation and of future perspectives.

The Sami Language in Norway: Dialects

Traditionally the Sami area in Norway stretches from Engerdal in Hedmark County² in the south-west to the northernmost part of Finnmark in the north-east (Map 17). This indicates the situation as it was some fifty or one hundred years ago and needs to be brought into line with present facts. The first of these is that, over a number of decades, many Sami have 'emigrated to urban areas, especially the capital Oslo. The second point is that during the same period the number of Sami speakers has fallen dramatically in the south and along the coast.

Although we often come across the term 'Norwegian Sami' (or rather 'Norwegian Lapp') in the literature, no isogloss could possibly distinguish the dialects of Norway as dialectal groups different from others. In Norway,

as elsewhere in the Sami language area, the main dialectal borders do not follow the national borders (Map 18). Instead we cross the dialectal borders when going from north-east to south-west. There is quite an important difference in Troms and Finnmark between the inland dialects and those spoken near the coast.

Some Lappologists have, in fact, attempted to see this border as being more significant than those between the northern and southern dialects, but the arguments for this do not appear to be very convincing. Three of the main dialects³ are spoken in Norway.

The northern dialect (Northern Sami) is the most widespread geographically and is the one spoken by the majority of Sami who have maintained their language. It is spoken in the counties of Finnmark, Troms and Nordland north of Ofoten. Its local dialects may be classified in three sub-groups. The first of these, the Finnmark sub-group, is spoken mainly inland and in some fjord districts from Varanger to Northern Troms. This sub-group can be further divided into western and eastern Finnmark Sami. The eastern dialects are used in eastern Finnmark with Karajohka⁴ (Karasjok) and Buolbmak (Polmak) as centres. The western dialects are spoken in eastern and northern Troms and in western Finnmark. The centres are Olmmaivaggi (Manndalen) in Troms and Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) and Alta in Finnmark. The second sub-group, Coast Sami, is spread along the coast from Varanger to Kvenangen. Unjarga (Nesseby) is an important centre for this dialect. A couple of centuries ago there were coastal Sami along the whole coast of Northern Norway from Varanger to Helgeland.

We know nothing about the dialects south of Tysfjord-Hamarøy. From the now extinct coastal districts in Tysfjord-Hamarøy, Gullsfjord-Vesterålen and Kalfjord at Tromsø, we have field notes dating from the 1890s. As mentioned above, some Lappologists have tried to group the Coast Sami dialects together with the easternmost dialects in Finland and the Soviet Union. The third, or Tome, sub-group is represented in Norway from Lenvik in Southern Troms to Ofoten in Nordland. Skanland is a centre for this dialect. The speakers of this dialect are often more than just linguistically related to the Sami in the adjoining parts of Sweden, due to the important Sami immigration from Sweden to these areas, especially in the nineteenth century.

The *Lule dialect* (Lule Sami) is spoken in Nordland in the municipalities of Tysfjord, Sørfold and Hamarøy, Musken in Tysfjord being the centre.

The *South dialect* (Southern Sami) reaches traditionally from Ranafjord in Nordland to Roros in Sor-Trandelag. The speakers of this dialect are widely scattered throughout the area and there is no community in which the language is spoken by the majority. However, Harrfjeldal and Snasa may be said to be in centres in a sense. The original southernmost dialect in the Roros area is hardly extant.

The Eastern Sami dialect (Skolt) in Varanger may also be said to be extinct in Norway. Rite- and Ume-dialects were certainly spoken previously in Norway, too, but they have disappeared.

Historical Perspective

The Sami as an Indigenous Population

The first reference to the Sami language from the area that constitutes the State of Norway today is in the well-known report by Othere to King Alfred the Great of England at the end of the ninth century. However, before that time other historical sources show that there must have been a Sami population in these areas for at least half a century, and probably much longer. In fact, some scientists see the Sami as descendants of the Komsa population dating from thousands of years before this time. Loan-word studies show that there must have been contact between Sami and Scandinavians in the proto-Nordic period (200-500 A.D.) and possibly even earlier.

The kingdom of Norway was established around 1000 A.D. At that time, the Sami area (Finnmark) was not a part of the kingdom and the Sami were considered to be a separate people. During the Middle Ages competition arose between Sweden, Norway (later Denmark-Norway) and Russia for sovereignty over the Sami and their land. The border between Norway-Denmark and Sweden was finally settled in 1751 after serious dispute and even wars. In 1826 the Norwegian-Russian border was traced out. Thus it was only from that time that the king of Denmark-Norway could at last pursue his own policy towards the Sami without fear of the consequences of the struggle for sovereignty over the land.

There seems to be scientific and political consensus about the indigenous status of the Sami in Norway. The fact is that no other group existing today can be identified as the earliest inhabitants of the traditional Sami area or can be followed through history from the earliest documents and archaeological findings to the present day.

The Sami habitat was at one time considerably more extensive than it is today, and included most of modern Finland. The Sami settlements in the south were the subject of dispute, which was sometimes quite fierce. The main subject of dispute was whether the Sami settlements dated back to medieval times only or if they should be seen as older settlements from at least the early Viking age (800-1030), or the proto-Nordic period or even earlier. The silence in the historical sources has been interpreted as a sign that there was no Sami activity in the southernmost parts of the country. Historians have, for instance, tried to find traces of earlier Sami settlements in church registers (censuses). When no material about Sami was found, the theory of early settlement was rejected or at least seriously doubted. Loan-

words and place-names, on the other hand, suggest early Sami activity in Trondelag, while recent archaeological findings from Harjedalen on the Swedish side have once more brought the whole question into focus. It has been difficult sometimes, at least from the point of view of the Sami themselves, to regard the arguments and conclusions of historians recruited from the non-Sami side as not being coloured by the fact that Sami use of land was in conflict with colonizing programmes launched in the interest of the State and local immigrant farmers. These questions are now being studied by a Government committee.

Norwegian State Policy Towards the Sami

THE PERIOD BEFORE WORLD WAR II

Before 1700, Norwegian State policy towards Sami was unsystematic. Churches were built in the north in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and one of the aims of these enterprises seems to have been a certain missionary activity on behalf of the Sami, although the main objective, no doubt, was to gain political control. In 1313 the Norwegian king, Hakon V, promised the Sami certain economic advantages (reduction of tribute paid to the king) for 20 years following their conversion to Christianity. The Danish-Norwegian king, Christian IV, made some attempts to 'Christianize' them. Bishop Erik Pontoppidan in Trondheim (in office 1673-1678) translated a catechism into Sami, but it was never printed and the manuscript was lost. The Swedish kings were very actively engaged in missionary work combined with promotion of the king's own interests (trade and tax collection) during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Swedes built churches in areas that today are part of Norwegian territory, such as Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino). This lent added inspiration to Danish-Norwegian efforts.

It seems that the Sami at this time were by and large being met on their own grounds, and the teaching of the Sami language seems to have been taken for granted. The Sami were still at that time the majority in the north, and trade and tax collecting could not be carried on without some kind of cooperation and mutual respect.

Around 1700 a new initiative was made to systematize the missionary work in the north. The Danish-Norwegian King Fredrik IV was personally interested in the pietistic movement. Missionary work was organized and a priest, Thomas von Westen, was given the task of organizing the 'Sami mission'. He achieved this in a few years with great talent. Missionaries and teachers were sent out and a special school for young Sami, potential preachers and missionaries, was established.

Von Westen himself realized that the use of the Sami language was both necessary and evident. Primary education was organized even better for the Sami in some districts during the von Westen period. For forty or fifty years

after his death (in 1727 aged only 451, the work progressed in the spirit in which he had started it. The last quarter of the eighteenth century brought a decline in missionary work and the use of Sami language was abandoned at the same time because it was argued that the language was not fit for the expression of spiritual ideas. After a while many clerics realized the failure of the new course, but little was done to change this before 1814, due to the many wars.

There was a change of course in the 1820s. A teacher training college for Sami students was established on the initiative of the priest, P.V. Deinboll, and shortly after, Niels Vibe Stockfleth, Deinboll's successor as vicar in Vadse, began his scientific and literary work on the language. A series of translations came from his hand, among them the New Testament. Every people has a divine right and obligation to respect, maintain and develop its language and nationality, Stockfleth maintained. In addition to this he argued that a favourable policy towards the Sami would strengthen their loyalty to the State.

After some time, however, Stockfleth's line met opposition locally and even in parliament (*Stortinget*). From 1850 there was a gradual turning-away from Stockfleth's pro-Sami line to an anti-Sami line based mainly on Norwegian nationalistic ideas ('one State-one culture'). From being a local question in the North, minority policy became a matter of national interest. An important factor was the strong Finnish immigration to Northern Norway at the time. This created a feeling of uncertainty about the loyalties of the immigrants that was cleverly used by Stockfleth's opponents to halt the use of Finnish and Sami in education. Darwinist ideas also played their part in the debate and, after a few decades, a completely new strategy was shaped. All use of Sami (and Finnish) in school was forbidden; at least, teachers were only allowed to use these languages as an auxiliary when there was no other means of communication. Written instructions to teachers (the most famous of which is the *Instruks* of 1898) made it absolutely clear that the use of Sami and Finnish should be minimized or avoided. In other sectors of societal life, the same aims were pursued. After 1902, land could be sold only to citizens who mastered Norwegian and used it in their daily life. The authorities announced their will to sacrifice a generation of Sami for the 'good cause'.

Reaction against this 'language tyranny' from the Sami (and the Finnish migrants) was strong, but all opposition was effectively crushed by the authorities who held every instrument in their hands for the fulfilment of their 'historic task'. After a few efforts on the part of the Sami to oppose the policy of 'Norwegianization' at the start of the twentieth century, the movement died out and the inter-war period was the darkest period in Sami cultural and political history.

The cultural oppression was destructive to Sami language and cultural development. At the same time Norwegian colonization of the Sami areas took place both as a part of colonizing programmes and as a 'natural' result

of exploitation of resources in Samiland. Both culturally and economically, the Sami became a low-status group. During this period, many new techniques, equipment and concepts were also introduced into society. However, the Sami language was to have no role in this new development, so that its suppression could hardly have come at a more critical time.

AFTER WORLD WAR II

World War II brought about a radical change in the old efforts to 'Norwegianize' the Sami. The exact reasons for the change of course are not easy to pinpoint, but the experiences of the war, including the 'Germanization' efforts made by the occupying forces and the loyalty shown by the Sami in a time of crisis, appear to have played a part. At the same time, new ideas on human rights and the rights of small nations and minorities had already been aired and adopted to some extent in the 1920s and 1930s. Thus the war may only have delayed a breakthrough of new ideas that would have come in any event.

Once again the school was the sector of society where programmes were first introduced. However, it was almost twenty years before the teaching of Sami could be introduced into schools, firstly on an experimental basis. That was in 1967. In the meantime, a State Commission, the Sami Committee chaired by Prof. Asbjorn Nesheim, reported on the Sami situation and made recommendations for future policy. New books had to be printed and teachers trained at the University of Oslo, the only institution where any activity on Sami language had survived 'the cold winter'. Gradually, in the course of the 1960s and especially the 1970s, a new policy was shaped and definite progress made in carrying through the new programmes. These were received in a positive frame of mind in areas where the language had been preserved, in other words in the interior of Finnmark, among the reindeer-herding Sami and in the South Sami area. Along the coast there was little optimism about the new approach. In many areas opposition to the course was very strong.

The reaction in many cases consisted of local politicians asking why the Sami issue was being revived now that the 'Sami problem' was almost solved, i.e. there were no Sami left, at least officially. In many cases, politicians tried to frighten people with the alleged consequences of the Sami Committee report. At this juncture, however, the Sami organizations entered the stage again and a kind of alliance was established between them and the Government authorities.

Following the debate about and demonstrations against the Aha/Kautokeino hydroelectric project, the Sami question once more appeared on the national political agenda in 1980-1, with the result that two new committees were appointed to look into questions and claims put forward by Sami organizations and groups.

Language and Society

Language Areas

Following Aubert (1978) and Keskitalo (1981), the Sami area in Norway may be classified socio-historico-linguistically in three sub-areas.

The core areas are the municipalities where Sami has a broad function, i.e. the majority or a large minority use it in daily life and the language is gaining official status. The municipalities of Gaivuotna (Norw. K&fjord) in Troms, Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino), Karasjohka (Karasjok), Deatnu (Tana), Porsanger and Unjarga (Nesseby) in Finnmark make up this area. Tendencies towards a local language policy can be found here, even outside the school system. The future of the language is dependent mainly on what happens in this area. A Sami cultural and language policy based on general principles is possible here.

The coastal area comprises the fjord districts in Finnmark and a part of Troms. This was Sami-speaking until the beginning of the twentieth century, but from then on, with a few exceptions, was wholly 'Norwegianized' linguistically. Here the Government in 1848 was instructed by the Parliament to consider whether the Sami population could not be taught Christianity in Norwegian rather than in Sami. Up to then, and especially from the late 1930s, Sami had been used widely in education and many books had been printed through the efforts of men like Niels Vibe Stockfleth, a priest who had been an officer in the war, but who from 1925 had devoted his life to the education and enlightenment of the people of Northern Norway, and in particular the Sami. In this area, the language disappeared from the official scene after some time and Sami identity was eventually stigmatized and used only between close relatives and friends. Transmission of the language from one generation to the next ceased. Today only old people speak Sami together, but not with their children and grandchildren. Until recently interest in Sami activity was very slack, but there has been a definite change and many young people are actively taking part in Sami political efforts and many students showing interest in Sami subjects (e.g. sociology and history).

In the rest of the Sami area, we may speak of the language situation in terms of 'modernization' in a negative sense. The population has traditionally been dispersed in small societies having little mutual contact. Sami was quickly replaced by a majority language, the remarkable thing being that Sami identity has not been stigmatized. In the south there has been a strong Sami movement since the turn of the century when current Sami activity took root. Everywhere there is a positive attitude towards the language, but the loss has been so great that there is serious doubt whether a 'rescue mission' can succeed any longer.

Number of Sami Speakers

DEVELOPMENT UP TO 1930

The earliest estimate of the number of Sami dates from 1724 when it stood at 7,231. This should be regarded as a minimum, because at that time it was not clear who should be classified as a citizen of Norway. As mentioned above, the frontier between Norway and Sweden was fixed in 1751 and between Norway and Russia in 1826. Until the turn of the century, the number of Sami may also be taken as the number of Sami speakers. The 'Norwegianization' policy launched by the Norwegian State in the second half of the nineteenth century only became effective around 1930. Consequently, more and more Sami lost their language after that time. Sami figures from 1724 to 1930 are given in Table 14.

TABLE 14
Sami figures from 1724 to 1930

Year	Number of Sami
1724	7,231
1734	6,340
1845	14,464
1855	15,999
1865	17,187
1890	20,786
1900	19,677
1910	18,590
1920	20,735
1930	20,704

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The table shows that the development of the Sami population did not proceed in a 'natural' fashion after 1890. After that time both the interviewers and the Sami themselves may be suspected of having tailored their contribution in order to give a 'favourable' picture in sympathy with official efforts. The Sami population after that time became a politically and culturally low-status group. All data on the Sami population must, therefore, be interpreted with this in mind.

The 1950 census is an extreme example of this. For the three northernmost counties only 8,778 Sami were registered, whereas the total figure for the same districts in 1930 was 18,842. When a new demographic study was made for the purpose of identifying the need for radio transmissions in Sami communities that earlier had featured as Norwegian-speaking then appeared as almost totally Sami-speaking.

As a part of the 1970 population and housing census, the following questions were asked in preselected census tracts in the three northernmost communities in Norway: (1) Was Sami the first language spoken by the person? (2) Was Sami the first language spoken by one of the person's parents? (3) Was Sami the first language spoken by one of the person's grandparents? (4) Did the person consider himself to be a Sami

The census covered 89.7 per cent of the total population (including non-Sami) of Finnmark, 22.9 per cent of that of Troms and 6.1 per cent of that of Nordland. In the census 10,535 persons were registered as having Sami as their first language. Of these 9,175 answered 'yes' to Question 4. Altogether, 27,646 individuals were registered as having some Sami affinity. The summary from the Central Bureau of Statistics stated: There are probably some 40,000 persons in Norway whose lives are affected in one way or another by their Lappish (i.e. Sami) ancestry' (Aubert, 1978, pp. 1-18).

The figures from this census should be interpreted with care, one of the reasons being that Sami features have been under-reported, in some districts significantly so. The effects of the State policy probably reached their peak in the 1960s before the new wave of Sami organizational efforts, paralleled by many minorities and indigenous groups in various parts of the world at the time, made a breakthrough at the start of the 1970s. A second reason for prudence is the way in which the interviews were carried out; each interviewer, in fact, could omit the four questions on Sami language and identity altogether if he felt they were unnecessary. In many places even the term 'Sami' was somewhat ambiguous. Some people used it as a synonym for 'reindeer-herders' and even 'poor people'. And there is, of course, the glaring fact that the census did not cover the whole country, and therefore not the whole Sami population. By that time a considerable number of Sami were already living in urban areas in the south and especially in the Oslo area on a permanent basis or because of work or education.

Thus we can hardly give exact figures for the Sami population in Norway. It is even more difficult to know how many Sami speakers there are. An informed guess of something in the region of 20,000-25,000 may be quite close to the truth. However, all figures depend on what is meant by 'a Sami speaker'. The problem is to ascertain how frequently, how well and in what situations (home, work, etc.) a person has to use the language in order to be regarded as a 'Sami speaker'.

Characteristics of the Sami Population in Norway

The 1970 census also gives an impression of the Sami population that it covered. It may be useful to outline some of the main characteristics of the Sami population. The Sami settlement is located in outlying areas. Occupationally it is concentrated in the primary sector, in other words agriculture, fishing and reindeer-herding. The average age is high, The average Sami

exhibits the same social characteristics as his or her spouse. Man and wife are equals, so that there is little mobility across social borders. In general, it may be safe to conclude that the Sami population is socially homogeneous and enjoys limited social resources.

A significant socio-linguistic fact is that the children become Norwegian-speaking whenever one of the parents speaks Norwegian. The Sami language seems to have been a precondition for Sami identity in general. However, the census covered more Sami speakers than persons with Sami identity. This is a very clear difference from the situation in the southern areas where Sami identity is not limited to the language. The south Sami area was not, however, or only fragmentarily, covered by the census. An explanation for this correlation in the northernmost areas may be found in the fact that Sami identity had a very low social status at that time and only those with active mastery of Sami dared to appear as Sami. But even Sami-speaking persons of Sami descent apparently tried to hide their descent. This is confirmed by observations by social scientists from the coast areas (Eidheim, 1971).

There are also striking differences between districts. In the core areas in Finnmark and in a few municipalities in the coastal area of Finnmark and Troms, the Sami dominate the communities in terms of numbers. In the other districts the Sami constitute only a fraction of the population of each municipality or even of each community.

The process of Norwegianization, i.e. a cultural and linguistic shift from Sami to Norwegian, was only slightly discernible in the core area. Outside this area the process is very strong in the coastal districts. But there are cultural and linguistic islands in the Northern, Lule and South Sami areas. Skanland in Troms and Tysfjord in Nordland are examples of this. Here we find deviations from the average picture of language as a precondition for identity. More people affirm their Sami identity than have actually maintained the language.

The core area differs from all the other areas in terms of age distribution. Its population was very young, 37 per cent being under 15 years of age. The same trend is found in some communities in Troms.

Linguistically-mixed marriages are rare in the core area. This correlates with the social status of man and wife, because a linguistic border at the same time generally constitutes a social border. The same trend was discernible in Skanland, Troms. There was a male surplus in the population, especially in Troms. There are more non-married persons among men. In families with children living at home, there were more children than in the average family in Norway.

The educational level was relatively low. In the core area there was a striking difference between the Sami who work, as a rule, in the primary sector, and a small group of well-educated Norwegian functionaries and teachers.

Living standards among the Sami were lower than average for the country as a whole. Sami lived in one-family houses as a rule, but with less space than for the rest of the population. Figures for water closet, bath and telephone facilities are below average. The housing action launched by the State in the 1970s has no doubt improved this situation.

In the 1970 census, 1,604 people were registered as belonging to reindeer-herding families. The reindeer-herding population is young in average as a natural consequence of the demographic profile of the inner Finnmark population where this occupation is concentrated.

Language Status

Sami does not have an official formal status in Norway, although a statement from the Ministry for Education and Church Affairs a few years ago could be interpreted as a hint that this language is in a somewhat different position than any other immigrant language.

There is only a single reference to the Sami language in Norwegian law. It is found in the Primary School Act (*Lov om grunnskolen*) of 1969, revised in 1974 and 1985. According to this law, children in Sami areas are entitled to receive instruction in Sami as a subject for the first six years at the request of their parents. The latest revision extends the right to be taught in Sami. From 7th to 9th year, the pupil decides if he or she wishes to study Sami. Sami may also be the main language. In either case, it replaces 'bokmal', or 'nynorsk', the two official written standards of Norwegian. The Reindeer-Herding Act (1978) refers to Sami culture in general, stating that reindeer-herding should be developed as a fundamental basis for that culture. Official spelling reforms could be regarded as being meaningful official recognition of the language.

Language Use in Different Sectors of Society

Sami is taught as a subject in primary school and used as a medium of instruction in 3rd year in Finnmark in the core area. Language instruction is also given to some extent in primary school in the Lule and South Sami areas. In secondary school (10th to 12th year), Sami is a subject in school in Guovdageaidnu, (Kautokeino), Karasjohka Karasjok) and Hamaroy in Nordland. Outside the traditional Sami area there is also some language instruction in schools in Oslo. This is due to the numerous Sami migrants to the capital and to a positive attitude on the part of the municipal and school authorities in Oslo.

Until the present, the main difficulty has been the lack of textbooks and other materials (tapes, films, etc.). There has also been an urgent need for qualified teachers. Sami was introduced into primary schools only in 1967,

beginning on an experimental basis, after an absence of nearly a century from the school system. This meant that all instruction had to start from scratch. At the outset, it was not easy for parents to request instruction in Sami for their children. The language was fairly new and 'unnatural' in school. For most parents, school by definition meant the teaching of Norwegian through Norwegian. Many even tried to teach their children only Norwegian in order to give them a better start in school. However, this has changed over the past ten years. Today it is natural for parents to have their children brought up and instructed in Sami. There is a new generation who regard Sami language and culture as a fundamental and natural basis for their children's education.

Teacher training colleges in Alta, Bode and Levanger give courses in Sami up to first-year level. A special department was set up in Alta in 1974 for the training of teachers for the Sami schools. At university level, the language can be studied at the universities of Oslo and Tromsø. There has been a professor of Sami in Tromsø since 1986, which Oslo has had a chair of Finno-Ugrian languages since 1866. A Sami Educational Board was set up in 1975 for the promotion of Sami education at all levels. Its main concern has been the development of instructional material, especially textbooks for primary school and work on terminology. The Board Secretariat is at Guovdageaidnu. There is only one translator of official documents into Sami.

Sami kindergartens have been established both in the core area and outside it, as well as in cities like Tromsø and Oslo. These are regarded as very important institutions for the preservation of the language.

The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation, in cooperation with sister companies in Sweden and Finland, has produced language courses (Davvin and Samas) in Sami that have attracted international attention because of their content and extent. The aim has been both to offer an elementary course in northern Sami and to give people -who never had an opportunity of learning their mother tongue in writing at school -a chance to learn the art of writing.

Sami is not used in any branch of municipal or state administration as a main language. Meetings use interpreters as needs arise from case to case. In 1982-4, interpretation services were established on an experimental basis funded by the Government in the municipalities of unjarga (Nesseby), Deatnu (Tana), Karasjohka (Karasjok) and Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino). Interpreters, one in each municipality, do oral interpretation both to assist individuals and at meetings. Some municipal boards use interpreters regularly. They are engaged in information work too. They also translate documents, depending on prevailing working conditions. Since 1985, these services have been permanently financed by the Government.

Sami may be used in the health and social services, depending on individual doctors, nurses or civil servants. Several of the hospitals and other health institutions in the Sami area have traditionally been owned

and run by the Norwegian Sami Mission ('Norges Same-misjon') and consequently have refused to require language qualifications of their employees. Some information material has been translated and distributed on governmental initiative in recent years.

The language of the courts is exclusively Norwegian. Interpreters are used when the need is obvious or on request from one of the involved parties in individual cases. The need is considered by the police or judge and they may refuse a request, and have done so in many cases.

In the inner parts of Finnmark (the core area) Sami has been used continuously in some form since 1849. Knowledge of Sami has been compulsory for vicars in several parishes in Finnmark since then, but this demand has been relaxed in recent years. Financial support has been offered to priests for studies in Sami at university level. In fact Sami was introduced as a subject there to meet the needs of the church, and special courses for clericals have been arranged. Only since the 1950s has the Sami language been a regular subject at university level (in Oslo). Interpretation services are permanent today in Unjarga (Nesseby), Deatnu (Tana), Karasjohka (Karasjok) and Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino). Hymn books have been reprinted several times, mostly on private initiative. A new Bible translation is being prepared. It appears, however, that the Government refuses to provide financial support to this work and this may bring the whole project to a stop.

Sami in Cultural Life

Literature

The Sami have a rich oral tradition. It consists mostly of folk-tales and stories, but in the earliest tradition in the seventeenth century we also find touching poems of love and epic poems about the origin of the Sami people. The love poems attracted international attention when they were made known through Schefferus' book *Laponia*.

Traditional material has been recorded and published by J. Qvigstad and E. Lagercrantz.

In Norway, as in Sweden, where the tradition of Sami written literature has its roots, the printing and publishing of books started with religious texts. One of von Westen's colleagues, Morten Lund, translated Luther's catechism and this became one of the many manuscripts by von Westen's missionary team to be printed. That was in 1728 and it was the first book to appear in the Sami language in Norway.

Later in the eighteenth century, some simple texts were printed, although none were probably ever read by ordinary people. It was Niels Vibe Stockfleth who really introduced the written word to the people with his

translations from the 1830s that were made public via church and school. The main achievement of this tradition was the translation of the entire Bible in 1895. Even a Sami, Lars Jakobsen Haetta, took part in this translation work. At the time he was a prisoner, originally sentenced to death but later reprieved. He had taken part in a riot in Guovdageaidnu in 1852 in which two men were killed.

The editor of the newspaper *Sagai Muittalaegje* (1904-11) published his novel *Baeiuue-Alggo* (Daybreak) in 1912. It was the first novel in the Sami language.

After World War II, textbooks for primary school were printed along with a series of information booklets on various subjects such as health and animal care.

Literary activity was extended on the initiative of *Norsk Kulturradt* (The Culture Board of Norway) after 1971. Since that time, this Board has included an annual grant to Sami literature in its budget. It also has a sub-committee working with publications in Sami. Today some 5 or 10 books are published each year, including both fiction and poetry, mostly by the Sami publishing company *Jar'galaed'dji* in Deatnu (Tana).

Theatre and Music

Since 1963 several groups have been working in the theatre. In 1980, the group *Beavivas* had considerable success with the musical *Min duoddarat* (Our mountains). This group is expected to provide the basis for a permanent theatre from 1987, the first two years being on an experimental basis.

Sami musicians have contributed considerably to the use of the language in their pop music, ballads and protest songs. Some of them have become world-famous and are invited to festivals abroad.

Sami in the Media

Newspapers

Two newspapers in Norway appear in Sami. The oldest is *Nuorttanaste* ('The Eastern Star') published weekly in Unjarga (Nesseby) by the Lutheran Free Church. It has been published since 1898 and its contents are primarily religious. Each issue consists of 4-8 pages. This newspaper uses the old Friis orthography which is the same as in the Bible translation of 1895. This means that it is mostly read by older people both for its content and orthography.

Sami Aigi is published twice weekly. It was established in 1979 by the Sami organizations as a reaction against *the Sagat*, the newspaper origi-

nally supported financially by the State for the purpose of news distribution in written form to the Sami-speaking population, and which almost ceased to use Sami. It is the main medium of written information and language planning.

Radio and Television

The first radio transmission in Sami in Norway dates from 1946. Since then, Sami programmes have expanded continuously and today the *Sami Radio* in Karasjok has three daily broadcasts in northern Sami. Total programme time is 6 hours per week. Programmes in Lule Sami are integrated into North Sami programmes.

Since 1973, a South Sami programme has been broadcast from Trondheim with alternatively 15 minutes and 7 minutes every second week (22 minutes on a monthly basis). Programmes for television have occasionally been produced in Sami since 1967. At the *Sami Radio* there is now one TV reporter with a production team. However, there are no scheduled TV programmes as yet, although the government has promised that this goal will be reached in response to strong demands from the Sami side a few years ago.

Norwegian Contribution to Sami Linguistics

Linguistic work on Sami in Norway concentrated mainly on Northern Sami from the earliest mission work down to the 1940s. The first field works in Sami linguistics were made by Thomas von Westen's colleagues. None of their manuscripts were ever printed and are now lost (Jens Bloch: *Rudimenta grammaticae lapponicae*; R. Rachlev: *Grammatica lapponica, Specimen uocabularii lapponicii*).

In 1748, the priest and missionary Knut Leem, an excellent scientist with modern methods, published his grammar of the Porsanger dialect. Later he prepared a Danish-Sami dictionary and in 1781 his big Sami-Danish-Latin/Danish-Latin-S&M dictionary was published in Copenhagen. Then for a long time both translating and linguistic work ceased until Niels Vibe Stockfleth took it up again.

Rasmus Rask, the famous Danish linguist, was helpful to Stockfleth; he systematized Leem's material without ever having met a Sami-speaking person, and evolved a grammar. Only after the printing of the book had commenced did Stockfleth bring a Sami with him to Copenhagen so that Rask could make notes from his speech and include them in his *Raesonneret lappisk Sproglaere* ('Systematized Sami Grammar'), printed in 1832. Stockfleth himself published a grammar in 1840 and introduced the special 'Sami' letters (e.g. accented s, c, z etc.) that Rask had recommended for use.

From then on there was continuous work with linguistic studies hand in hand with translations for practical use. Stockfleth published his Norwegian-Sami dictionary (*Norsk-Lappisk Ordbog*) in 1852. In 1858, due to illness, Stockfleth was forced to hand over the manuscript of his Sami-Norwegian dictionary to his pupil and successor Jeans Andreas Friis, who had published a Sami grammar two years before (*Lappisk grammatikk*, 1856). In 1866 Friis was appointed professor in Sami and Finnish at the University of Oslo, but was for some time so deeply engaged in the translation of various religious books (i.e. the Bible) that the Sami-Norwegian dictionary was not printed until 1887 with the addition of Friis' own material and only after thorough checking by Lars Jacobsen Haetta, the principal Bible translator. One of those invited to assist in the translation of the Bible was Just Qvigstad. With enormous energy in the course of a long life (he lived to 104), he dealt with almost all aspects of Sami culture and therefore has been called 'the grand old man of Lappology'. His linguistic works were on Scandinavian loan-words in *Sami (Nordische Lehnwörter in Lappischen*, 1893), dialectology (*Die lappische Dialekte in Norwegen*, 1925), historical linguistics (on texts in Sami from the seventeenth century) and include a collection of traditional material (legends, tales) printed in a four-volume edition in 1927-9 (*Lappiske Euentyr og Sagn 1-IV*).

Konrad Nielsen followed Friis as professor in Oslo. He began by studying the dialect in Buolbmak (*Die Quantitätsverhältnisse in Polmaklappischen*, 1902), but his main works are his three-volume grammar from 1926-1929 (*Laerebok i Lappisk*) and his five-volume *Lapp Dictionary based on the Dialects of Polmak, Karasjok and Kautokeino* (1932-1962) which he compiled with the help of Asbjørn Nesheim, later professor of Sami linguistics and culture at the University of Oslo. Nielsen also contributed to historical Finno-Ugrian linguistics.

The southern dialects received little attention from Norwegian linguists until 1943 when Knut Bergsland published his texts from Roros (*Roros-Samiske tekster*) and a monograph on that dialect (*Reros-Lappisk grammatikk*, 1946). Bergsland eventually took Nielsen's place as professor of Finno-Ugrian linguistics. Later he published a combined textbook and grammatical sketch of Southern Sami in collaboration with Gustaf Hasselbrink (*Samien Lukkeme garja*, 1957) and a South Sami grammar (*SydSamisk grammatikk*, 1982). Bergsland has also made valuable contributions to Sami and Finno-Ugrian historical linguistics on the basis of South Sami material. His grammar (*Laerebok i Samisk*, 1961) on Northern Sami based on Nielsen material has served as an elementary introduction at University level for many years. Together with Israel Ruong (a Sami from Sweden, professor at the University of Uppsala), he worked out a common orthographical system for Northern Sami that was used from 1951 to 1979. His spelling system for South Sami has been in official use in Norway (and Sweden) since 1978. Dialectal studies have continued and the study of syntax based on modern principles has commenced in recent years.

Future Prospects

The two Government committees appointed in 1980 have examined the principal basis for a cultural policy and have made their recommendations.

The Sami Rights Committee has put forward a recommendation for a constitutional provision aimed at preserving Sami language, culture and societal life. The Committee recommends that a provision with the following wording be incorporated in the Norwegian Constitution: 'It is incumbent on the Government authorities to take the necessary steps to enable the Sami population to safeguard and develop their language, culture and societal life.'

This provision, if passed by the Norwegian Parliament (*Stortinget*), will mean official status for the Sami language since particular mention is made of the language. Furthermore, the Constitution, with this provision included, will not only inform people of the existence of the Sami language, thereby giving the language standing at the highest possible legislative level, but will do even more than that. It will be a directive imposing obligations on government authorities, although not on private citizens. The Committee has preferred the active form 'enabling the Sami population to safeguard and develop' because it has wished to underscore the Sami people's own responsibility. In theory any parliamentary or administrative decision and even legislation may be disputed in the courts. In line with legal practice, Norwegian courts of law are entitled to test the constitutionality of such decisions and legislation. However, the main effect of the provision will probably be political and moral rather than legal. It will provide binding guidelines for the future Sami policy of government authorities.

The Sami Culture Committee has worked out a proposal for a Sami Language Act. The aim of the Act is to ensure the Sami the right to use their own language in contact with local officials in the core area (cf. above) and in the courts. Such an Act would regulate in detail the rights of individuals and the obligations placed on the authorities and would thus be a natural consequence of the constitutional amendment.

It goes without saying that these two remedies would mean a new era for the Sami language in Norway, and consequently in the world. From being a language condemned to disappear from the surface of the globe only a few decades ago to becoming an official language, at least regionally, of a modern state is really a remarkable change and any such change of status would give genuine hope for survival in today's world of satellite TV channels and electronic media.

Notes

1. The term *Sami* is used here in place of the previous term *Lapp* and *Lappish*, which had a pejorative value for many Sami. *Sami* is the people's own term for themselves and is now officially used in all Nordic countries when referring to the people and the language, to the complete exclusion of both *Lapp* and *Finn*, etc.
2. When referring to districts on different levels, the term *county* is used with the same meaning as Norwegian *fylke*, while *municipality* is used synonymously with *kommune*.
3. In Norway, as always when speaking of Sami dialects, these can be grouped on three levels. The concept *main dialect* refers to a group of dialects in the ordinary sense, i.e. dialects which are mutually understandable without difficulty. The main dialects, especially those geographically apart, are linguistically different languages.
4. Place names are rendered in the Sami form in cases where the name originates from Sami. The Norwegian form (which is a corrupted Sami form) is given in parentheses.

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The Sami Language: Past and Present

Pekka Sammallahti

Introduction

This paper deals with the characteristic features of Sami as a group of closely-related languages or - as they are sometimes called - dialects. From a linguistic point of view, the Sami languages form an interesting group of idioms: however, they differ from each other to the extent that the speakers of different varieties can barely understand one another even in the most elementary matters of daily life. At the same time the diverging development of the languages and dialects has proceeded very regularly down the years. This means that with a number of (complicated) rules of phonology and morphology and some knowledge of the difference of grammar and vocabulary, utterances in one language can be translated into another, at least in regard to traditional themes. Thus, in a way, the Sami idioms may be considered as being both languages and dialects, in that a little practice makes mutual understanding fairly easy in elementary matters, whereas the absence of such experience makes it quite difficult for members of the different language areas to communicate.

Sami is also a developing language, seeking new directions on old grounds. As the social status of the language rises, new challenges are met by developing its expressive power. The Sami language is already being used in a growing number of situations demanding new terminology and means of expression, e.g. as a language of instruction from kindergarten to university and from borough meetings to international congresses, in dealings with the authorities, doing business and so forth. The language of pastoralists, hunters and fishermen is fast becoming an all-round language with all the words, phrases and expressions needed in modern technological

society. At the same time, the traditional livelihoods, especially reindeer-herding, are developing new forms of expression while retaining most of the old. In other words new developments do not necessarily make traditional uses obsolete; on the contrary, the latter still form the core of the language and are considered to be an important resource in the development of new uses.

The Setting

General Information

The Sami language group belongs to the Uralic family of languages. This family branches into the mainly European Finno-Ugric languages and the mainly West-Siberian Samoyed languages. Sami is the northernmost and westernmost Finno-Ugric language. Its closest relatives are the Balto-Finnish languages, e.g. Finnish and Estonian, spoken on the eastern shores of the Baltic. It has been suggested that Uralic languages are distant relatives to some other languages and language families, e.g. Eskimo-Aleut, but the evidence is not conclusive. There are, however, striking general similarities between Uralic and Eskimo-Aleut, e.g. the number markers: both families show * -k for dual and * -t for plural.

Besides Sami, the Uralic family of languages comprises at present 21 languages and about 25 million speakers: roughly half of these speak Hungarian and about 5 million speak Finnish while a number of Finno-Ugric languages in the Soviet Union have more than 100,000 speakers, e.g. Estonian, Karelian, Mari, Mordvin, Udmurt and Komi. Sami belongs to the group of languages with fewer than 100,000 speakers, together with Mansi, Khants and the Samoyed languages Nenets, Enets, Nganasan and Selkup (the probably extinct Kamassian), all of which are spoken, solely or chiefly, in Siberia.

The Uralic languages are related in the sense that they go back to a common mother language called Proto-Uralic. This language was spoken in Northern Europe after the last Ice Age. It persisted until about 5000-4000 B.C. when the two main branches, Finno-Ugric and Samoyed, were formed as a result of the changing circumstances at the beginning of the Neolithic period. The linguistic differences of the Uralic languages reflect their geographic locations, and it is assumed that each of the Uralic peoples remained in their present areas for a very long time, perhaps since the Neolithic period, and that only minor shifts have taken place since then. One of these relatively late shifts is the reduction of the Sami area to make way for the encroaching Finnish and Karelian agriculturalist population in present Finland and Karelia.

The Baltic Finns are the closest linguistic relatives of the Sami and the languages are descendents of a common proto-language spoken about 2500 **B.C.** in the Eastern Baltic. The reason for the linguistic division was probably cultural innovations, i.e. primitive farming, in the south-eastern Baltic and on the southern and western coastal areas of Finland. The ancestors of the Sami continued with their old subsistence livelihoods: fishing, hunting and gathering, and the cultural divergence later brought about linguistic differences as well.

The Sami Languages

The old Sami area was large and it was natural that a real dialectal differences arose. With time these differences accumulated and dialects became languages. The parent language of the present Sami languages - Common Sami - was probably fairly uniform until the beginning of the Christian era, but even today the Sami idioms form a continuum where neighbouring villages easily understand each other's idiom, even across fairly deep linguistic boundaries. Traditionally, the following languages areas are recognized: (1) South; (2) Ume; (3) Pite; (4) Lule; (5) North; (6) Inari; (7) Skolt; (8) Kildin; (9) Ter (see Map 18).

In the literature on Sami, one also encounters the following terms: Swedish Lappish (for 1 and 2), Norwegian Lappish, Mountain Lappish (for 3), West Sami (for 1-3), Finnish Lappish (for 4), Kola Lappish (for 6 and 7), Russian Lappish (for 5-7) and East Sami (for 4-7).

The Sami language is today spoken by approximately 35,000 people. About 80 per cent of these speak North Sami which is also the major language of cooperation across the national borders of Finland, Norway and Sweden. The number of speakers in the countries where Sami is spoken may be estimated as follows: Norway 20,000, Sweden 10,000, Finland 3000, and Soviet Union 1500. It is likely that the number of Sami speakers today is higher than ever before. The future depends on the measures taken by the states where the Sami live. Linguistic equality is necessary for positive development. Sami is now gaining ground in education, administration and the mass media, and efforts are being made to make it an official language in the Sami area. At present, the governments have practically no statutory obligations as to the maintenance and development of the Sami language.

THE SAMI AREA

The present Sami area spans an area of about one thousand miles from central Sweden to the tip of the Kola peninsula in the Soviet Union. The shape of the area resembles a boomerang and is a few hundred kilometres wide throughout.

The formation of the present Sami area - Sameatnan - has been a gradual process. It began with the end of the glacial period when the ice covering the present Nordic countries and north-western parts of present-day Russia melted. Soon afterwards, the first inhabitants came north. Archaeologists have demonstrated a cultural continuum from the earliest inhabitants 10,000 years ago who were the forefathers of the present Sami. Many experts think that the comb ceramics culture, at the latest, indicates the arrival of a Uralic population and language in Samiland. This means that there has been a period of at least 5000 years of uninterrupted linguistic and cultural development in Samiland and that the present Sami people are a product of this process. It is also possible, however, that the earlier inhabitants of the area also spoke a Uralic language: we do not know of any linguistic groups in the area other than the Uralic and Indo-Europeans (represented by the present Scandinavian languages), and we know that Indo-Europeans are newcomers north and east of South Scandinavia. This would mean that the Sami not only have a cultural history reaching back 10,000 years in their present area, but that they also have a linguistic history and prehistory that extends just as far back.

Some scholars have tried to find traces of language shift in present Sami idioms. Studies that primarily tried to identify Sami words which originally belonged to some language other than that of the present Sami were common at the start of the twentieth century. However, this sharpening of linguistic methods has shown that no firm evidence of such a substratum can be produced. Accordingly, the so-called 'Proto-Lapp' hypothesis has no scientific basis. It can be seen as the outcome of the general preoccupation with racial questions that were so central during that time. The racial features of the Sami were supposed to be so different from those of their closest linguistic relatives, the Finns, that they must have shifted language in the past and there would still be traces of an ancient language in the present dialects. This line of thought was further supported by the belief that a number of Sami words without an etymology -without related words in other languages -was exceptionally high. This belief, however, has not been substantiated by later statistical studies of Sami vocabulary. Thus it may be concluded that no great language shift ever occurred and that the linguistic development up to the present has proceeded without interruption.

At the beginning of the Christian era, the Sami area had its present western, eastern and northern extensions. In the south-east, however, the old Sami area was much wider than it is today. There is ample evidence that most of the present Finnish inland and Karelia down to the great lakes - Ladoga and Onega - were inhabited by the Sami. As a result of the expansion of the agricultural Finnish and Karelian populations in the south-east and of the Scandinavian populations in the coastal areas of the Scandinavian peninsula, the Sami area diminished to its present dimensions.

The south-western extremes of the Sami area have been disputed up to the present. The general view of the authorities and a number of scholars has been that the South Sami arrived there - in central Sweden and corresponding areas in Norway - relatively late. These areas were not included in medieval Lapland, whose southern border ran north of the present Jamtland in Sweden. The latest archaeological studies have, however, lent support to the opposite view, also held by many scholars, especially linguists: Sami habitation in central Sweden seems to date further back, probably much further than the Middle Ages. The southern extremes of the present Sami area, therefore are not the result of late expansion. On the contrary, it is quite plausible to claim that the South Sami area has diminished because of Scandinavian agriculturalist expansion there.

Characteristics of the Sami Language

Sami phonetics, phonology and morphophonology are amongst the most complicated in Europe if not in the whole world. To illustrate the situation we may take the Inari Sami word *uuollad*, 'to whittle' (*uuollat* in North Sami). When inflected, the stem of the word may take qualitative changes that have altered its form:

<i>vuolla-d</i>	'to whittle'
<i>vuola-m</i>	'I whittle'
<i>vuola-h</i>	'you whittle'
<i>vuolli-m</i>	'I whittled'
<i>vuola-im</i>	'the two of us whittle'
<i>vge'llee-n</i>	'the two of us whittle'
<i>vuola-vettee</i>	'the two of you whittle'
<i>vyeli-h</i>	'they whittle'
<i>vuala</i>	'he whittles'

All the Sami languages have some kind of vowel metaphony where the quality (and sometimes quantity, too) of the second syllable vowel affects the first syllable vowel. The consonants between stressed and unstressed vowels are affected by gradation where longer consonants (strong grade) appear before open syllables, and shorter ones (weak grade) before closed syllables:

Strong grade	Weak grade
<i>eallan</i> , 'lived'	<i>ealan</i> , 'I live'
<i>goahti</i> , 'hut'	<i>goadit</i> 'huts'
<i>oastan</i> , 'bought'	<i>oasttan</i> , 'I buy'

(short s is marked by doubling the following consonant).

South Sami lacks gradation, and Ume Sami seems to have adopted at least some features of it from the northern languages.

The roots of the present North Sami orthography go back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Up to 1978, different orthographic norms were used in different areas even for different purposes. From 1978, a common norm was established, and since then an upswing of Sami literary activities has taken place. Sami publishing houses produce books for schools and for a more general public.

In the North Sami orthography, six letters are used for vowels: *a*, *á*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u*. These have the following approximate articulatory values:

a	as in English u in <i>hut</i>
á	as in English a in <i>father</i> (or dialectally as in English a in <i>man</i>)
e	as in English e in <i>bed</i>
i	as in English ee in <i>deed</i>
o	as in English o in <i>boy</i>
u	as in English u in <i>push</i> or as in English oo in <i>soon</i>

Vowel quantity is not marked except for the pair *a* /*a* which represents a quantity opposition in some dialects. For some dialects, vowel quantity depends on the quantity of the following consonants. In addition to the simple vowels, letter combinations are used for the diphthongs *ie*, *ea*, *uo*, and *oa*.

The letters have approximately the same sound values as in the simple vowels.

The following letters are used for consonants: *b*, *c*, *c*, *d*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *h*, (*i*), *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *g* o, *p*, *r*, *s*, *s*, *t*, *t*, *v*, *z* and *z*.

These represent the following sounds:

c	as <i>ts</i> in English <i>gets</i> as English <i>ch</i> in <i>child</i>
d	as English <i>th</i> in <i>that</i>
g	as English <i>g</i> in <i>go</i>
h	as English <i>h</i> in <i>hut</i>
i	after a vowel as English <i>y</i> in <i>boy</i>
j	as English <i>y</i> in <i>yet</i>
k	word initially, as in English; elsewhere, softer or with a preceding <i>h</i>
l	as English <i>l</i> in <i>leave</i>
n	as English <i>ng</i> in <i>singer</i>
p	word initially, as in English; elsewhere softer or with a preceding <i>h</i>

<i>r</i>	(more or less) rolled <i>r</i>
<i>s</i>	as in English <i>sh</i> in <i>shave</i>
<i>t</i>	word initially, as in English, elsewhere softer or with a preceding <i>h</i>
<i>t</i>	as English <i>th</i> in <i>think</i>
<i>z</i>	as English <i>ds</i> in <i>reads</i>
<i>i</i>	as English <i>j</i> in <i>joy</i>

The rest of the letters have approximately the same sound values as in English. Some sounds are marked with two letters:

<i>ŋj</i>	close to English <i>ny</i> in <i>canyon</i> (palatalized <i>n</i>)
<i>lj</i>	close to English <i>lli</i> in <i>million</i> (palatalized double <i>l</i>)
<i>hj</i>	voiceless <i>j</i>
<i>hl</i>	voiceless <i>l</i>
<i>hm</i>	voiceless <i>m</i>
<i>hn</i>	voiceless <i>n</i>
<i>hr</i>	voiceless rolled <i>r</i>

Consonant quantity is marked by doubling, e.g. *guolli* 'fish', where *ll* stands for a sound distributed over two syllables (*guol-Zi*). The orthography does not distinguish between short and long geminates, but these are marked in dictionaries, for example, with a special sign as in *beas'si* 'birch bark vs. *beassi*, 'nest'. Sometimes trebling is used (*beasssi* vs. *beassi*).

Sami is an inflectional language: it uses suffixes rather than separate structural words or sentence positions to point out grammatical and spatial relations. Inflection is very regular and there is only one declension and one conjugation. The noun is inflected in two numbers - singular and plural - and in 6-9: North Sami has 6, Skolt Sami 9 cases, and the other Sami languages fall in between. There is no gender nor any other semantically based classification of nouns. The following North Sami example may illustrate the declension of nouns:

	Singular	Plural
nominative	<i>goahti</i> , hut'	<i>goazdit</i> , 'huts'
genitive-		
accusative	<i>goadi</i> , '(of)the hut'	<i>godiid</i>
allative	<i>goahtai</i> , 'into the hut'	<i>godiiide</i>
locative	<i>goadis</i> , 'in/from the hut'	<i>godiin</i>
comitative	<i>godiin</i> , 'with the hut'	<i>godiiquin</i>
essive	<i>goahтин</i> , 'as the hut, (turning into) the hut'	(no plural)

In addition to number and case, the noun is also inflected for person. The suffixes termed possessive have the same reference as the other grammatical items referring to person. They show three numbers (dual in addition to singular and plural) and three persons (first, second and third, or the speaker, the one spoken to and the one spoken about, respectively). The following words may serve as examples of the possessive declension:

goahti, 'hut'
goahtan, 'my hut; of my hut'
goahtasan, 'into my hut'
goadistan, 'in/from my hut'
godiiinan, 'with my hut'
goahtzseame, 'to our (dual) hut'
goadisteame, 'in/from our (dual) hut'
goahtaseamet, 'to our (plural) hut'
goadisteamet, 'in/from our (plural) hut'
goahtasat, 'to your (singular) hut'
goahtaseatte, 'to your (dual) hut'
goahtaseattet, 'to your(plural) hut'.

Verb conjugation shows the same numbers and persons as the possessive suffixes and personal pronouns. In addition to these categories, the verb is also conjugated for two voices (active and passive), four moods (indicative, conditional, potential and imperative), and a number of infinitive forms. The indicative present and past in the active voice of the verb 'boahtit' (to come) is given as an illustration together with the nominative forms of the personal pronouns:

singular	1. <i>mun boadan</i>	<i>bohten</i>
	2. <i>don doadat</i>	<i>bohtet</i>
	3. <i>son boahta</i>	<i>bodii</i>
dual	1. <i>moai bohte</i>	<i>bodiime</i>
	2. <i>doaiboahhtibeahhti</i>	<i>bodiide</i>
	3. <i>soai boahtiba</i>	<i>bodiiga</i>
plural	1. <i>mii boahtit</i>	<i>bodiimet</i>
	2. <i>dii bouhtibehtet</i>	<i>bodiidet</i>
	3. <i>sii bohtet</i>	<i>bohte</i>

Note the different endings in the present and past: the latter bears resemblance to the possessive suffixes, e.g. *goahta-det*, 'your (pl) hut' and *bodii-det* 'you (pl) came', whereas the former is based on agent noun forms.

The Sami derivational system is rich, varied and dynamic. The possibilities of the system can be illustrated with words derived from the verb stem *vuodji*, 'to drive':

<i>vuddjot</i>	'to be driven'
<i>vujes</i>	'apt to drive'
<i>vujot</i>	'a driving reindeer exhausted because of driving'
<i>vuoddja</i>	'by driving off'
<i>vuoddjahit</i>	'to drive off after something'
<i>vuoddjatallat</i>	'get ready to drive'
<i>vuoddjat</i>	'to drive off'
<i>vuoddjevas</i>	'who drives constantly'
<i>vuoddji</i>	'driver'
<i>v uoddji(s)</i>	'very good at driving'
<i>vuoddjil</i>	'apt to drive'
<i>vuoctjalit</i>	'be in the habit of driving'
<i>vuodjadat</i>	'a distance one is able to drive'
<i>vuodjdladdat</i>	'be driving at a good pace'
<i>vuoctjalahttit</i>	'cause someone to drive a little at a good pace'
<i>vuodjalas</i>	'who likes to drive'
<i>vuodjamus</i>	'having to drive'
<i>vuodjelit</i>	'drive off urge on'
<i>vuodjeleaddji</i>	'driver (of a herd)'
<i>vuodjilit</i>	'drive a little at a good pace'
<i>vuodjemeahttun</i>	'underdriven'
<i>v uodjin</i>	'driving'
<i>vuodjit</i>	'to drive'
<i>vuodju</i>	'run, drive'
<i>vuoja</i>	'a result or consequence of driving'
<i>vuojahallat</i>	'to chase along frequently'
<i>vuojan</i>	'inclined to drive'
<i>vuojanas</i>	'a single act of driving'
<i>vuojasit</i>	'drive in a leisurely way'
<i>vuojadat</i>	'good weather for driving'
<i>vuojahallat</i>	'make someone drive many times; drive after someone frequently'
<i>vuojahas</i>	'something that has been driven'
<i>vuojahat</i>	'track (of a vehicle in snow)'
<i>vuojaldahttit</i>	'drive off after (to overtake)'
<i>vuojaldat</i>	'a distance to drive'
<i>vuojalmasat</i>	'a driving event'
<i>vuojan</i>	'driving reindeer; vehicle'
vuojastallat	'be driving (steadily and well)'
<i>vuojcastat</i>	'a short drive, ride'
<i>vuojat</i>	'suitable driving circumstances'
<i>vuojehuhkes</i>	'apt to chase, drive after'
<i>vuojeaheaddji</i>	'chaser; the one who drives the herd'
<i>vuojehheapmi</i>	'driving, chasing'

<i>vuojehit</i>	'chase, drive after someone'
<i>vuojestit</i>	'to drive a little'
<i>vuoji</i>	'by driving'
<i>vuojihahhti</i>	'drivable'
<i>vuojiheapme</i>	'who drives a little'
<i>vuojihit</i>	'get someone to drive; give a ride; drive after someone'
<i>vuojildit</i>	'often be out driving'
<i>vuojit</i>	'driving reindeer exhausted because of driving'
<i>vuojit</i>	'driving season'
<i>vuojus</i>	'trip to drive'

Even this list is far from exhaustive, because derivation is productive to a great extent. It is always possible to form action and agent nouns from verbs (e.g. *vuojastallat* > *vuojastalli*, *vuojctstallan*) or to derive a causative verb with the meaning 'make somebody do.. .' (e.g. *vuojastallat* > *vuojastalahit*). Furthermore, it is possible to vary the order of the derivative suffixes to give different components of the action. One can use some of the following verbs to express the meaning 'make somebody drive a little many times':

<i>vuojihastalit</i>	<i>vuojastuhttalit</i>	<i>vuojastulahit</i>
<i>vuojahalastit</i>	<i>vuodjalasttihit</i>	<i>vuodjalahtestit</i>

The causative *suffixe* is *-h/ht((t)i)-*, the frequentative suffix (meaning 'do frequently') is *-al(la)-*, and the diminutive suffix (with the meaning 'do a little') is *-st((t)i)-*. The final *-t* is the infinitive marker.

These examples illustrate the flexibility and resources of the Sami derivational system. Coining new words for new concepts is a central task of Sami language planning. Through the possibilities of its word-formation system, the Sami language is able to retain its originality and characteristics even though more and more new words for modern concepts are needed in society and technology.

Syntactic functions are marked with cases rather than sentence position. Thus e.g. the sentences: *Bardnioinniiguovzza*, *Guovzza bardnioinnii*, *Oinnii bardni guovzza*, *Oinnii guovzza bardni*, *Bardni guovzza oinnii* and *Guovzza oinnii bardni* all have the same cognitive meaning ('the boy saw the bear') because the word for 'boy' stands in the nominative case representing the subject of the sentence whereas the word for 'bear' is in the accusative which is the case of the object (nominative is *guovzza* with a single 2. The different arrangements of the word - word orders - serve other communicative purposes, e.g. emphasis and focusing.

Sami Vocabulary

Sami may be divided into different groups on the basis of their origin. Besides indigenous Sami words inherited vertically, there is a fairly large number of loan words from the neighbouring languages, mainly Scandinavian and Finnish.

Indigenous Words

According to the latest research into Sami vocabulary, approximately 1500 words date back to Common Sami. North Sami has preserved over 90 per cent of these, some 1400, and its neighbouring languages - Lule, Inari and Skolt Sami - show a similar figure. South, Ume, Pite, Kildin and Ter Sami also show a similar figure and have preserved fewer Common Sami words, but this is probably due to the fact that their vocabulary has not been as thoroughly investigated as that of the central idioms and that the vocabulary of these minor languages is necessarily smaller than that of the bigger ones in the central areas.

About 600 words of the Common Sami lexical stock have cognates in the rest of the Uralic languages, and a somewhat higher figure (about 650) are words that have no etymology, i.e. that do not have cognate words in the related languages, nor are they loan words borrowed from other languages. This means that about 1250 Common Sami words - and here words mean basic stems - are indigenous. In the individual Sami idioms, the number of words without etymology is probably higher, but the number of words with cognates in the other related languages is lower.

The oldest attested stratum of indigenous Sami words has cognates in the Samoyed languages (Nenets, Enets, Nganasan, Selkup and some extinct languages). Almost a hundred word stems belong to this group of Uralic in Sami. Among these are, e.g. the following, termed 'cultural' words:

<i>vuoni</i> , 'mother-in-law'	<i>vuohppa</i> , 'father-in-law'
<i>njuolla</i> , 'arrow'	<i>oahci</i> , 'obstacle'
<i>Čeahci</i> , 'younger paternal uncle'	<i>nadda</i> , 'shaft'
<i>galojeatni</i> , 'sister-in-law'	<i>holga</i> , 'pole, bar'
<i>vivva</i> , 'son-in-law'	<i>suhkat</i> , 'to row'
<i>goaski</i> , 'senior maternal aunt'	<i>suoladit</i> , 'to steal'
<i>mannji</i> , 'daughter-in-law'	<i>dapmi</i> , 'glue'
<i>namma</i> , 'name'	<i>doarru</i> , 'quarrel'
<i>botnit</i> , 'to plait'	<i>juoksa</i> , 'bow'
<i>avvi</i> , 'belt'	<i>veaiki</i> , 'copper'
<i>dolla</i> , 'fire'	<i>vihtta</i> , ' five '

These words reflect the circumstances in a subsistence society where family and km are central.

Other basic words from this period are the following:

<i>eami</i> , 'original'	<i>haksit</i> , 'smell'
<i>uuolli</i> , 'under'	<i>uuokta</i> , 'hair (of the head)'
<i>oaivi</i> , 'head'	<i>allat</i> , 'high'
<i>duopma</i> , 'bird-cherry (tree)'	<i>johka</i> , 'river'
<i>gossat</i> , 'to cough'	<i>goikat</i> , 'to dry'
<i>guoika</i> , 'rapid (in a river)'	<i>gopmut</i> , 'face down'
<i>gozza</i> , 'urine'	<i>ganjal</i> , 'tear'
<i>goksit</i> , 'take (someone's share)'	<i>guoddit</i> , 'leave'
<i>guolli</i> , 'fish'	<i>guoddit</i> , 'to carry'
<i>guossa</i> , 'spruce'	<i>giella</i> , 'language'
<i>laksi</i> , 'dew'	<i>mannat</i> , 'to go'
<i>monni</i> , 'egg'	<i>njoammil</i> , 'hare'
<i>njuvdit</i> , 'to press'	<i>njoallut</i> , 'to lick'
<i>ballat</i> , 'to fear'	<i>beassi</i> , 'nest'
<i>borrat</i> , 'to eat'	<i>buolva</i> , 'knee'
<i>boska</i> , 'angelica (plant)'	<i>botnit</i> , 'to plait'
<i>buollit</i> , 'to bum'	<i>beaivi</i> , 'day, sun'
<i>bealli</i> , 'half'	<i>siedja</i> , 'matter'
<i>suoskat</i> , 'to chew'	<i>sanas</i> , 'melted, unfrozen'
<i>Cuvdi</i> , 'finger'	<i>salla</i> , 'lap'
<i>suorgi</i> , 'branch'	<i>calbmi</i> , 'eye'
<i>cizzi</i> , 'breast'	<i>cadda</i> , 'charcoal'
<i>dolgi</i> , 'feather'	<i>dovdat</i> , 'to recognize, to know'
<i>vuignat</i> , 'to breathe'	

The next stratum of indigenous Sami words dates back to the Finno-Ugric proto-language. About 160 Sami words stems can be dated to that time, 6000-5000 years ago. The following words reflect the cultural traditions of this period:

<i>eahki</i> , 'elder paternal uncle'	<i>ahcci</i> , 'father'
<i>vuovdit</i> , 'to sell'	<i>vuodjit</i> , 'to drive'
<i>Cuohppat</i> , 'to cut'	<i>goldit</i> , 'to fish (with a drift-net)'
<i>goahti</i> , 'hut'	<i>liepma</i> , 'broth'
<i>goodit</i> , 'to catch, to kill'	<i>njuovvat</i> , 'to flay'
<i>lohkat</i> , 'to count, to read'	<i>buoddu</i> , 'dam, netting enclosure'
<i>boarri</i> , 'raft'	<i>soadji</i> , 'sleeve'
<i>ceahppi</i> , 'skilled'	<i>Cuolggu</i> , 'lever, pole'
<i>citna</i> , 'charcoal'	<i>callit</i> , 'to cut, to write'
<i>Cuolbma</i> , 'knot'	<i>vahcut</i> , 'to scrape'
<i>Ciekka</i> , 'bone splinter'	

The rest of the words from this period include, e.g. the following:

<i>albmi</i> , 'sky, weather'	<i>ahki</i> , 'age'
<i>oaddit</i> , 'to sleep'	<i>oalul</i> , 'jaw'
<i>vuovda</i> , 'nesting box'	<i>varis</i> , 'male'
<i>idja</i> , 'night'	<i>vuoigqzsat</i> , 'brain'
<i>jietna</i> , 'voice'	<i>davdi</i> , 'milt'
<i>jiekna</i> , 'ice'	<i>jeaggi</i> , 'bog'
<i>garra</i> , 'bark'	<i>garrudit</i> , 'to swear'
<i>goddat</i> , 'to spawn'	<i>golgat</i> , 'to run (of water)'
<i>guhitta</i> , 'six'	<i>gullat</i> , 'to hear'
<i>gazza</i> , 'nail'	<i>gassat</i> , 'thick'
<i>gallit</i> , 'to wade'	<i>giehta</i> , 'hand, arm'
<i>loddi</i> , 'bird'	<i>lulli</i> , 'south'
<i>lavza</i> , 'gadfly'	<i>mann</i> , 'after'
<i>mielga</i> , 'chest'	<i>snuolga</i> , 'snot'
<i>niehku</i> , 'dream'	<i>njiellat</i> , 'to swallow'
<i>njeallje</i> , 'four'	<i>njulbmi</i> , 'mouth'
<i>njuovcca</i> , 'tongue'	<i>njuorggis</i> , 'cartilage'
<i>njuolgat</i> , 'straight'	<i>beaddat</i> , 'to prick'
<i>beallji</i> , 'ear'	<i>bassit</i> , 'to roast'
<i>boktit</i> , 'ta wake'	<i>botnjat</i> , 'to twist'
<i>borga</i> , 'snow flurry'	<i>suotna</i> , 'sinew'
<i>sahppi</i> , 'gall'	<i>Ceabet</i> , 'neck'
<i>Cuopma</i> , 'fish skin'	<i>Coadgi</i> , 'goldeneye'
<i>Coalli</i> , 'gut'	<i>Corru</i> , 'ridge'
<i>cada</i> , 'through'	<i>Colga</i> , 'saliva'
<i>cakca</i> , 'autumn'	<i>Cuozzut</i> , 'to stand'
<i>Cahci</i> , 'water'	<i>Ciekca</i> , 'osprey'
<i>dahkat</i> , 'ta do'	<i>davvi</i> , 'north'
<i>dakti</i> , 'bone'	<i>dalvi</i> , 'winter'
<i>varra</i> , 'blood'	<i>vielgat</i> , 'white'
<i>oalgi</i> , 'shoulder'	<i>vuodja</i> , 'butter'
<i>adas</i> , 'new'	<i>ada</i> , 'marrow'
<i>vuodjut</i> , 'to sink'	<i>vazzit</i> , 'to walk'
<i>uarri</i> , 'mountain'	

The Finno-Permic layer comprises about sixty indigenous Sami words. This group contains only a few cultural words:

<i>addja</i> , 'grandfather'	<i>goavdi</i> , 'space under (e.g. a roof)'
<i>gama</i> , 'shoe'	<i>goddit</i> , 'to knit'
<i>beana</i> , 'dog'	<i>basttat</i> , 'tongs'
<i>boazu</i> , 'reindeer'	<i>boarti</i> , 'birch bark vessel'

<i>reahpen</i> , 'smoke hole'	<i>culggon</i> , 'side piece (of Sami winter shoe)
<i>duognat</i> , 'to patch'	<i>vnollat</i> , 'to whittle'

Other central words from this period are e.g. the following:

<i>abbut</i> , 'to boil over'	<i>astat</i> , 'to have time'
<i>assi</i> 'skin'	<i>oaksi</i> , 'twig'
<i>vuovssadit</i> , 'to vomit'	<i>oarri</i> , 'squirrel'
<i>ok ta</i> , 'one'	<i>juohkit</i> , 'divide'
<i>gaskit</i> , 'to bite'	<i>goaivu</i> , 'spade'
<i>gaikut</i> , 'to rip'	<i>gastit</i> , 'to sneeze'
<i>goaskin</i> , 'eagle'	<i>gotka</i> , 'ant'
<i>gutna</i> , 'ashes'	<i>galmmas</i> , 'cold'
<i>miella</i> , 'mind'	<i>nierra</i> , 'cheek'
<i>njuoskkas</i> , 'wet'	<i>njoahci</i> , 'slow'
<i>rieban</i> , 'fox'	<i>suohkat</i> , 'thick'
<i>Cieza</i> , 'seven'	<i>caihni</i> , 'woodpecker'

The Finno-Volgaic part of Sami vocabulary comprises about sixty words. From the cultural point of view the following are relevant:

<i>aldu</i> , 'reindeer cow'	<i>atnut</i> , 'to beg (for something)'
<i>johtit</i> , 'to move, to migrate'	<i>gaskit</i> , 'to pluck'
<i>gealdit</i> , 'to cook', 'to stretch'	<i>maksit</i> , 'to play'
<i>mealli</i> , 'steering-oar'	<i>njaddit</i> , 'to tack together'
<i>baggi</i> , 'halter'	<i>birra</i> , 'around, about'
<i>bordit</i> , 'to pile'	<i>sadjit</i> , 'to hone'
<i>saddit</i> , 'to stretch out'	<i>suoddat</i> , 'to cut (for boiling)'
<i>fanas</i> , 'boat'	<i>vuoksi</i> , 'span (between the thumb and forefinger)'

Other interesting words in this group are, e.g.:

<i>cuoika</i> , 'mosquito'	<i>japmit</i> , 'to die'
<i>goahppil</i> , 'hen capercaillie'	<i>goardit</i> , 'to roast'
<i>gahcat</i> , 'to ask'	<i>gurus</i> , 'hard'
<i>lassi</i> , 'addition'	<i>loapmi</i> , 'gap'
<i>mieskkas</i> , 'rotten'	<i>muorji</i> , 'berry'
<i>oarpmealle</i> , 'female cousin'	<i>boaldit</i> , 'to burn'
<i>saskat</i> , 'to jump'	<i>sopmu</i> , 'fog'
<i>suodat</i> , 'leak, let air out'	<i>suorbma</i> , 'finger'
<i>suovva</i> , 'smoke'	<i>doarrais</i> , 'across'
<i>doarjut</i> , 'to support'	<i>valvi</i> , 'pack (of wolves, dogs)'
<i>vaibmu</i> , 'heart'	<i>vielgat</i> , 'white'
<i>vuosta</i> , 'against'	

Almost 200 indigenous Sami words are shared with the Balto-Finnic languages. These date back to the Finno-sami proto-language and have been in use for at least 3500 years, perhaps longer. Among the words referring to cultural concepts are the following:

<i>ahkku</i> , 'grandmother'	<i>cavgni</i> , 'supporting pole'
<i>Ciehkat</i> , 'ta hide'	<i>coaggit</i> , 'to pick'
<i>Cuodjat</i> , 'to ring'	<i>Cuoldit</i> , 'to separate'
<i>joddu</i> , 'net (in a fishing enclosure)	<i>juoigat</i> , 'to yoik' (sing in the Sami manner)
<i>gallet</i> , 'to visit'	<i>geaidnu</i> , 'way'
<i>geavri</i> , 'ring (in a ski pole)	<i>gieddi</i> , 'yard, meadow (around a dwelling)'
<i>gietkha</i> , 'cradle'	<i>guksi</i> , 'dipper, cup'
<i>goarrut</i> , 'to sew'	<i>guotnjar</i> , 'rib (of a boat)'
<i>lavzi</i> , 'rein'	<i>lollat</i> , 'to be jealous'
<i>lohti</i> , 'wedge'	<i>mieres</i> , 'bad axe'
<i>muotki</i> , land	<i>noaidi</i> , 'wizard'
<i>oarji</i> , 'south (originally: slave)'	<i>bargat</i> , 'to work'
<i>bassat</i> , 'to wash'	<i>bargidit</i> , 'to plait'
<i>borjjas</i> , 'sail'	<i>raksa</i> , 'diaper'
<i>saiti</i> , 'spear, ice pick'	<i>searvi</i> , 'association'
<i>seakti</i> , 'bait'	<i>siida</i> , '(reindeer) village'
<i>solgi</i> , 'ridge (on an artifact)'	<i>soabbi</i> , 'pole, stick'
<i>davgi</i> , 'bow'	<i>dohppa</i> , 'sheath'
<i>doalli</i> , '(winter) road (snow-covered)'	<i>duorbut</i> , 'to stir the water (for driving fish into a net)'
<i>vadjat</i> , 'to cut'	<i>faggi</i> , 'hook'
<i>uala(ha)t</i> , 'girth (over the shoulder)'	<i>uuogga</i> , 'lure (for trolling)'
<i>viellja</i> , 'brother'	<i>uuordnut</i> , 'to take an oath'
<i>vuohcit</i> , 'to shoot'	

Other central words from this period are e.g. the following:

<i>albbas</i> , 'lynx'	<i>amas</i> , 'strange'
<i>aski</i> , 'lap'	<i>Cielggas</i> , 'clear'
<i>Coalbmi</i> , 'strait'	<i>Cuollat</i> , 'to chop'
<i>jalla</i> , 'mad'	<i>jeagil</i> , 'lichen'
<i>jumézat</i> , 'twins'	<i>galba</i> , 'shield; broad front antler'
<i>gadjut</i> , 'to save'	<i>gaddi</i> , 'shore'
<i>gassi</i> , 'rennet'	<i>geahccat</i> , 'to look'
<i>gitta</i> , 'fastened, closed'	<i>giehka</i> , 'cuckoo'
<i>gohccut</i> , 'to order'	<i>goallut</i> , 'to be freezing'
<i>guhkki</i> , 'long'	<i>guoskat</i> , 'to touch'
<i>guovda-</i> , 'central'	<i>lahka</i> , 'near'

<i>lattu</i> , 'bond'	<i>lodji</i> , 'tame'
<i>luoppal</i> , 'lake-like widening of a river'	<i>malli</i> , 'soup'
<i>maddi</i> , 'south'	<i>meoddemat</i> , 'roe'
<i>nealgi</i> , 'hunger'	<i>neahti</i> , 'marten'
<i>nohkkat</i> , 'to go to sleep'	<i>nuorra</i> , 'young'
<i>njunni</i> , 'nose'	<i>ohcat</i> , 'to search'
<i>holuut</i> , 'to howl'	<i>oskut</i> , 'to believe'
<i>beassi</i> , 'birch bark'	<i>bievla</i> , 'bare patch (in spring)'
<i>buohcat</i> , 'to be ill'	<i>rahpat</i> , 'to open'
<i>raddi</i> , 'chest'	<i>ruskat</i> , 'brown'
<i>raigi</i> , 'hole'	<i>saknidit</i> , 'to itch'
<i>ruoinnas</i> , 'skinny'	<i>suorri</i> , 'branch, fork'
<i>sodjat</i> , 'to bend'	<i>deahkki</i> , 'muscle'
<i>davja</i> , 'often'	<i>duohkin</i> , 'behind'
<i>dearbmi</i> , 'hill'	<i>duostat</i> , 'to dare'
<i>duottar</i> , 'tundra'	<i>favli</i> , 'deep water'
<i>vallji</i> , 'abundance'	<i>vuohppi</i> , 'narrow bay'
<i>fierrat</i> , 'to roll'	
<i>vuoskku</i> , 'perch'	

Many Sami words have found their way into the Scandinavian languages, Finnish and Russian. At least one Sami word is a well-established term in practically all the western languages, namely *tundra* which derives from Sami *duottar* (earlier + *tuonder*). Scientists have also found that the Sami words for snow are a useful basis for a precise terminology for different kinds of snow. Some other areas with extremely detailed Sami terminology are, e.g. words describing terrain, natural phenomena and reindeer. Each of these comprises several hundred terms. When the words are used in combination, one is able to describe several thousand different reindeer and point out any single individual even in big herds.

Loan-words

There are even older loan-word strata than those mentioned above. The oldest loan-words in Sami are of ancient Indo-European origin. They were adopted after the dissolution of Proto-Uralic from some of the old Indo-Iranian idioms. One of the words, *reasmí* 'rope of a net', is of particular interest here because it is not found in Balm-Finnic and hence cannot be considered to be borrowed via Finnish. The rest of the old Indo-European loan-words reflect early society and livelihoods: *oazzi*, 'flesh', *oarbbis*, 'orphan', *fierbmi*, 'net', *coavi*, 'horn', *cohkut*, 'to comb', *cuohhti*, 'hundred', *veanhcir*, 'hammer', and the East Sami word (here given in reconstructed North Sami form) *vuossi*, '(reindeer) fawn'.

The next layer of loan-words is also Indo-European, more precisely of Baltic origin. It dates back to the Finnic-Sami proto-language at the end of the Stone Age. The number of Baltic loan-words is somewhat greater than that of the Indo-Iranian loans, a little over twenty. Out of these, four are not found in Baltic Finnic, and it seems that they were borrowed independently in the Pre-Sami era of the proto-language. Two of the four are found in South Sami only: *suer-tie*, 'heart (as food)', and *daktere*, 'daughter'. One is confined to West Sluni: *leaibi*, 'alder'; one has a wider distribution: *riessat*, 'adorn with fringes'. The rest of the Baltic loan-words belong to a variety of conceptual categories, e.g. *suolu*, 'island', *luokta*, *bay*, *guksi*, 'dipper', *luossa*, 'salmon', *suoidni*, 'hay', *suoldni*, 'dew, night frost', *guoibmi*, 'companion', *duovli*, 'tinder' and *vuossi*, 'handle (of a pot)'.

The oldest Germanic loan-words are probably as old as the Baltic ones. To these belong such words as *gierdat*, 'endure', *bassi*, 'sacred', *suovdi*, 'gill (of a fish)', *luokat*, 'borrow', *ruovda*, 'part of the bottom piece of a summer brogue', *buoidi*, 'fat', *roavgu*, 'skin rug', *ruovdi*, 'iron', *vuorbi*, 'lot, destiny', *guossi*, 'guest', *vuotta*, 'brogueband', and *viessat*, 'get tired'.

The length of the contacts between the Germanic languages and Sami is reflected in the fact that many words have been borrowed twice, e.g. ancient loans - *lahttu*, 'limb', *luokat*, 'borrow', *roavgu*, 'skin rug'; more recent loans - *ladas*, 'joint', *laigu*, 'rent', *raffi*, 'sheep skin'.

The most recent group of Indo-European loan-words in Sami derives from Russian. Some of the Russian loan-words have a wide distribution. Two of them, *radji*, 'frontier' and *darru*, 'Norwegian' are known in all the Sami languages; Finnish seems to have been a mediator. The word *gistta*, 'glove', is found as far south as Ume Sami, and the words *Savka* 'cap', *spire*, 'beast of prey', *iskat*, 'to try', *Sibit*, 'domestic animal', and *ohpit*, 'again' have found their way as far as North Sami in the west; of these, *gistta* and *Sibit* may have been borrowed via Finnish or Karelian. The number of Russian loan-words in the eastern-most Sami languages (Skolt, Kildin and Ter) is comparable to the more recent Scandinavian loan-words in the western languages. The Russian Orthodox Church in particular seems to have been powerful in transmitting loan-words from the sixteenth century onwards.

The Finnish loan-words also bear signs of lengthy contact and some words have been adopted twice, e.g. the more ancient loan *silla* and the more recent *hilla*, 'live (coal)'. In the dialects spoken on the Finnish side of the national border, and the other areas in Northern Norway and Sweden where the Sami have had daily contact with the Finnish-speaking population, the number of Finnish loan-words has increased steadily. It is only the last decade, with its conscious language planning, that has caused the adoption of new words to diminish to occasional uses only. Instead, Sami neologisms have found their way into schoolbooks and other official and public uses of the language.

Lexical Strata in Texts

Although the number of loan-words seems to be much higher than the number of indigenous Sami words, the frequency of the individual words in the texts reflects their centrality in a more concrete manner. The following notes are based on word counts from a corpus consisting of approximately 41,000 words of running text.

The more frequent words were found to cover the text as follows: number of the most frequent words - 5, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 75, 100 covering respectively 25,33,39,44,47,50,55 and 59 per cent.

Among the most frequent 5 words there is one Finnish loan-word, the conjunction *ja*, 'and', with a 3.55 per cent share in the text. Among the next 5 more frequent words, there is a Finnish loan conjunction, *ahte*, 'that' (1.33 per cent coverage). Among the next 10 words, there are three Finnish loans, the particles *uel(a)* 'still' (0.58 per cent) and *jo*, 'already' (0.55 per cent), and the noun *aigi*, 'time'(0.51 per cent). The most frequent Germanic loan-word is number 49, *lavet*, 'to be in the habit (of)' (0.27 per cent). In all there are 36 loan-words - 29 Finnish, 5 Scandinavian, 2 Indo-Iranian - among the most frequent words. They comprise 13.9 per cent of the whole text corpus.

The rest of the most frequent 100 words - 64 indigenous words - make up almost 45 per cent of the corpus. These can be divided into etymological groups. There are 12 words without an etymology outside Sami. They comprise 3.0 per cent of the corpus: *na*, 'well, now' - 0.54 per cent, *boahtit*, 'to come' - 0.41 per cent; *maidadi*, 'also' - 0.36 per cent; *buo(hka)t*, 'all' - 0.29 per cent; *fal*, 'only, just' - 0.26 per cent; *valdit*, 'to take' - 0.22 per cent; *bidjat*, 'to put' - 0.21 per cent; *hui*, 'very' - 0.17 per cent; *oaidnit*, 'to see' - 0.14 per cent; *miessi*, 'fawn' - 0.13 per cent; *mielde/mealdi*, 'along' - 0.13 per cent; *orrut*, 'to be, to seem' - 0.12 per cent.

It is interesting that this group contains a number of basic verbs such as 'see', 'take', 'put', 'be, seem' and 'come'.

The group of words with cognates in the Samoyed language is the most ancient attestable group of Sami words. Among the two most frequent words, the following 16 date back to the Uralic prom-language: *ii*, 'not (verb)' - 2.24 per cent; *mun*, 'I' - 1.92 per cent; *mii:ma*, 'which' - 1.16 per cent; *don*, 'you' - 0.68 per cent; *mannat*, 'to go' - 0.5 per cent; *mii:mi*, 'we' - 0.44 per cent; *dat*, 'this' - 0.37 per cent; *dal*, 'now' - 0.28 per cent; *dappe*, 'here' - 0.23 per cent; *bealli*, 'half' - 0.22 per cent; *guokte*, 'two' - 0.19 per cent; *eallu*, 'herd' - 0.17 per cent; *duot*, 'that' - 0.17 per cent; *mihkkege*, 'anything' - 0.15 per cent; *eallit*, 'to live' - 0.15 per cent; *gii*, 'who' - 0.13 per cent.

These words comprise 9 per cent of the text corpus. Some of the most important structural words belong to this group together with a few words for such basic concepts as 'half', 'to go' and 'to live'.

Those words that have cognates in the Ugric branch of the Finno-Ugric family (Mansi, Khanti and Hungarian) can be dated to the Finno-Ugric

prom-language. Among the words under scrutiny, the following nine belong to this group: *Zeat*, 'to be' - 7.2 per cent; *son*, 'he, she' - 0.38 per cent; *nubbi*, 'other' - 0.3 per cent; *galgat*, 'to have' - 0.27 per cent; *ahcci*, 'father' - 0.24 per cent; *les*, 'self' - 0.24 per cent; *vuolgit*, 'to leave' - 0.2 per cent; *eam(b)bo*, 'more' - 0.16 per cent; *gullat*, 'to hear' - 0.14 per cent.

These words make up 9.1 per cent of the whole text corpus.

The next younger group are words with cognates in the Permit languages (Komi, Komi-Permyak and Udmurt): these date back to the Finno-Permit prom-language. There are 3 words in this group: *buorre*, 'good' - 0.32 per cent; *beana*, 'dog' - 0.3 per cent; *okta*, 'one' - 0.25 per cent. These words cover about 0.9 per cent of the corpus.

Words with cognates in the Volgaic languages (Mordvin and Mari) date back to the next younger proto-language of Sami, the Finno-Volgaic proto-language. Three words belong to this layer in the most frequent 100 words of the investigated text: *nu*, 'thus' - 1.92 per cent; *boazu*, 'reindeer'; *aldu*, 'reindeer cow' - 0.13 per cent. These words make up 2.5 per cent of the corpus.

The next most recent layer consists of those words having cognates in the Balto-Finnic language; they come from the Finnic-Sami prom-language. This group is by far the most numerous group of indigenous Sami words in the top 100 words; it has 21 words: *dat*, 'that' - 9.30 per cent; *gal(e)*, 'yes, sure' - 2.33 per cent; *go*, 'as' - 2.19 per cent; *de*, 'so, then' - 0.97 per cent; *doppe*, 'there' - 0.77 per cent; *dalle*, 'then' - 0.63 per cent; *olu*, 'much' - 0.53 per cent; *dohko*, '(to) there' - 0.45 per cent; *dakkar*, 'such' - 0.43 per cent; *dal*, 'now, well' - 0.43 per cent; *dasto*, 'then' - 0.33 per cent; *viellja*, 'brother' - 0.32 per cent; *olmmos*, 'man' - 0.27 per cent; *eara*, 'other' - 0.25 per cent; *dego*, 'as' - 0.23 per cent; *?ovdal*, 'before' - 0.17 per cent; *duottar*, 'tundra' - 0.14 per cent; *?ovda*, 'fore' - 0.13 per cent; *datte*, 'still' - 0.13 per cent; *siida*, 'village' - 0.13 per cent; *?guhkki*, 'long' - 0.12 per cent.

The words with a question mark are etymologically uncertain. In all, the words in this group comprise 20.3 per cent of the investigated corpus. Ten of the words are probably derived from the same pronoun stem: *dat*, *de*, *doppe*, *dalle*, *dohko*, *dakkar*, *dal*, *dasto*, *dego* and *datte*. Even though the number of loan-words is substantially higher than the number of the Proto-Finnic-Sami words in the most frequent 100 words, they are not as central in texts. We may conclude that, in spite of intensive contacts with other languages, Sami has preserved its vocabulary as distinctly indigenous and that in normal running texts indigenous words clearly outnumber loan-words.

At present, Sami vocabulary is developing rapidly. New needs and concepts call for new words practically daily. In the course of a couple of decades, several thousands new words have found their way into the language, and most of these are in everyday use in the mass media and other non-traditional texts. To these belong e.g. *doaba*, 'concept', *berostumpi*, 'interest', *badjeddassi*, 'junior high school', *birasviessu*, 'community hall',

cealkka, 'sentence', *jietnadat*, '(language) sound', *ovdaskuulu*, 'preschool', *mohtorgielka*, 'snowmobile', *ovdagoddi*, 'municipal council', *ossodathoavda*, 'department head', *balkaceahkki*, 'salary grade', *aigeguovdil*, 'current', *cazadat*, 'water system', *diehtujuohkin*, 'mass communication', etc. The dynamics of this process is shown, for instance, by the fact that many proposed words have been replaced by better expressions. So, for example, 'nature conservation' used to be *luonddu suodjaleapmi*, but was replaced by the shorter word *birasgahhten*; 'artist' was earlier *koanstaceahppi* (from Scandinavian *konst*, 'art'), later *daiddaceahppi* (from the neologism *daidda*, 'art'), but now *daiddar* is used. The word for 'art' illustrates the essential features of the development: at the outset, the adapted Scandinavian word *koansta* was used; it was replaced first by the indigenous word *Cehppodat* which turned out to be too broad a term because it also meant 'skill' in general. The compound *daidacehppodat* was taken instead but it was long and clumsy and was later replaced by a shorter word, *daidu*, which also has a general meaning 'skill, ability' and has finally been replaced by the short, precise word *daida*. In this process, all the Sami means of word-formation were utilized: *accommodation offoreign words* when there was or seemed to be no traditional **means** available, *compounding* established words together to express a new concept, or *derivation*, deriving new words from old stems. At present there is a terminology project under way to explore the possibilities and constraints of these different means of coining new words and expressions in Sami. The project is making good use of modern linguistic methods and traditional principles of Sami terminology and word-formation.

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