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BY- VOEGELIN, C. F. AND OTHERS

INDIANA UNIV., BLOOMINGTON

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LANGUAGES WHICH INCLUDE ALL NON-CAUCASIAN, NON-INDO-EUROPEAN,
AND NON-SINO-TIBETAN LANGUAGES SPOKEN BETWEEN THE LINE THAT
SEPARATES EUROPE FROM ASIA AND THE NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN. (THE
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**LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD:
BOREO-ORIENTAL FASCICLE ONE**

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**LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD:
BOREO-ORIENTAL FASCICLE ONE**

**Alo Raun, David Francis
C.F. and F.M. Voegelin**

Indiana University

- 1. Relationship of Uralic to Altaic and the scope of Boreo-Oriental**
- 2. Uralic**
- 3. Altaic**
- 4. Korean**
- 5. Japanese and Okinawan**
- 6. Ainu**
- 7.0. Paleosiberian (Siberian Americanoid) languages**
- 7.1. Family including Chukchee, Koryak, and Kamchadal**
- 7.2. Family including Yukaghir and Chuvantzy**
- 7.3. Gilyak**
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The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

1.0. Boreal is the adjectival form of bora, a northeasterly wind of the Adriatic Sea, which is reminiscent of the Boreas in Greek mythology—north wind or wind from the mountains. This gives the etymology of the first member of the Boreo-Oriental compound.

The referent for the second member of this compound is easier to identify than the first. 'Oriental' refers to that part of the Eurasian east whose coasts and off-shore islands face the Pacific, while 'Boreo' refers to the hard to determine line (broadening to a corridor sometimes) that separates Europe from Asia—a line which extends on a north-south axis from Finland to the Black Sea.

The Boreo-Oriental languages include all non-Caucasian, non-Indo-European and non-Sino-Tibetan languages that are spoken between this line and the North Pacific Ocean. Some of the languages whose relatives are otherwise in the Boreo-Oriental area have stepped over the line into Europe: Hungarian, Finnish, Estonian, and Lappic.

The Boreo-Oriental linguistic area is more solidly based on continuous land mass than is the Indo-Pacific area, but is comparable to it in magnitude of geographic scope (Languages of the World: Indo-Pacific Fascicles One to Eight).

Just as Oceania in the Indo-Pacific area comes into orderly linguistic focus when viewed as an area in which hundreds and hundreds of languages either are or are not members of the Malayo-Polynesian family, so the dozens and dozens of languages in the Boreo-Oriental area can be viewed in

terms of their relationship or lack of relationship to Uralic and Altaic languages. It is all very well to say that the Malayo-Polynesian languages are pivotal to the linguistic discussion of Oceania, because their family relationship is demonstrated by the reconstruction of a common ancestor (Proto-Austronesian). Uralic and Altaic languages may be similarly pivotal to the linguistic discussion of the Boreo-Oriental area, but more complexly so—and this for three main reasons (1.1 to 1.3, following).

1.1. Uralic is a demonstrated language family, as much so as is Indo-European. It was in fact demonstrated to be a language family (then called Finno-Ugric) before Indo-European was. But Altaic is not a language family; it is a phylum consisting of at least three language families that are discussed separately below—Tungus languages including Manchu (3.1), Mongol languages (3.2) and Turkic languages (3.3)—after a discussion of the Uralic language family (2). It is then quite simple to state the relationship between Uralic and Altaic languages; since the latter already constitutes a phylum made up of three language families, that phylum is merely expanded by the inclusion of a fourth language family (Uralic).

1.2. It is easy enough to say that the relationship between Uralic and Altaic languages lies in the province of phylum linguistics (rather than in the province of comparative method work), but this does not say enough. There remains another province of investigation, known as areal linguistics (and concerned with diffusion between languages in contact), that obtrudes in every discussion on the relationship of Uralic and Altaic languages. Some

of these languages have been in contact with others in the same or neighboring families since time immemorial; and the speakers of most of them have shown a more than usual tendency—in history as well as in prehistory—to migrate from one region of Eurasia to another, sometimes into regions occupied by peoples aboriginal to the region. Thus, some Tungus languages have been influenced by Paleosiberian languages—those that are located in the vicinity of the aborigines, and only those, as is indicated below (7.0). Some Tungus languages are more markedly influenced by the Uralic Samoyed (3.1). One language—Manchu—in the Tungus family of the Altaic phylum has been so strongly influenced by languages from another family (Mongol) in the Altaic phylum that it is tempting to speak of the quasi-Mongol appearance of Manchu structure (3.1), but this appearance is deceptive, insofar as it reflects the fact that Manchu texts were written by scribes whose native language was Mongol, instead of reflecting structural similarity between the two spoken languages.

1.3. It is easy enough to say that some similarities among Uralic and Altaic languages that are not accounted for in terms of a common ancestor can be accounted for as a consequence of borrowing among related languages subsequent to the dispersal of the ancestral dialects, but this really begs the question. The question in its most general form asks which among the several dozen languages still spoken in the Boreo-Oriental area are related and which are not. Just as the three-family Altaic phylum has been expanded, despite remaining skeptics, by the inclusion of a fourth family (Uralic), other

language families have been proposed from time to time in the present century for inclusion in this same phylum—sometimes even other families located outside the Boreo-Oriental area (e.g. the Eskimo-Aleut family, on the one hand, and the Indo-European family on the other hand). The suggestion that Korean belongs in the same phylum with Uralic and Altaic has been most persistently discussed in this century. But Japanese also, and the Paleosiberian languages as well, have been examined in a preliminary way for traces of a common ancestry with Uralic and Altaic languages. If the traces were only less shadowy, it would be possible to set up a Boreo-Oriental macro-phylum to include all non-Caucasian, non-Indo-European and non-Sino-Tibetan languages that are spoken between Europe and the North Pacific.

The function of phylum linguistics is like that of a map made before all parts of a geographic area have been surveyed in detail (e.g. northeast California was not surveyed before a generation ago, but before that the unsurveyed part of California was included on the state map, though not in the detailed topographical survey maps which are published in sections). The difficulty with including Paleo-Siberian languages as a genetic part on the Boreo-Oriental map is that some evidence points to possible American Indian relationships of Paleo-Siberian languages and some evidence to possible relationships with language families in the Altaic phylum. But phylum linguistics is useful only when it is unidirectional; when phylum linguistics maps point uncertainly in two alternative directions, they are

confusing rather than useful. To avoid confusion, we explicitly exclude Paleo-Siberian languages and Ainu from the Altaic phylum which comprises four language families (Uralic, Tungus, Mongol, and Turkic).

The problem of Korean and the two Japanese languages is entirely different. Here the phylum linguistic evidence definitely points in one direction—toward the Altaic phylum as just identified. There are progressive affinities from Europe to the Pacific—from Uralic to Turkic to Mongol to Tungus to Korean and even to Japanese, though the affinities are much closer between Korean and the Altaic phylum than between Japanese and the Altaic phylum, as identified above. In order to express this situation of progressive affinity in a way which can be subsequently referred to (rather than explained all over again), we label the maximum coverage by one term (Altaic macro-phylum) and the more modest coverage by another term (Altaic phylum).

Accordingly, in Boreo-Oriental Fascicle One, we treat Korean (4) and Japanese and Okinawan (5) as members of the Altaic macro-phylum; and Uralic (2) and what are traditionally known as the Altaic languages (3) both as immediate members of the Altaic phylum and as ultimate members of the Altaic macro-phylum. But we leave Ainu (6) and Paleosiberian languages (7) as remainders in phylum linguistics—affiliated neither with the Altaic phylum nor with the Altaic macro-phylum.

This genetic exclusion of Ainu and Paleo-Siberian languages should not be taken to mean that they do not really belong to the Boreo-Oriental

area. They do indeed belong, but in an areal linguistic rather than in a phylum linguistic sense. They are par excellence the aboriginal languages of the Boreo-Oriental area, and as such have had maximum opportunity to serve both as donors to and borrowers from all the other languages in the Boreo-Oriental area that are postulated to have a common ancestor, albeit a remote one.

1.4. The development of the Language Files, involving the cooperation of corresponding contributors, consultants, graduate students, and principal investigators, has been described for the Languages of the World Fascicles in general in Sino-Tibetan Fascicle One (0.1). In subsequent fascicles, particular acknowledgements have been made to particular consultants, but more than this is needed to give the background of our Boreo-Oriental perspective. It began with training men in uniform during the Second World War, when Indiana University offered more diversity in Uralic and Altaic languages than any other ASTP program. This was followed by a long series of grants from various foundations which enabled the University to bring, in successive and sometimes continuing academic years, leading investigators of Uralic and Altaic languages: Knut Bergsland, Bjorn Collinder, Lauri Posti, Alo Raun, Asbjorn Nesheim, Paavo Ravila, Denis Sinor, David Francis, John Kreuger, Gyula Décsy, and Thomas A. Sebeok. The visiting investigators would discuss their problems and progress with other members of the Ethnolinguistic Seminar, a surprising number of whom were engaged off and on with research on one or another of the Uralic or Altaic languages, including graduate

students as well as faculty. In a sense, but perhaps in an unwitting sense, all of those mentioned have served as consultants to the principal investigators in the preparation of Boreo-Oriental Fascicle One.

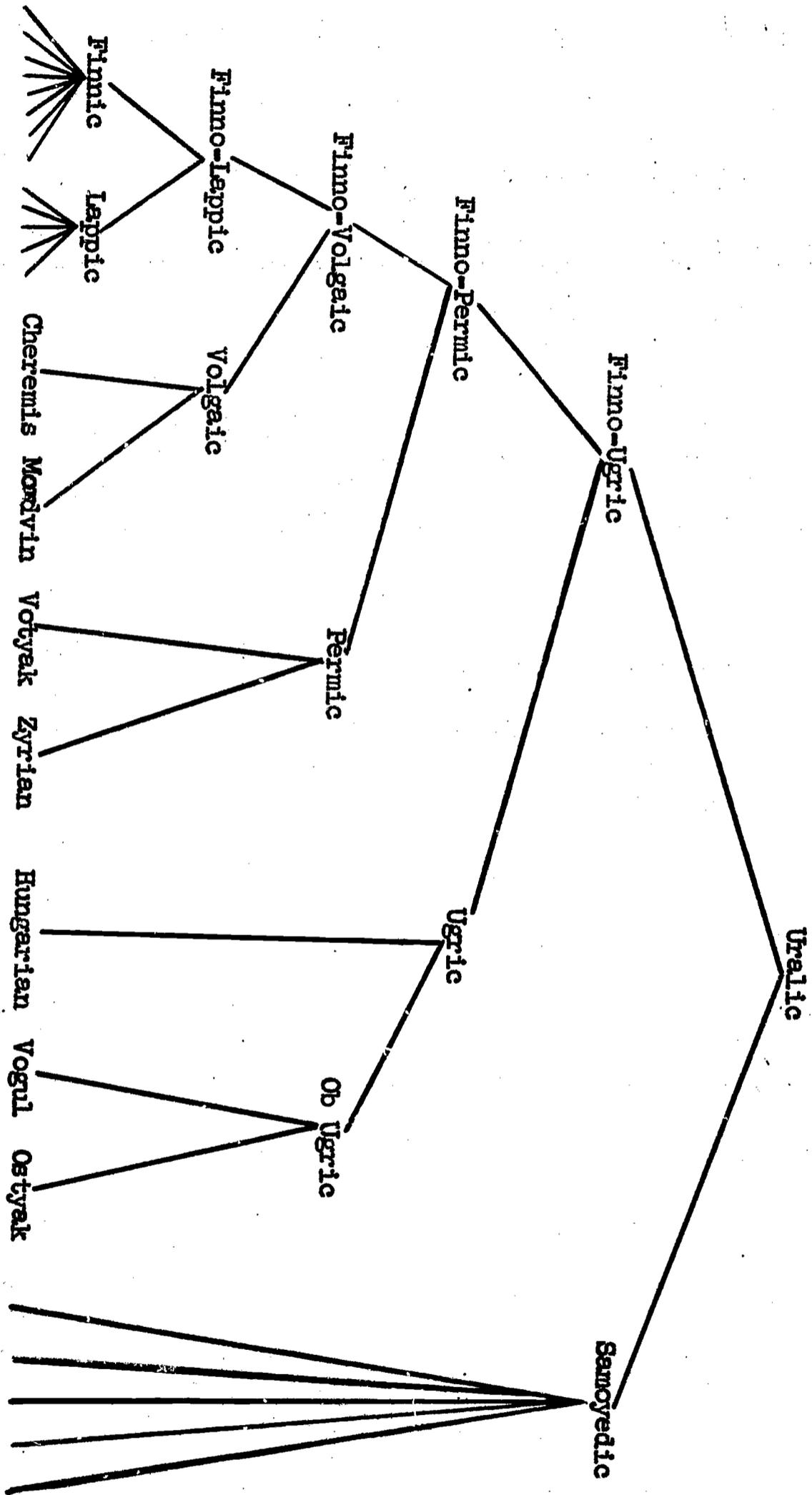
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2.0. In the modern view, the language family called Uralic (after the Samoyedic branch was added to the Finno-Ugric branch) is as well attested as any other known language family. Uralic peoples, so named from the Ural Mountains (their Asian homeland), arrived in Europe before the Christian era. The Finns had come to the Baltic coast by 500 B.C., as is evidenced by modern Finnish preserving borrowings from Baltic and Germanic languages before these donor languages changed the shape of the words that were borrowed; that is, the donor languages changed, while the borrowing languages kept the words in the shape they had borrowed them, thereby attesting the time period in which the words were borrowed. The Hungarians also separated from the other Ugric speakers about 500 B.C.; they then lived for centuries as nomads north of the Caucasus and the Black Sea, and finally arrived in Hungary just before 900 A.D. The representatives of the other branch of the Uralic family (Samoyedic) also moved about, but mostly in Asia, rather than in Europe. Some speakers of Samoyedic dialects in the Sayan Ranges (Kamasin, Karagas, and the Koybal, Taigi and Motor) were replaced by Turkic and Russian speakers; earlier in the Christian era, Proto-Samoyedic people lived in Western Siberia and in the Ob-Irtysh Basin, where they traded for horses, fur, money and bells

with Turkic peoples in a culture area that included domesticated, castrated reindeer, bronze casting, iron forging and tailored arctic clothing; the English word for parka is borrowed indirectly from Samoyedic.

The following chart expresses succinctly the modern view of the subrelationships in the Uralic family.

This modern view grew out of the gathering of information and reconstructive theorizing that began three centuries ago. Close to the end of the eighteenth century no clear view was possible concerning the relationship of non-western languages, for lack of adequate information. A language like Hungarian was supposed to be related to the other languages of the East, since (according to the view then current) Hebrew was supposed to be the mother of those languages. As early as 1669, Martin Fogel of Hamburg offered evidence for Finnish-Hungarian relationship, but his study was never published. G. W. v. Leibniz tried to secure data from hitherto unknown languages, especially by asking travelers and ambassadors for their collaboration and support. In a letter of 1708 he states that he knows three widespread languages in Scythia: Sarmatian (the language of Russians and other Slavs); Tartar (the language of Turks, Kalmucks and Mongols); and Fennic (the language of Lapps, Finns and Hungarians). The latter, he wrote, 'reaches beyond the Caspian Sea'. Word lists of some length and other linguistic materials became available only in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1709 a Swedish officer, Ph. J. Strahlenberg, became prisoner of war at Poltava, and was exiled for thirteen years to Siberia. In 1730 he



published a book in German which contains a comprehensive classification of 'boreo-oriental' (northeastern languages). For his comparisons Strahlenberg uses a list of 60 words, ten of which are numerals and the rest nouns. Strahlenberg's classification comprises (1) Finno-Ugric languages; (2) Northern Turkic languages, including Yakut and Chuvash; (3) Samoyedic languages; (4) Kalmyk, Manchu and Tangut; (5) a mixed class containing Tungus, Paleosiberian and Samoyedic elements; and (6) languages spoken in the Caucasian Mountains.

In the second half of the eighteenth century more extensive materials were gathered under the sponsorship of Catherine the Second, Empress of Russia. The first questionnaire, compiled by A. G. Bacmeister, contained ordinals from 1 to 23, tens up to 100, and hundreds up to 1000. And translations of twenty-two utterances were elicited in each language investigated:

(1) God is immortal. Man does not live long.

(2) Mother is kissing her children. She has much milk in her breasts. Her husband loves her.

(3) This woman was pregnant. Six days ago she bore a son. She is still ailing. Her daughter is sitting beside her and is crying.

(4) The child does not want to suck.

(5) This girl does not yet walk. It is a year and two months when she was born.

(6) These four boys are all healthy; the first is running, the second is jumping, the third is singing, the fourth is laughing.

- (7) This person is blind. His wife is deaf; she does not hear what we are saying.
- (8) Your brother is sneezing; your sister is sleeping. Our father is not sleeping. He eats and drinks only little.
- (9) The nose is in the middle of the face.
- (10) We have two feet, and on each hand five fingers.
- (11) Hair is growing on the head.
- (12) The tongue and the teeth are in the mouth.
- (13) The right hand is stronger than the left one.
- (14) The hair is long and thin. The blood is red. Bones are hard like stone.
- (15) The fish has eyes but no ears.
- (16) This bird is flying quietly. It descends onto earth. The feathers on its wings are black; its nose is sharp, but its tail is short. In the nest there are white eggs.
- (17) On the tree there are green leaves and thick branches.
- (18) The fire is burning. We see smoke, flame and coals.
- (19) The water in the river is running quick.
- (20) The moon is bigger than a star but smaller than the sun..
- (21) Yesterday evening it rained. Today in the morning I saw a rainbow.
- (22) In the night it is dark but at day it is light.

The answers to this questionnaire started coming in but were never published as a whole because the project was discontinued. Interest shifted to preparing and publishing the 'comparative vocabularies of all the languages

and dialects', edited by P. S. Pallas, and first published in 1787-89.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century two systematic attestations of the Finno-Ugric relationship were published, both by Hungarians.

The first was by J. Sajnovics who in 1770 attested the relationship of Hungarian and Lapp on the basis of lexical and morphological comparisons. He used the opportunity to study Lapp on the spot when he stayed in Norway for astronomical observations, but did not base his comparisons on what he learned directly from Lapps. According to the prevalent ideas of his time, he based his statements on data from written sources. His conclusions were accepted by several outstanding specialists abroad, but rejected in his home country because the suggested relationship with primitive people in the north seemed repulsive to Hungarians at that time.

The other scholar was S. Gyarmathi. In 1799 he published a book in Gottingen to prove the relationship of Hungarian with the languages of Finnish origin. The reference to Finnish was first of all calculated to be a safe one for Hungarians, since the Finns should have been much more acceptable as relatives than Lapps. Gyarmathi dealt with the problem on a much broader basis than did Sajnovics, using all the available lexical and grammatical data. He was perceptive enough to characterize the Turkic and Slavic elements of Hungarian as borrowings. In spite of all this Gyarmathi was honored more for importing two new kinds of potatoes into Hungary than for attempting to prove the relationship of Hungarian with Finnish in a book of 387 pages, written in Latin.

Sajnovics and Gyarmathi were linguistic pioneers; they practiced a kind of comparative method in Finno-Ugric linguistics before this was done in Indo-European linguistics by Rask, Bopp and Grimm. Since they failed to receive encouragement in their home country, their pioneer efforts did not stimulate immediate continuity. Comparative Finno-Ugric linguistics was not established with continuity until the second half of the nineteenth century, after receiving fresh impetus from the efforts of J. Budenz in Hungary.

The comparison of Finno-Ugric with Altaic languages was started by W. Schott in 1836. In 1838, F. J. Wiedemann formulated the following fourteen points for attesting the Uralo-Altaic relationship:

- (1) vowel harmony;
- (2) no grammatical gender;
- (3) no article;
- (4) agglutination;
- (5) personal possessive suffixes;
- (6) richness of verbal derivation;
- (7) no prepositions, only postpositions;
- (8) attribute precedes the head;
- (9) after a numeral the noun is singular;
- (10) comparative constructed with the ablative case;
- (11) no verb to have;
- (12) negation is conjugated;

- (13) interrogative particles are used;
- (14) no conjunctions, verbal noun constructions instead.

All of these are typological considerations which have dominated discussions concerning the Uralo-Altaiic relationship ever since Wiedemanh's day. M. A. Castren is noted for his abundant and valuable field work in Altaic and Uralic, rather than for his contributions to comparative linguistics.

As indicated above, Finno-Ugric comparative linguistics was established with continuity in Hungary by the second half of the nineteenth century. In Finland, the Neogrammarian approach was introduced by E. N. Setälä. Finno-Ugric linguistics had reached the same methodological level as Indo-European linguistics by the end of the nineteenth century.

No really ancient documents are available from older Finno-Ugric languages, however, since the earliest text dates from 1200 A.D. The comparative study of Finno-Ugric languages has necessarily been based on field work; this can be considered both as an advantage and a disadvantage. Lack of older language documentation is a drawback from the point of view of the putative phonetic reality of a reconstruction, since it sometimes happens that none of the present day dialects has preserved a trace of an original sound which might have been preserved in documents. On the other hand, working with informants provides a much more realistic view of language as an on-going system than does interpretation of older documents.

2.1. In our survey of Uralic languages we start from the west —i.e. with the Lapp (Same) or rather Lappic languages because it is a fact

that there are several Lapp languages. Lappic is spoken in four countries: in Norway by 18,500; in Sweden by 8,500; in Finland by 2,300; and on the Kola Peninsula of the Soviet Union by 1,360 persons. Thus the total number of Lappic speakers comes to about 31,000. Eight main dialect groups can be distinguished in the Lappic area;

(1) Ruija Lapp is spoken in Norway (Finnmark, Troms, Ofoten), and in Sweden (Karesuando, Jukkasjärvi), and in Finland (Utsjoki, Enontekiö, and reindeer breeders of Sodankylä). About two-thirds of all Lapps speak this language.

(2) Lule Lapp is spoken in Sweden (along the Lule River in Gällivare and Jokkmokk), and in Norway (in Tysfjord, Hamarøy, and Folda).

(3) Pite Lapp, close to Lule Lapp, is spoken in Sweden (along the Pite River in Arjeplog and Arvidsjaur), and in Norway (between Saltenfjord and Ranenfjord).

(4) Ume Lapp is spoken in Sweden (along the Ume River southward, Lycksele, Malå, Sorsele).

(5) Southern Lapp is spoken in Sweden (in Jämtland and Herjedalen), and in Norway (in Hatfjelldalen and Wefsen, southward to Røros).

(6) Inari Lapp is spoken in Finland (around Lake Inari).

(7) Skolt Lapp is spoken in Soviet Russia (around Petsamo, in the west of Kola Peninsula).

(8) Kola Lapp is also spoken in Soviet Russia.

In addition to these dialect groups, there are six or seven Lapp literary languages--ways of writing Lapp languages which have been tried.

This classification of eight dialect groups is tantamount to eight separate Lappic languages, each of which is numbered, above. The Lappic languages and dialects have also been classified in terms of the countries in which they are spoken; and also in terms of the general geographic areas in which they are spoken. Both the political and areal classifications, which follow, are cross-indexed to the numbered languages in the preceding classification of eight dialect groups.

The political classification comprises:

Norwegian Lapp -- (1)

Swedish Lapp -- (2) to (5), inclusive;

Finnish Lapp -- (6);

Russian Lapp -- (7) and (8).

This represents a less close correlation with political states than the labels suggest, since Norwegian Lapp (1), is spoken in two other countries in addition to Norway; since Swedish Lapp--(2) to (5)--is also spoken over the border in Norway; and since one of the Russian Lapp languages, (7), is also spoken in Finland.

The areal classification comprises:

Northwestern Lappic--(1) to (3), inclusive;

Southern Lappic--(4) and (5);

Eastern Lappic—(6) to (8), inclusive.

One of the two languages in the southern Lappic area, namely (4), is sometimes discussed as a kind of transition between the Northwestern and Southern areal groups. This points clearly to the indeterminate status of all three classifications; location of the exact language barriers among the several Lappic languages and dialects remains as a problem for dialect distance testing.

A high percentage of speakers of Lapp are bilingual, their second language being that of the country they belong to. In the case of the mutual unintelligibility with another Lapp language of the same country, the national language serves as a lingua franca. According to the data of the Soviet census of 1959, about seventy per cent of the Lapps declared Lapp as their native language. In interstate traffic they may have formerly used Russenorsk (the lingua franca of the north), when Russenorsk still functioned as a means of communication between Russians and Scandinavians.

2.2. The Finnic group is also known as Balto-Finnic. Most important in this group is Finnish proper, spoken in Finland by about four million persons. In the Soviet Union there are an additional 93,000 Finns of whom 59.5 per cent give Finnish as their native tongue. In the rest of the world there may be some 200,000 more Finns representing different degrees of mastery of Finnish. Finnish dialects in Finland can be subdivided into western and eastern dialects.

Eastern dialects of Finnish quite gradually shift into Karelian. In

1959 there were 167,000 Karelians in the Soviet Union; 71.3 per cent of these declared Karelian to be their native language. Linguistically, Karelian can be subdivided to Karelian proper and Olonetsian. Karelian itself can be divided into Northern and Southern, Novgorod and Tver (Kalinin) Karelian. Forebears of present day Novgorod and Tver were emigree groups; they came from Karelia in the seventeenth century, mainly from the Käkisalmi border area between Russia and Finland. It has been claimed by several scholars that Karelian is not an original Finnic dialect but a linguistic mixture including Finnish. But there is no doubt that Vepsian was an ancient Finnic dialect. East of Karelian, Vepsian is now dying out, as is evidenced by the fact that of the 16,400 official Vepsians only 46.1 per cent use it as their mother tongue. Ludic is a small dialect group which the Russians count with Karelian; actually, Ludic is a transitional dialect between Olonetsian and Vepsian.

In 1959 there were in the Soviet Union 1,000 Ingrians of whom 34.7 percent used Ingrian as their first language. Some scholars derive Ingrian from Karelian, others from Finnish.

All the languages and dialects mentioned so far constitute the northern or northeastern branch of Finnic. This is more of a geographic than a linguistic division. Western Finnish is linguistically close to Estonian, spoken by one million persons in Estonia and various other countries. There are two Estonian languages; North Estonian and South Estonian, both obviously descending from individual Common Finnic dialects. South Estonian is

concentrated in the southeast corner of the country.

Two more southern Finnic languages are very close to extinction. Livonian may be spoken by some 500 persons, mostly in Latvia, in a few villages westward from the northernmost point of Domesnes in Curonia. So also, Votic is almost extinct; it is spoken by only a few old persons in Ingria which is the area adjacent to northeastern Estonia.

The classificatory part of the preceding information on languages and dialects in the Finnic group is now repeated in tabular form:

(1) Finnish

Western dialects

Eastern dialects.

(2) Karelian

Karelian proper:

Northern

Southern

Novgorod

Tver (Kalinin)

Olonetsian

Ludic (according to the Russian language census).

(3) Vepsian

(4) Ingrian

(5) North Estonian (Estonian)

(6) South Estonian

(7) Livonian

(8) Votic.

2.3. There are two Volgaic languages, Mordvin and Cheremis (Mari).

The westernmost of the remaining Finno-Ugric peoples in the Soviet Union are Mordvins. Their total in 1959 was over a million (1,285,100), of whom 78.1 per cent declared Mordvin to be their native tongue. In fact, however, Mordvins are everywhere a minority, and only 28 per cent of them live in their own autonomous republic where they constitute 36 per cent of the entire population. This situation, of course, is the result of an enormous displacement, occasioned by political circumstances. Outside the Mordvin autonomous republic, Mordvins are found in six different provinces (oblasts) and three other autonomous republics. There are two main dialects of Mordvin: Erzja and Mokša. The latter is spoken mainly in the southwestern part of the area where Mordvins are found. There are more speakers of Erzja than of Mokša, but exact numbers are not available since the census does not make a distinction between these dialects.

The other Volga-Finnic language is Cheremis (Mari), north of the Mordvin. In 1959 there were a half million of them (504,200) and the percentage that claimed Cheremis as their mother tongue was very high (95.1). The dialects of Cheremis can be divided in three groups: Western, Eastern and displaced Eastern. Cheremis has taken numerous loanwords from the Turkic languages of the area (Chuvash and Tatar). Like the Mordvins, the Cheremis have two literary languages.

In summary, the Volga-Finnic languages and dialects are:

(1) Mordvin

Erzja

Mokša

(2) Cheremis (Mari)

Western

Eastern

Displaced Eastern.

2.4. The Permic languages and dialects are:

(1) Votyak (Udmurt)

(2) Zyrian (Komi)

Komi-Zyrian

Komi-Fermyak

Yazva

Votyak, (Udmurt) is spoken east of the Cheremis; Zyrian (Komi) is spoken north of the Votyak. In 1959 there were more than a half million Votyaks (624,800) of whom 89.1 per cent declared Votyak to be their native tongue. The Votyak dialects are quite close to each other; mutual intelligibility is immediate. Even the Besserman dialect in the north, in which there is apparent Turkic structure, is immediately intelligible. Zyrian (Komi) is the language of less than a million persons (430,900) of whom 86.7 per cent claim it as their mother tongue. The Zyrian live north of the Votyaks along rivers which drain a large area. Their dialects are more differentiated than

those of Votyak. The three main dialects are: Komi-Zyrian, Komi-Permyak and Yazva. The last mentioned dialect is represented by a mere 4,000 speakers. There are twice as many speakers of Komi-Zyrian as of Komi-Permyak. The latter have their own literary language, but they could easily read the Komi-Zyrian literary language. From work done in comparative-historical linguistics, it is possible to see that the two Permic languages are very close to each other; their separation is supposed to have taken place only in the eighth century A.D.

2.5 Ugric is the last group of the Finno-Ugric branch that remains to be discussed. There are two Ob-Ugric languages, so named because they are spoken along the Ob River and its tributaries, Vogul (Mansi) and Ostyak (Xanti). Ostyak is spoken to the east and south of Vogul. In an earlier period, most of the present-day Ob-Ugrians had lived on the European side of the Ural Mountains; the shift to the Asian side took place mostly between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. In 1959 there were 6,400 Voguls of whom 59.2 per cent declared Vogul to be their native tongue. Four main groups of Vogul dialects are distinguished—north, south, east, and west Vogul. Most important is the northern group, spoken mainly on the upper Sosva and Lozva Rivers; the southern group on the Tavda River is on the verge of extinction. There were in 1959 some 19,400 Ostyaks of whom 77 per cent claimed Ostyak as their native tongue. Ostyak dialects are divided in three groups (northern, eastern and southern) and are so diverse that Ostyak has been experimentally written in four different ways.

The most important Ugric language is Hungarian, linguistically closer to Vogul than to Ostyak. The exact number of Hungarian speakers is unknown. It is often supposed that there are thirteen million Hungarians all told, counting those who live in Hungary and in the adjacent countries and abroad. It is customary to distinguish eight different dialect areas of Hungarian; these were distinguished by J. Balass (1891).

The Hungarian dialect areas are now listed, together with a summary of the dialects of the two other Ugric languages:

(1) Vogul (Mansi)

Northern

Southern

Eastern

Western

(2) Ostyak (Xanti)

Northern

Eastern

Southern

(3) Hungarian

Western

'Beyond Danube' (i.e. west of the Danube)

Alfold (i.e. the Hungarian lowland)

Danube-Tisza (i.e. between the Danube and the Tisza)

Northwestern

Northeastern

'King's Pass'

Székely (Transylvania)

2.6. Some differences between Finno-Ugric languages are shown by giving the translation of the same sentence in various languages. A body of texts with such translations was published by P. Ariste in Kodumurre 5 (1962). The original text was Estonian. We cite Ariste's sentences 1, 2 and 4 as First, Second, and Third sentence, below. A literal translation appears, with each English gloss numbered, word by word. In further literal translations the same numbers are used to index glosses already given, and only new words are glossed.

First sentence: "Life was formerly much harder than now."

Estonian (North Estonian) in the Finnic group

enne	oli	inimeste	elu	palju	raskem	kui	nüüd.
<u>earlier</u>	<u>was</u>	<u>people's</u>	<u>life</u>	<u>much</u>	<u>harder</u>	<u>than</u>	<u>now</u>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Livonian in the Finnic group

jedmõl	voĺ	rovstõn	jelami	pāgiń	lālamim	ābku	paldiń.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Votic in the Finnic group

eellā	õli	in ehmiisii	elo	palloo	raskaapi	ku	nüd.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Finnish in the Finnic group

ihmisten elämä oli ennen paljon vaikeampi kuin nykyisin.
 3 4 2 1 5 6 7 8

Ingrian in the Finnic group

ennen oli inmihiisiil elo paljo rangamb kui nüttä.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Karelian (Novgorod Valdai) in the Finnic group

ieellä rahvahan eländä oli äijäldi jügiembi čem nüttenä.
 1 3 4 2 5 6 7 8

Ludic in the Finnic group

ende oli rahvahan elaiže äijäd dūgedembe kui nūgūöi.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Vepsian in the Finnic group

endö raffale oli äjäd loulmemb elada mii nūguñi.
 1 3 2 5 6 4 7 8

Kola Lapp in the Lappic group

evter örme jarmuš lai jenne vuer rožja čem sonn li at't.
 1 3 4 2 many times 6 7 it is 8

Mordvin Erzja in the Volga-Finnic group

šede ikele lomantneñ eramost ulnes šede staka te škant kofas.
 1 3 4 2 6 8 7

Mordvin Mokša in the Volga-Finnic group

šadəngələ lomattneň eřafna uls sada staka fančənt koras.

1 3 4 2 6 8 7

Eastern ('Meadow') Cheremis in the Volga-Finnic group

ožno ajdemen ilošeže kezətse deč jaterlan nele lijəm.

1 3 4 8 7 5 6 2

Komi Zyrian in the Permic group

važən jezlən oləmys vėli jona šəkyddžyk ənija dorys.

1 3 4 2 5 6 8 7

Komi Permyak in the Permic group

odžžyk otirlən olanys vėli una šəkytžyk ənna kadsa.

1 3 4 2 5 6 8 7

Votyak in the Permic group

ažvyl adamoslen ulonzy ali šarys trosly šekyt val.

1 3 4 8 7 5 6 2

Ostyak in the Ugric group

katra jis porajne xannexe jox utte sired tompi tavert us.

old age in Ostyak 3 4 way 5 6 2

Vogul in the Ugric group

pes porat māxum ōlupsanl ān ōlnenl tārvetəŋ ōla.

old time-in 3 4 8 being-from 6 2

Hungarian in the Ugric group

ezelőtt az emberek élete nehezebb volt mint most.

1 art. 3 4 6 2 7 8

Second sentence: "All that was needed, one made oneself."

Estonian (North Estonian)

kodus	tehti	ise	kõik,	mida	oli	vaja.
<u>at home</u>	<u>was done</u>	<u>self</u>	<u>all</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>was</u>	<u>necessary.</u>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Livonian

kuonnõ	teitõ	amme,	mis	voj	vajag.
1	2	3	4	6	7

Votic

kotonna	tehtii	ize	kõikkõa,	mita	õli	vajaa.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Finnish

kaikki,	mitä	tarvittiin,	tehtiin	itse	kotona.
3	4	6/7	2	3	1

Ingrian

kois	tehtii	itse	kaig,	midä	oli	tarvis.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Karelian (Novgorod Valdai)

koišsa	loajittih	iče	kaikki,	midä	pidi.
1	2	3	4	5	6/7

Ludic

kodis	azuttih	iče	kai,	midä	vai	oli	vajai.
1	2	3	4	5	<u>-ever</u>	6	7

Vepsian

kodiš	tehthe	iče	kaiken,	mii	pidi.
1	2	3	4	5	6/7

Kola Lapp

pertes	puk,	mi	bidde	laj,	orme	rihken	idža.
1	4	5	7	6	<u>people</u>	2	3

Mordvin Erzja

veše,	meže	eravš,	fejnešt	synst	kudoso.
4	5	6/7	2	<u>they themselves</u>	1

Mordvin Mokša

sembot,	mežš	eravš,	fijeñdž	siñc	kudsa.
4	5	6/7	2	<u>they themselves</u>	1

Eastern Cheremis

čela	küleš	üzgarem	jeñ-vlak	möngöštöšt	ške	<u>ešten tolašen et.</u>
4	7	<u>thing</u>	<u>people</u>	1	3	2

Komi Zyrian

stavse,	myj	vəli	kole,	vəčlisny	ašnys	gortanys.
4	5	6	7	2	3	1

Komi Permyak

bydəs,	myj	kolis,	kerise	ašnys	gortanys.
4	5	6/7	2	3	1

Votyak

vañze	ik,	mar	kule	val,	ašseos	dorazy	leštylijzy
4	<u>just</u>	5	7	6	3	1	2

Ostyak

kašiq ver jošne verta mosəs.

every work by hand to do 6/7

Vogul

mater äti šrnut jun (kolanelt) väreglasət.

what not 7 1 1 they did

Hungarian

otthon készítettek mindent, ami kellett.

1 2 4 5 7

Third sentence: "People did not have time to learn."

Estonian

inimestel polnud aega õppida.

people there was not= time to learn
did not have

1 2 3 4

Livonian

rovstõn iz ūo aigõ oppõ

1 2 3 4

Votic

ihemiisiillä böllu aikaa õppia.

1 2 3 4

Finnish

ihmisillä ei ollut aikaa opiskella.

1 2 3 4

Ingrian

inmihiisiil ei old aikaa oppiissa.

1 2 3 4

Karelian (Novgorod Valdai)

rahvahalla eij ollun aigoa opaštaliečcie.

1 2 3 4

Ludic

rahvahal ei olnud aigad opastuda.

1 2 3 4

Vepsian

raffal ii olnud aigad opetazõ.

1 2 3 4

Kola Lapp

oʋmsgāncen eļlei ast ofpnuvvē.

1 2 3 4

Mordvin Erzja

lomaññeñ araseļ' škast tonavñems.

1 2 3 4

Mordvin Mokša

lomaññeñ' ašel' vřemasna (pingsna) tonafñems.

1 2 3 3 4

Eastern Cheremis

tunemaš' tunam žap lijen ogel.

4 then 3 2

Komi Zyrian

jəzlən ez vəv kadys veləčyny.

1 2 3 4

Komi Permyak

ətirlən ez vəv kadys velətčəm ponda.

1 2 3 4 ior

Votyak

adamoslen dyšetskyny dyrzy əi val.

1 4 3 2

Ostyak

untlētəjtə kem xannexo jox si porajne ant tajset.

4 opportunity Ostyak 1 then not had

Vogul

māxum xaništaxtuŋkve xal at xōntyglasət.

1 4 3 not found

Hungarian

az embereknek nem volt idejük tanulni.

article 1 2 3 4

2.7. When the five groups of languages in the Finno-Ugric branch (Lappic, Finnic, Volga-Finnic, Permic, and Ugric) are considered to belong to the same family as the Samoyedic languages, the language family that comprises both the Finno-Ugric branch and the Samoyedic branch is called Uralic. The cognate density between languages of the Finno-Ugric branch is,

roughly speaking, about twice as high as that between any language of the Finno-Ugric branch and a Samoyed language selected by Alo Raun for comparison with a sample of languages of the Finno-Ugric branch (with comparisons based on Swadesh's 100 word list, and hence expressible in percentages):

	Finnish	Mordvin	Cheremis	Zyrian	Hungarian	Yurak Samoyed
Finn.	—	34	36	31	27	15
Mord.	34	—	36	27	25	15
Cher.	36	36	—	40	30	19
Zyr.	31	27	40	—	26	11
Hung.	27	25	30	26	—	13
Yur. Sam.	15	15	19	11	13	—

In 1959 there were 23,000 Yurak Samoyeds (Nenec), among whom 85.7 per cent declared Yurak to be their native tongue. Yurak is the most important representative of North Samoyedic. Tavgy Samoyed (Nganasan) belongs to the same group. There were 700 Tavgy Samoyeds in 1959; 93.4 per cent of them claimed Tavgy as their native language. The Yurak are spread over an immense tundra area from the mouth of the Northern Dvina in Europe up to the delta of Yenisei in Asia. The Tavgy Samoyeds live in the Taymyr Peninsula in Siberia.

The third North Samoyed group, the Yenisei Samoyed (Enec) of the lower Yenisei River around Dudinka, are not listed separately in the census of 1959; in 1926 there were 378 of them. South Samoyedic is represented by the so-called Ostyak Samoyed (Selkup). There were 4,000 of them in 1959,

but only 50.6 per cent claimed Selkup as their native language. The Northern Selkup live along the river Taz and its tributaries; the remaining speakers of Southern Selkup live mainly in the Naryn District. Until recently, Selkup was supposed to be the only survivor of South Samoyedic, and Sayan Samoyedic with its best known representative, Kamas, was supposed to be entirely extinct. However, at the Soviet conference of Finno-Ugric linguistics in 1963 it was mentioned that one speaker of Kamas, a man 67 years old, is still alive. In 1914 there were 50 Kamas people among whom only eight had some knowledge of Kamas.

In view of the immense spread of Samoyedic, it is usually assumed that the dialect differences must be considerable. This may of course be so, but in the case of Yurak Samoyed one would expect greater diversity than appears. As P. Hajdú concludes, some leveling of dialects must have taken place through later contacts among nomads. The main dialect groups of Yurak Samoyed are the Tundra and Forest groups among whom mutual understanding is possible only with great difficulty.

Yenisei Samoyed is quite close to Yurak, and has two dialects. Yenisei Samoyed appears to be the link between Yurak and Tavgy Samoyed; the latter also has two dialects. Selkup can be divided into three dialect groups: Taz (northwestern), Tym and Ket (southern).

The dialectal differentiation in Selkup proliferated to the point at which every yurt was supposed to have its own dialect. This created difficulty in communication which was partly solved by adopting the lingua franca of the

area, either Russian or Ostyak depending on the location of the speakers.

The most important lingua franca in the Uralic area is colloquial Russian, spoken with Uralic structural features. Among the latter are disregard for Russian gender and prepositions.

In summary, the Samoyedic language and dialects are:

- (1) Yurak Samoyed (Nenec, Nenets)
- (2) Tavgy (Tawgi) Samoyed (Nganasan, Nanesan)
- (3) Yenisei Samoyed (Enec, Yenets)
- (4) Ostyak Samoyed (Selkup)

Taz (northwestern)

Tym

Ket (southern)

- (5) **Sayan Samoyed**

Kamas.

3.0. Altaic comprises languages spoken by the most central of all Asiatic peoples, who have left no marginal part of Eurasia untouched. In their florescence, they came to the gates of Vienna, to be turned back with the help of their putative relatives, the Hungarians. They were not turned back in India, where they flourished for almost two centuries under six Mogul rulers—all able men whose personalities (especially Babur's and Akbar's) and whose Mongol culture were more agreeable to Hindu personality and culture than were those of the Mohammedan or British conquerors. They were not turned back in China which they ruled, under the Manchu dynasty, from 1644 to 1911; but they found Chinese personality and culture (and language) to be so very agreeable that the conquerors became the converts. They were not turned back in Southeast Asia (e. g. they once sent a punitive expedition as far distant from the mainland as Java).

It is well known that today the Turks in Turkey are the only Altaic peoples who have preserved any semblance of political continuity from the centuries in which Altaic peoples dominated or cast their shadow over Central Asia, Southwest Asia, South Asia, East Asia, and even Southeast Asia. But Turkic peoples outside of Turkey, as well as Mongol people—with more Mongol speakers outside the Mongolian Republic than in it—as well as Tungus people (including Manchu and many other Altaic people with other names) are all doing business at their old stands, even though their business is no longer concerned with power politics. During the present millennium that wrought such dramatic changes in culture, the Altaic languages remained

typologically constant.

The order of presentation which follows for the Altaic phylum goes from the least to the most numerically conspicuous language families—from the Tungus family, represented by a mere 180,000 speakers in 1958, to the Turkic family, represented by 70 million speakers—according to three scholars who prepared the materials for the Report on Uralic and Altaic Studies (John Lotz, chairman, Samuel E. Martin, and Robert P. Austerlitz): "The Chuvash (1 1/2 million)... stand apart [the first branch]. The rest of the Turkic language family is subdivided into sub-branches [members of a second branch]: The Kipchak group (15 million) includes the Volga Turks (Kazan-Tatar, Bashkir, etc.), the Kazak, and the Kirghiz. The Oghuz group (40 million) includes the largest Altaic people, Ottoman Turkish, or commonly Turkish (this term is thus reserved for a single nation, whereas Turkic designates the entire language group), Azeri (...), and Turkoman; the Turki (Uighur, cca. 13 million) group lives in Chinese and Russian Turkestan; Siberian-Turkic, and Yakut... are spoken in Siberia (cca. 1/2 million." Between the millions and millions of representatives of the Turkic family and the less than two hundred thousand speakers of the Tungus family, there is a third language family in the Altaic phylum known as Mongol, or Mongolian, represented by five million speakers, according to Lotz, Martin, and Austerlitz. Korean is also included as an Altaic language, but it is admitted that "The inclusion of Korean (32 million) is questioned by some scholars." [All quotations in this paragraph are from p. 3 of the Report on Uralic and Altaic Studies, 1958.]

TUNGUS LANGUAGES, INCLUDING MANCHU

3.1. The Tungus languages are the most widespread of all the Asiatic languages indigenous to Eastern Siberia; they number seventeen separate languages of which many are dialectically differentiated. Since the time of Castren's investigations in the early 19th century, it has become customary, on the basis of linguistic criteria, to consider Tungus as a branch of Altaic, whose peoples are dispersed throughout the Central Eurasian continent. The genetic relationship of these peoples, stated in terms of a common ancestor, is sometimes controverted. But no one controverts the fact that Altaic languages manifest a striking number of typological similarities. This does not necessarily imply a common ancestor. It may be accounted for by a continuous series of contacts which has characterized the history of Central Eurasia from time immemorial. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, Tungus peoples could be found as far to the west as the river Ob, and thus, at the time, were in contact not only with the Samoyed but also the Ob-Ugric tribes known as Ostyak and Vogul. Nevertheless, within the next eighty years, the Tungus of this region were either absorbed by the Russian adventurers in search of the Eastern Sea, or, as was more generally the case, withdrew to live with other Tungus on the banks of the river Taz. Today, the territory over which the Tungus are distributed extends from the river Yenisej in the west to Kamchatka and the island of Sakhalin in the east, and from the Arctic Sea in the north to the Amur Valley and the Hsing-an Mountains by the province of Hei-lung-chiang in the south. Throughout the whole of this area, they live together in small and

somewhat loosely related groups, observing a strong family and exogamic clan organization within a characteristically nomadic existence supported in the main by reindeer breeding, hunting and fishing. Only a few clans have committed themselves to sedentary modes of occupation. In 1926, their total population was estimated at 50,279. The result of calculations based on the Soviet census reports (dated January 15th, 1959) indicates that there are presently 46,100 Tungus living within the USSR, of whom 75.76% regard their native language as the predominant medium of communication. Benzing's approximated total of 70,000 (Einführung, 1953) is probably somewhat more accurate. It is quite possible that there are still some two to three thousand Tungus in northern Manchuria.

With the exception of the Even living along the coast of the Okhotsk Sea and otherwise known as Lamut in order to avoid a terminological confusion with the name of the related Evenki, the Orok and a few Evenki on the island of Sakhalin, the Tungus are located in the interior of Siberia generally scattered along the banks of major rivers—the Yenisei, Tunguska, Katanga, Lena and Amur—thereby sustaining their livelihood from the natural resources abundant in fish and game.

Despite the notable studies by Soviet scholars over the past twenty years, ethnic and linguistic history of the Tungus has received less attention than that of the neighboring Samoyed, Paleosiberian and Turko-Mongol peoples. Owing to the nature of their nomadic life, the topographical location of any one Tungus group is hard to circumscribe; so also their origins and subsequent dispersal

elude precise identification.

The early European and Russian travelers on finding a variety of economies to prevail among the different groups of Siberian Tungus were of the opinion that the hunting, fishing and reindeer-breeding Tungus represented a degraded people who in their northward trek had lost the knowledge of agriculture and animal husbandry which their racial kindred had preserved in the region to the south. The idea of a southern origin of the Siberian Tungus and with it that of a degraded Tungus culture became established. As early as 1768, Manchuria had been suggested—by Fischer, the historian of Siberia—as the homeland of the Tungus. The Russian savant, Peter Simon Pallas (in the introduction to his *Linguarum Totius Orbis Vocabularia*, St. Petersburg, 1786) commented to the effect that the Tungus vernaculars, to which belong the so-called Chapogir on the Yenisei and the Lamut dwelling by the Okhotsk Sea, in several words most clearly exemplify a correspondence with the Manchu language. In 1857, when Castren postulated the linguistic affinity of Tungus, Mongol and Turkic, the theory of the southern origin of the Tungus peoples appeared to be irrefutable. And Castren wrote: "All the nomadic Tungus of Siberia have previously come from the fertile banks of the Amur" (1857, p. 22).

Chinese sources were brought into play, and, in 1888, Hiekisch reopened the question, while arguing for a southern homeland located in Manchuria, by attempting to set up a chronology: "The main advance of the Tungus into Siberia occurred during the rule of the western Liao, that is, at the beginning of the 12th century A. D. The culture they had brought along was

inevitably doomed to a very rapid decline." P. P. Schmidt rejected these earlier opinions, since, according to him—and his view fails to account adequately for the presence of the Hsiung-nu, Hsien-pi and Žuan-Žuan in these areas in the generations immediately preceding—all of eastern Siberia and the entire Amur basin were still inhabited by Paleosiberian peoples at the beginning of the Christian era. His position is based on arguments derived from Manchu, Chinese and Korean linguistic data. In a letter addressed to Lopatin and quoted by Levin (1958), he writes as follows:

"I look for the homeland of the Turkish-Mongolian-Tungus ancestral people immediately south of the Altay. The Manchu-Tungus tribes probably inhabited the Selenga River basin, where we find many place-names which are explainable in terms of Manchu-Tungus words. The tributaries of the Selenga adjoin those of the Argun, the latter being the natural means of communication from northern Mongolia and Trans-Baikalia to Manchuria. In these regions several tribes separated from the others and moved northwards. Their descendants appear to be the Tungus tribes, namely, the Tungus proper, the Orochons, Manyegrs, Lamuts, Samagirs, and Negidals. Other tribes moved farther along the Amur and peopled the Manchuria of today. From these the Manchu tribes draw their origin, namely: the Manchus proper (descendants of the Jurchens [sic]), the Golds, (with the Olchs and Oroks), and the Orochs (with the Udikhe and Kyakars)."

Regarding the western origin of the Chinese as axiomatic, Shirokogoroff (1929) advanced the theory that the ancestors of the Tungus lived originally in central China, and in this he was followed by W. Schmidt and W. Koppers. Shirokogoroff expressed the opinion that the 'Pre-Tungus' already inhabited the territory between the middle reaches of the Huang-ho and the Yangtze-kiang in the third millennium B. C. The coastal regions and all the remaining territory of northern China, Manchuria, Korea, as well as all of eastern Siberia, were still inhabited at that time by the Paleosiberians. Then, in the third millennium B. C., or perhaps a little earlier, under pressure from the Chinese, who were moving southeast into the basin of the Huang-ho, the 'Pre-Tungus' were forced to leave their homeland and resettle in the north. There they encountered the Paleosiberian tribes whom they either repulsed or absorbed. The northward thrust of the Tungus was gradual, and resulted in the bifurcation of the Manchu-Tungus peoples into a northern and a southern branch. Although he emphasizes the distinctions obtaining between these two groups, Shirokogoroff accepts their common origin without reservation and derives their present diversity from a single formative region in China.

In 1934, Roginskij had coined the term 'Baikal race' to describe the heterogeneous neolithic culture occupying the region of Cis-Baikalia. Okladnikov (1950) regards the present-day Evenki as the direct descendants of this ancient population.

The development of reindeer-breeding is the trait Levin holds to be

particularly diagnostic with regard to the formation of the Tungus group. The complex traceable in the archaeological materials of Cis-Baikalia are to be connected with the Yukagir of eastern Siberia: the data argues quite strongly against the possibility of this area as a candidate for the 'Urheimat' of the Tungus during the Neolithic and Eneolithic cultures. The formative process of the Tungus is seen by Levin as the result of a mixture of the ancient Yukagir with groups of another population of a rather more southerly origin. The spread of the Tungus languages, gradually absorbing the Paleosiberian ones is to be correlated directly with these 'southern' components. Such an expansion is reflected by the admixtures in cultural traits and physical types.

George Montandon (1926) was one of the first scholars to make any appreciable contribution towards the classification of the Tungus according to physical type. He was followed by Eickstedt, whose work suffers in part from his unwillingness to incorporate Soviet data into even his more recent analyses. It is possible to notice the following characteristics which tend to be comparatively diagnostic of the Tungus vis-à-vis, for example, the Paleosiberians: a tendency towards depigmentation, somewhat oblique eyes, a flat face with a correspondingly weak horizontal profile, low nasal prominence, thin but prochelous lips, a sparse beard growth and generally softer hair. The mean stature for adult males is approximately 1.6 meters.

In the north, the Tungus come within the Soviet orbit, and at the present time, despite the isolation of many communities, demonstrate certain Russian influences, while throughout the Manchurian area to the

south, the Chinese, and, more recently, for a limited period, the Manchu and the Japanese predominate.

While the ruling Manchus accepted a number of alien religious creeds, and actually encouraged the spread of Taoist doctrine in the Amur Basin, the main body of Tungus remained doggedly shamanistic in practice and belief. The proximity of Mongol lamaseries to several Tungus settlements—for instance, to those in the region of Lake Baikal or the upper reaches of the Amur river—may in the course of time have infused a stream of Buddhist doctrine into the native folk tradition. This is exemplified in the *Nišan saman i bithe* (a group of shamanist inspired folk-tales collected by Grebenščikov in the 1910's). Nevertheless, shamanism was always the dominant influence, and religious awe continued to be accorded to the amulets, idols and animals' claws characteristically associated with this form of worship. Russian missionaries tried in vain to interest the Tungus in Christianity.

The Tungus began to be widely known in the West during the seventeenth century. The Russians met them at the river Ob and forced them back to the line of the Taz and the Yenisei; the Tungus were defeated at the battle of Mangazei in 1603 and their settlements along the lower reaches of the Tunguska River came under Russian jurisdiction within the next decade. In 1615, the Russians annihilated another large Tungus contingent on the Yenisei and by 1623 they had coerced most of the Tungus population of Central Siberia within a loose system of taxation, an imposition extended to

their eastern relatives in the latter half of the nineteenth century. After hostile skirmishes in the early days of Russian intrusion, the Tungus adopted a more placid attitude toward the new settlers. In fact, they even derived some slight economic advantage from the situation, for, in addition to taxation and venereal disease, the Russians brought with them knives, vodka and tobacco, for which the Tungus were eager to exchange their sables, beavers and walrus teeth.

Our knowledge of Tungus society and their many languages is still scanty, even though in recent years, after the work by Shirokogoroff, such scholars as Cincius, Rišes, Vasilevič, Gorcevskaya and Benzing have ameliorated the situation with the publication of linguistic surveys.

The Chinese transcribe the name Tungus as Tung-hu-se which has often and falsely been connected with the name of the so-called Tung-hu, the "Eastern Barbarians", famous in early Chinese history as one of China's most formidable antagonists. (Interestingly enough, on the other hand, the traditional enemy of the Manchu and the Gold was called Nikan weilê the Bad Chinese.) On the accumulated basis of combined evidence—in which, due to the contributions of Grube and, more recently, of Ligeti, language plays an important part—we may conclude that the Ju-chen (passim, Jurchid, Niu-chen), who founded the Chinese dynasty known as the Kin (1115-1234 A. D.), were closely related to the Tungus people. The old Chinese Annals tend to refer to the barbarians living outside of the Great Wall by a host of local or dynastic names whose correct interpretation is lost in time. The problem of combining

the independent nomenclatory information which is to be derived from European, Islamic and Oriental sources is nowhere more troublesome. It is to be assumed that Tungus peoples themselves were known to the Chinese, and also to the Turks and Mongols, from a considerable antiquity, but what particular identification we ought to apply is beyond our present knowledge.

In the course of their wanderings, the Tungus have come into close contact with Paleosiberian, Turkic, Mongol, and Samoyed languages, not to mention the obvious influences deriving from the Chinese to the south and the Russians to the west. In varying degrees, the Tungus languages illustrate the depth of these several interferences. The Gold are swiftly dying out for the simple reason that their women-folk would rather choose a Chinese husband than one from their own tribe. Referring to possible ethnic connections between the Tungus and Mongol peoples in the light of a Common Altaic hypothesis, Shirokogoroff once commented (1930) with a mistaken implication that "if any genetic affinity exists between Tungus and Mongol, one must go back to a period before the extension of metallic culture throughout these groups, namely, that of the Stone Age." In early classifications of the Tungus languages—for instance, those by Shrenck and his followers in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century—there was a tendency to misunderstand the status of dialect interference, and, thus, Dagur (a Mongol language with extensive Tungus intrusion at all levels of analysis) was wrongly assigned to the Manchu or southern group of Tungus languages. At one time, there was a similar tendency to misidentify those Even who lived

along the northern coast of the Okhotsk Sea as Paleosiberian. In northern Ya'utia, there is a Turkic language known as Dolgan, which, in common with Yakut itself, has undergone a lengthy period of contact with Mongol. Furthermore, since this particular language is spoken in a region for the most part occupied by the Evenki, many Tungus elements are immediately discernable.

Apart from a general reference to the Tungus in one of Puškin's most famous poems, the Manchus are the only Tungus people who have attained any individual world-wide recognition. This is due, of course, to their major significance in international history as the rulers of the Manchu Chinese dynasty, the Ch'ing (1644-1911 A. D.). We have already noted how travelers from quite an early period, Pallas, for example, using language as their primary index, remarked about the similarity between the Manchus of the Ch'ing era and the nomadic hordes dwelling to the north and west. The status of the Manchus vis-à-vis the other peoples known as Tungus is still a matter of dispute, and mutual intelligibility between the various Tungus vernaculars seems continually to be breaking down. Until recently there was no dialect levelling. What is indeed remarkable is that in establishing a literary language for the Evenki people in the 1930's, it was possible to devise one system that was usable by the whole Evenki group, and that a naïve traveler in the 1720's was capable of the following observation: "The Tungusians... tho' they are of three sorts, have some Affinity, in their Dialect; I have, therefore, put them together." The reference is to von Strahlenberg, a prisoner-of-war. In spite of any consideration which would lead us to regard

Manchu as distinct from a common membership in the Tungus group, the bi-nomenclature Manchu-Tungus, Manchu-Tungusic and so on, which is frequently substituted in the literature for the single term, Tungus, is unsatisfactory. The proposed division between northern and southern Tungus is rather less clear-cut (since the Negidal occupy a central position in such a classification) than many scholars would have us believe. However, while Tungus may serve either as an ethnic or as a linguistic label for the tribes in question, 'Manchu' exclusively specifies one of them; in doing so, it introduces a criterion of historical judgement which is otherwise irrelevant to the terminology employed. Finally, to suggest that the Tungus languages form a unity as opposed to Manchu would be altogether erroneous.

Since 1930, the Arctic folk of the Soviet Union—usually referred to by the Russians in Census reports as The Peoples of the North—have generally each had in their own written language a national literature. This applies to four of the Tungus peoples, the Gold, the Udihe, the Even and the Evenki. (The peculiar case of the Manchus will be discussed separately.) As one approaches the question of classifying these various tribes, problems of criteria become apparent.

In the following classification of the Tungus languages, linguistic criteria everywhere take priority, but the larger break-downs reflect geographic areas as well as linguistic closeness, and tribal differentiation as well as dialect differentiation. Note that Ju-chen (the language of the Kin dynasty) should not be considered the direct ancestor of Manchu, although

for the sake of convenience it has been assigned to the group; rather Ju-chen is a member of a number of related vernaculars from which, by an historical process still awaiting reconstruction, Manchu is derived.

The Tungus languages are divided into two major divisions, the Northern Tungus and the Southern Tungus languages. The latter are treated first. We list the languages under group names, and list dialects under the language names..

SOUTH-WESTERN TUNGUS (MANCHU) GROUP

- (1) Ju-chen
- (2) Manchu, and another dialect:

Sibo (Colloquial Manchu)

SOUTH-EASTERN TUNGUS (NANAJ) GROUP

The Nanaj Proper subgroup includes languages numbered (3) to (9), below.

- (3) Gold, differentiated into four dialects:

Sunggari

Torgon (the basis for the literary language)

Kuro-Urmi

Ussuri

- (4) Sama gir, differentiated into three dialects:

Baikal

Amur

Gorin

(5) Olča

(6) Orok

(7) Birar

(8) Kile (Kire)

(9) Akani

The Udihe (Ude, Udegey) subgroup includes languages numbered (10) and (11), below.

(10) Udihe, differentiated into seven dialects:

Khungari

Khor (the basis for the literary language)

Anjuski

Samargin

Bikin

Iman

Sikhota alin

(11) Oroč, in four dialects:

Oričen

Tez

Namunka

Kjakela (Kjakar, Kekar)

The second major division, called Northern Tungus languages, now follows. The first group under this division turns out to be the only group under this division. Hence the North-Western Tungus (Evenki) group is

synonymous with the Northern Tungus languages; we cite both labels because both are encountered in the literature.

NORTH-WESTERN TUNGUS (EVENKI) GROUP

(12) Evenki, dialects are divided into three groups:

Northern dialects of Evenki:

Erbogočen

Nakanna

Ilimpeya

Tutončana

Southern dialects of Evenki:

Podkamennaya Tunguska (the basis of the literary language) with subdialects Čemdalsk, Vanavara, Baykit, Poligus, Učama.

Cis-Baikalia

Sym

Tokma-Verkholensk

Nepa

Nižne-Nepsk

Taloča

North Baikal

Baunt

Tokminsko-Tutur

Eastern dialects of Evenki:

Barguzin

Olekminsk, with subdialects Tungir, Kalar, Tokko

Aldan, with subdialects Timpton, Tommot, Ĵeltulak

Učur

Ayano-Maj

Kur-Urmi

Tuguro-Čumikan

Sakhalin

Zeysko-Burelin

(13) Negidal, in two dialects:

Nizovsk

Verkhovsk

(14) Solon

(15) Manegir

(16) Oročon

(17) Even (Lamut), dialects are divided into three groups:

Eastern dialects of Even:

Kolyma-Omolon

Ola (the basis for the literary language)

Kamčatka

Okhotsk

Verkhne-Kolymsk

Indigirka

Tompon

Arman dialects of Even:

Arman

Ola

Northern (or Western) dialects of Even:

Sarkyryr

Lamunkhin

Yukagir, a dialect of Even, not to be confused with a Paleosiberian language by the same name, treated below (4.2).

The Tungus languages follow the general rule of Altaic syntax involving the sequential accumulation of constituents towards the head (e. g. well known Turkish placement of verb in sentence final or phrase final). There are no productive markers for number. Verbal categories are aspectual rather than temporal. Gender (usually unmarked) is sometimes indicated (even in loan-words) by a complete vowel alternation, particularly characteristic of Manchu, between /a/ and /e/: Manchu haha man vs. hehe woman; amila cock bird vs. emile hen bird; arsalan lion vs. erselen lioness; garudai male phoenix vs. gerudei female phoenix (from Sanskrit garuḍa mythical bird). Vowel harmony is developed in the case of a limited number of suffixes; nowhere does it operate in the stem. Unlike the usual Mongol system of vowel harmony which operates according to a two- or four-way pattern of morphophonemic changes, the Tungus languages and Dagur Mongol manifest a three-way system which is mainly restricted to verbal suffixes. Manchu differs from Evenki in several ways (especially

in its phoneme inventory which for the most part, excluding loan-words from Chinese, resembles the Mongol). Evenki on the other hand shows a marked influence from Samoyed dialects (and in the East a certain Paleosiberian influence). In Manchu, alone of all the Tungus languages, the verbal stem is homomorphic with that of the imperative. Furthermore, Manchu does not exemplify the proliferation of paradigmatic categories which is so characteristic of Evenki. In Manchu, syllables in word-final position are characteristically open (/n/ is the only non-vocalic final which may occur in native words). When considering the differences between Manchu and the other Tungus languages, it is essential to consider one factor which may have contributed to the quasi-Mongol appearance of Manchu structure: our knowledge of Manchu is derived largely from texts. These texts were generally prepared either by Mongols themselves, or by polyglot scribes with a fluency in Mongol.

The concluding portion of this survey will contain a more detailed description of each of the major speech-groups listed above. However, we preface a preliminary note of caution on the recent Soviet statistics (January 15, 1959). First of all, the figures given for The Peoples of the North tend to underestimate the actual population. The reason for this is that the registration for census returns is regarded as voluntary. (There are doubtless many of the nomadic peoples who for a variety of complicated motives would prefer to call themselves Russians rather than signify their true ethnic affiliation).

The percentage of those who register and claim that their native tongue is still the predominant medium of discourse is relatively high—over three-fourths among the Tungus. Are we to conclude that there is a strong ethnic pride among the Tungus as a whole?

MANCHU

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Manchus were living in the area of the Amur River Valley; and the eastern borders of their territory stretched as far as Korea. Their area was shared by Mongol tribes, the descendents of refugees who had settled in the region after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty in 1368 A. D. Taking every advantage of the internal discomfitures of the native Ming dynasty (1368-1643 A. D.), along with the aid of their Mongol allies and the forces of Chinese defectors, the Manchus, after a series of generally successful border skirmishes conducted during the second half of the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth, invaded the northern part of China and vanquished the shattered remnants of Imperial opposition. Thus, in 1643, the Manchus established the fifth and last barbarian Chinese dynasty, which survived until it was finally destroyed by the People's Revolution on December 31st, 1911. The swift ascendancy of the Manchu hordes was facilitated by the personal energy and ambition of one man, Nurhaci (1559-1626). His career suggests a number of immediate and interesting parallels with that of Chingis Khan. Acting to some extent in the spirit of revenge for the death of his father, and incensed at the insults directed against the Manchu people by the Ming court at Peking,

Nurhaci determined to organize the loose confederation of tribes into a unit to eradicate the Ming rulers, and thereby to fulfill the barbarian ambition of succeeding to the imperium of China. With the development of the Manchus as a nation, institutions which were formerly irrelevant to their livelihood took on the aspect of administrative necessity. One of these was a literature whose previous folkloristic tradition had been exclusively oral. And thus, the Manchu literary language came into being, as early as 1599.

From the outset of their rule in China, the Manchus were gradually absorbed by the superior culture which they had overrun. At the turn of the present century, Manchu was preserved as the formal language of the court at Peking (beside Mandarin) and by nursemaids in the region of Kirin, where the young princes received their education. So also, among the Manchurian armed forces, military commands were still given in the old language at this time. Elsewhere, however, except in isolated rural areas and frontier towns, the language ceased to be current by the second half of the nineteenth century and was superseded in most parts of the Chinese Empire by Mandarin Chinese. Outside of China, on the other hand, the Manchu language was maintained, but generally in a bilingual situation. We have information to the effect that in Manchuria itself, at least until 1940, the spoken idiom was quite widely used along the lower course of the river Sanggan, in the Jehol and Hailar Provinces, and near the Amur Valley in the region of Aigen. Several enclaves are also said to have existed near Mergen, on the upper course of the Nonni, and in the valley of the Mudan-kiang, but it is difficult to assess either their

importance or their size. Twenty years ago, the number of Manchu speakers in these scattered localities was estimated as being somewhat in excess of thirty thousand, a rather over-optimistic figure, when one remembers that Patkanov, in 1897, had only counted some 3,340. In 1960, it was reported that Manchu was still spoken in the Ili territory of Chinese Turkestan.

In the 1890's, Edkins mentioned that Manchu was being taught in a boys' school at Peking. Certainly, the language was commonly employed at the higher levels of the contemporary official hierarchy, and at the Imperial ceremonies, secular and religious. It is difficult to give a ready credence to the familiar propaganda reports exemplified by the statement that 'there are approximately 100,000 Manchus in the Sinkiang Province and cultural activities in their own Manchu vernacular, namely publication of newspapers, textbooks and so on in romanized characters, are being regularly undertaken' (a translation from a modern Japanese encyclopaedia). Still, it would be mistaken to follow the view that Manchu has in fact become a dead language, even if its linguistic integrity is no longer politically supported. The well-known Manchu scholar Erich Hauer claimed to have seen at Hailar a Manchu newspaper dated November 21, 1925, and called Ice donjin afaha--presumably the same document as the one referred to by Walter Fuchs as Ice donjin-i boolabun Modern Times. A new edition of the Manchu Bible was proposed in 1928; and in the preceding year a passport worded in Manchu was issued to a German scientist traveling in northern Manchuria.

Until the political situation eases in Peking, this will be all the information that is presently available concerning the contemporary status of Manchu.

The following passage of a Manchu text is taken from the *Nisan saman i bithe*, edited by M. P. Volkova, Moscow, 1961:

..... sunja sede isinafi tuwaci. ere jui sure sektu. gisun getuken ogoro jakade. uthai sefu solifi. boode bithe tacibume. geli coohai erdemu gabtan niyamniyan be urebufi. sun biya geri fari gabtara sirdan i gese hodun ofi. tofohon sede isinafi. gaitai emu inenggi sergudai fiyanggô ini ama eme be acafi. baime hendume, mini taciha gabtan niyamniyan be cendeme. emu mudan abalame tuciki sembi. ama i gônin de antaka be sarkô. sehede ama hendume. sini dergide emu ahon bihe. tofohon sede heng lang san alin de abalame genefi beye dubehebi. bi gônici genere be nakarao sere jakade. sergudai fiyanggô hendume niyalma jalan de. haha seme banjifi. ai bade yaburakô. enteheme boo be tuwakiyame bimbio. bucere banjire gemu meimeni gajime jihe hesebun ci tucinderakô serede. yuan vai araga akô alime gaifi. hendume aika abalame tuciki seci. ahalji bahalji sabe gamame gene. ume inenggi goidara jebkeseme yabu. habilame mari mini tatabure gônin be. si ume urgedere seme afabure be.

A free translation of the above now follows.

"By the time he had reached the age of five, Sergudai already showed an aptitude and intelligence, and a good command of language.

Consequently, his parents forthwith engaged tutors who instructed him at home in the rudiments of grammar, marksmanship and mounted archery. Days and months passed incessantly by like a flying arrow, until he attained to the age of fifteen. Then, one day, Sergudai suddenly sought out his father and mother, and addressed them as follows: 'May I go out once to the hunt so that I can put my skill in marksmanship and mounted archery to the test?' 'He is unaware of the circumstances,' his father said to himself, and, turning to the boy, he replied, 'Before you were born, you had an older brother, and when he was fifteen, he went out into the Heng-lang Shan mountains to hunt, and there met his death. However, for my own part, I do not intend to stand in the way of your going!' 'I was born as a man in the world of men', Sergudai Fiyanggo answered. 'Am I never to be allowed to go out; shall I always be guarding the home? One's birth and likewise one's end are controlled by the vicissitudes of each man's fate.' The Yuan Wai calmly heeded his words and acceding to his persuasion, said to him, 'If then you say your mind is set on the hunt, take Ahalji and Bahalji and go with them.' But take care on your journey, and do not tarry one day. Return in haste and forget not that I am anxious on your behalf. '''

NANAJ

The name Nanaj, used as a self-designation by the Gold, Olča, Oroč and Orok, is explained etymologically as a compound of two forms, nā plus naj compatriot. The Nanaj peoples come into contact at the periphery

of their territory with Russian and Chinese influences.

The Chinese influence was by far the more significant. The Manchu contribution to Nanaj culture was considerable. The closeness of the affinity between the Nanaj and Manchu languages should not be overestimated. A Japanese influence has been observed among a few Nanaj tribes, notably the Gold, where Japanese-style clothing is a common sight. It is thought that the Nanaj entered their present territories of the Amur basin and the Maritime Province from the northwest, intermingling with the Paleosiberian tribes whom they found in possession of the area. This earlier population is to be best identified with the so-called 'Nivkhs'. The Nanaj share many cultural characteristics (e.g. the breastplate, the čum—a conical tent usually associated with nomadic peoples—and the birch-bark boats). Elsewhere, their culture bears witness to the absorption of Paleosiberian traits which are sufficiently widespread to merit detailed study. In fact, the whole field of Altaic-Paleosiberian connections—including linguistic connections—promises to be fruitful. It is, therefore, all the more surprising that little work has been done toward their elucidation. Instead, we have articles by Winkler (1930) on a few random correspondences between Tungus and Uralic, and an unconvincing discussion by Bouda (1959) on the relations of Tungus and Quechua of South America.

GOLD

The Russian census of 1959 records 8,000 Gold of whom 86.3% claimed their Tungus vernacular as their major language. The Gold are adjacent to the Olča, the Samagir and the Kile (with the Kile and Akani possibly

derived from an Evenki origin), and occupy the lower reaches of the Amur River, with further settlements along the coast of the Tatar Sound, where they are in position to make frequent contact with the Paleosiberian Gilyak. Three Gold clans living in the northeastern region of Manchuria—the Huang-Ho-tung, the Ta-tzŭ and the Hsi-lo—have become fully Sinicized. As far as points of administration are concerned, the Gold, along with the Solon and Dagurs, were drafted into the New Manchu Banners during the Ch'ing dynasty, and have now been reorganized under the Soviet régime into three national rayons, known as Nanajskij, Komsomol'skij and Ul'čskij. One of the best known groups of Gold surviving to the present day is the one situated on the river Sunggari. In the 1930's, Lattimore reported the existence of some three hundred families in the districts downstream from San-hsing at the junction of the Mu-tan with the Sunggari, the southernmost region of Gold occupation and the meeting place for Manchu and Gold for the last three centuries. The earlier Gold settlements of this area have either been swallowed up by the Manchus or driven back by Chinese penetrations. The same tends to be true of the neighboring settlements on the Amur and the Ussuri. Under the Ch'ing rule, the Gold manned the river patrols along the Amur and Sunggari supervised by Manchu officials. Of all the Tungus tribes, the Gold are closest to the Manchu in folklore, language and physical type (e. g. high cheek bones). They have never been agriculturalists. Millet is their only significant product, and this is grown for use in ceremony and ritual. The introduction of cattle and horses is,

according to Lattimore, rather late. Though they were primarily fishermen as long as they remained free from external pressures, the Gold now regard hunting, which previously occupied a secondary position, as their main source of income.

In Chinese documents, the Gold are most generally referred to as He-jen, Ho-chen, and, in older sources, Hei-chin.

SAMAGIR

The Samagir who until the middle of the last century, lived in the territory of the Buryat Mongols to the north of Lake Baikal, have now moved south and joined the Gold. They occupy the Gorin Valley southwest of Mariinsk, and north-northeast of Khabárovsk, in Even territory. Their language is, in many respects, very close to Negidal.

OLČA

The Olča, whose nearest congeners are the Orok, have occupied both banks of the so-called Lowland Amur in that section of the stream between the villages of Bol'bi and Tyr. The Gold are situated to the south, the Negidal to the west, the Oroč to the east and the Paleosiberian Gilyak to the north. Recently, the Soviet scholars Strenina and Petrova have published new material concerning this neglected language. According to the Soviet census reports, there are some 2,100 Olča, of whom 84.9% state a preference for their native language.

OROK (SAKHALIN NANAJ)

The Orok left their settlement on the Ude River in the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries and crossed to the island of Sakhalin where they are presently located. The main concentration of their settlement is in the interior of the island and along the east coast. The Orok language shows a number of northern traits to be accounted for by the presence of an Evenki colony in a neighboring portion of the island. The course of the Orok migration was traced by Nevelskij, who based the major part of his hypothesis on a comparative study of legend. In 1897, the population was numbered at 749.

BIRAR

The Birar (or, as the Chinese call them, Pi-la-eul) live in the province of Hei-lung-chiang. Their name is said to be derived from the Manchu word for river (bira). They live to the southeast of Aigun on the Amur River in the neighborhood of the Oročon who (along with the Manegir) have contributed several northern Tungus features to their language. This influence is matched or exceeded by influence from Gold, with which the Birar are most particularly associated.

KILE

The Chinese refer to the Kile as K'i-lei or K'i-lei-eul, a Tungus tribe, as Sunik (1948) and others have shown, that is derived from an Evenki source. The Kile presently dwell along the lower course of the Sunggari and the Amur. The Chinese have an alternative name for these people, the Kilimi (K'i-leng). Texts of the fourteenth century show that the Kilimi have been in association with the northern Tungus tribes, the Oročon and the Manegir, and with the Gilyak. We have sufficient evidence to show that

until recent times the Kile differed markedly from the other Nanaj tribes in language, material culture and economy.

AKANI

Akani is a little known language, spoken in Gold territory along the left-hand tributary of the Ussuri, and, in small enclaves, along the Sungari.

UDIHE

In 1959, 1,400 Udihe registered in the Soviet census; of these 73.7% favor their native language. The Udihe, whose closest relatives are the Oroč, occupy the whole stretch of coastal territory to the east of Khabárovsk. They live, therefore, to the east of the Gold in Sikhota and especially in the districts of the rivers Bikin and Khor, the right-hand tributary of the Ussuri. The majority are riparian or hunters, but in the most southerly parts of their territory, the population is sedentary and has a long tradition of agriculture. They use the same writing system as the Oroč.

OROČ

The Oroč dwell in the regions between the Amur River and the Pacific Ocean. In 1959, there were 800 of them, of whom 68.4% claimed that they normally used their own language. Some degree of partial intelligibility obtains between Manchu, Gold and Oroč, according to Lopatin.

EVENKI

In early sources, the Evenki of the Tunguska River region were called Chapogir; the name Evenki itself appears with a number of different spellings, as

Avanki, Avankil and so on. Also, the name of this language (Evenki) is sometimes used as a generic term to refer to all the Tungus tribes, and especially those within the Soviet orbit. The official designation for the Tungus since 1930, for instance, has been The National Krajs of the Evenki. The Evenki are not only the most widespread and populous of the Tungus tribes—in 1959, their census totalled 24,700—but have also undergone the most extensive Russian influence, which is reflected in the fact that, in 1959, only 55.9% of the speakers claimed Evenki as their major language. There are two National krajs, one at Krasnoyarsk covering 541,600 sq. km. in the Turinskaja Kul'tbaza and centered on Tura, the other in the region of Vitim-Olekminsk in Chita territory with its center in Kalakan. The written language, as already mentioned, is used by Evenki from the Yenisei to the Amur basin and the northern part of Manchuria.

The major Evenki clans are concentrated in the areas of the Yenisei, the 'Irkutsk oblast' by Lake Baikal and along the banks of the Lena into Yakutia, where there are ten Tungus National rajons, and furthest to the east on the island of Sakhalin. Their distribution may be roughly listed in the following manner.

The Yenisei Evenki (Tunguska-Tungus, Chapogir) are divided among northern clans and southern clans.

The northern clans are known collectively as Erbogočen: the Hatúkāgu, Ōjogir, Udǰgir and Kondógir who stretch northwards from the river Erema and its tributaries the Tajnúra, Kataramba and Učami.

The southern clans are known collectively as the Katanga: the Kētarākagir and the Kēmukāgu, who are found in the area of the Stony and Lower Tunguskas.

The Sym comprise a number of Evenki clans, notably the Kímā and the Kēmu who live to the west of the Yenisei in the direction of the Ob and up the Vas'jugan and Dem'janka towards the river Irtyš. They reach from the Eloguj in the north to the Čulym, the Ket' and the Kas in the south. One of the most sizable settlements is in the neighborhood of the town of Narim.

The Evenki clans of the Lower Nepa, the Mucúgir and the Kungnokogir are a branch of the Katanga. They are chiefly located along the right bank of the Lena from the neighborhood of Kirensk.

The Upper Nepa (Tokmin) is an Evenki clan, also known as the Mucúgir, which originally belonged to the Katanga group and is still located in scattered communities along the upper reaches of the Stony and Lower Tunguskas. But members of this clan are also to be found further south along the Lena as far the area of Lake Baikal. In fact, they stretch so far to the east that they come into contact with the Barguzin on the east shore of the lake in the Buryat Mongol ASSR.

The Bugdkjir are the largest group of Evenki living on the banks of the Viljúj. They extend as far the Lena in Yakutia.

While the tendency for the clans so far mentioned is to be predominantly

associated with a riparian livelihood, the Tungus to the east as far as Sakhalin seem to rely somewhat more on hunting than their western relatives. Their main centers are at Barguzin, Olekminsk, Aldan and the island of Sakhalin. The eastern Evenki dialects are held to be somewhat more conservative than those of the Yenisei area. The morphology of the stem is far closer to the overall pattern of Tungus languages, while the northern and southern dialects exhibit what is best interpreted as strong innovations probably under the influence of Samoyed.

NEGIDAL

The Negidal numbered 683 in 1926. The history of their language is particularly difficult to reconstruct. They are quite closely related to the Evenki culturally. Some scholars believe that, together with the Orok and the Oroč and their closest congeners, the Negidal may be traced back to the Baikal type mentioned earlier. The question is an important one, involving as it does the merging of northern and southern elements in nearly equal proportion. The Negidal (whose self-designation is Elkembeye) live by the river Amgun to the west of Nikolaevsk and are dispersed throughout the territory of the Olča and the Oroč, from whom they derive a considerable number of the southern Tungus elements.

SOLON

The Solon are scattered over a wide area of northern Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, interspersed in small numbers with many of the Mongol tribes in that area, notably the Dagurs. The Solon, though classified

as northern from the standpoint of language, have been greatly influenced by the Manchus and the Gold. The only area where there is any significant concentration of Solon is on the Zéja in the district of Khabarovsk.

MANEGIR (MANYARG, MENGRE, MANEGRE, MONAGIR)

The Manegir numbered 160 in 1897 when they lived on the middle reaches of the Amur to the northwest of Aigun. We have almost no information regarding them.

OROČON

The Oročon, whose self-designation is derived descriptively from a word meaning reindeer-breeder, live on the banks of the Olekma River to the east of the Buryat in the region of Nerčinsk. As in the case of the Manegir, little information is available since the accounts to be found in the works of Schrenck (1881-91) and Ivanovskij (1894) were published.

EVEN (LAMUT)

The population of Even was recorded, as of 1959, to be 9,100. This figure is the only one in which the results of the 1959 census of Tungus peoples differs appreciably from that drawn up in 1926. At that time, the Even population was reported to be only 5,860. The discrepancy is probably to be accounted for at least in part by the fact that in 1926 a number of the smaller, more isolated groups which are now recognized as Even were not incorporated in the reckoning.

The Even dwell along the coastline of the Okhotsk Sea, and, for this reason, have frequently been referred to as the Okhotsk people. According

to the Soviet classification, the Even are divided in two territories.

The first territory is the district of Čabárovsk itself. Also included in this administrative unit are the Okhotsk rajon of the Nižne-Amur region (549,700 sq. km.) centered around the main settlement at Nikolaevsk, and the Okhotsk-Kolyma rajon, which was formerly known as the Okhotsko-Even national district, comprising three rajons (Ola, Najačan and Kolyma). The Okhotsk-Kolyma rajon is situated in the most easterly part of the area.

The second territory is Kamčatka (1,153,800 sq. km.) with the main settlement at Petropavlovsk-Kamčakij. In this area the Even are scattered along the banks of the rivers Anadyr', Penžina, Pakhači, Apuka and Omolon, and between the Chukchi and Koryak settlements on the bay of Čaunsk. In the Yakut ASSR there are, according to Benzing, ten Even national rajons (Abýj, Allaikhov, Anabar, Bulun, Mom, Ojnjakan, Sarkyryr, Tompon, Ust'-Jan and Žigansk). However the most recent Soviet administrative statistics only refer to Ojnjakan among this list. Other settlements further removed from these are located in the neighborhood of Nižne-Kolymsk.

The term Lamut is not the self-designation for Even, but a clan name taken up by scholars and applied throughout much of the literature, particularly among European writers, in order to enhance the distinction between the Even and the Evenki. The majority of Even in fact refer to themselves as such, especially those in the Okhotsk and Kolyma rajons, and in the Yakut ASSR, whereas those in the districts of Ola, Nalyačan and Kamčatka style themselves Oroč the reindeer folk. This latter nomenclature should not be confused with either that of the Olekma Oročon or the Udihe Oroč.

In some districts, instead of using the name Even or Oroč, the local inhabitants prefer to refer to themselves by the name of their clan, for example, the Even of the Sarkyryr rajon in the Yakut ASSR style themselves Tugohol, Namangka and Dudkø. The sedentary Even of Kamčadal origin (from the townships of Ola and Arman in the Ole district) refer to themselves as Monal. For all these subgroups, however, the general name Even is in common use. It is probably derived from a word meaning folk, whereas Lamut has received a number of different etymologies (shooters by Czaplicka, the sea-dwellers by Benzing, and so on).

A cyrillic script was designed for the Even language by Russian missionaries in the second half of the nineteenth century, but never gained wide currency. In 1930, Ja. P. Al'kor adapted the Roman orthography and made some additions to the earlier system, creating an alphabet of 27 letters.

MONGOL LANGUAGES

3.2. The Mongol languages are today dispersed throughout the whole of Central Asia, from Afghanistan to Manchuria. This Mongol region is central because it is situated in a broad belt or zone -- in a sense between Siberia to the north and China to the south, but really occupying large parts of both. On the horizontal axis of this region there are Central (i.e. relatively western Mongols) and Eastern Mongols. The two main groups of Central Mongols (i.e. the western ones) are the Mogul (Afghanistan) and the Oirat. The main linguistic distinctions among the Eastern Mongols are Dagur and Monguor, which are separate languages, unintelligible to the main body of Mongol speakers known by various tribal and dialect names, as Khalkha, the standard language of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Mongol ancestry is traced back in legend to Budantsar, from whom the hero Yesugei, father of Chingis Khan, was eighth in descent. In written history, Mongol tribes are first mentioned in the Annals of the T'ang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) when their habitations were associated particularly with the river valleys of the Kerulen, Nonni and Argun. The territory now defined as Outer Mongolia was, at that time, under the domination of Turkic peoples. After the overthrow of the great empires of the T'u-ch'üeh (the Eastern Türk), the Mongols rose in political importance, until, in 907, the K'i-tan overthrew the T'ang emperor and ruled in the north of China for 218 years under the dynastic title of Liao.

A century later, Chingis Khan was crowned king in 1206; as a warrior, he 'united all those who dwelt under felt tents' (the Naiman, Kereit, Tumey, Kon-girit, Merkit, Tatar and Mangit clans). 'The formation of the Mongol Empire was an event unique in its kind in the history of the world. Neither before nor

since have the agricultural countries of the Far East and Hither Asia been united under the power of one dynasty." (Barthold, 1928). In the west, the cities of Rjazan and Kiev and Budapest fell to Mongol hordes advancing under the leadership of Batu (1241). In the east, Korea was attacked and subjugated, and within a few years the whole of China lay in the dominion of Chingis Khan's descendent, Kubilai Khan (1216-1294). During his illustrious reign, the Yüan Dynasty (1279-1368) reached its zenith, and through the travels of Nicolo Maffeo and Marco Polo, his court became known to the west. The armies of Menggu Khan and Khulagu continued raving the Iranian and Iraq areas until the city of Baghdad succumbed to the Mongol who dominated Southwest Asia until 1353. In Russia, the so-called Golden Horde held their power into the sixteenth century. During this period Mongol conquests stretched from Europe to the island of Java, and from the northern regions of Siberia to Annam, Burma and the Indian Ocean. Much was destroyed in the onward thrust of the Mongol cavalry, mistaken at first by the western crusaders as the auspicious advent of the fabled Prester John, and whole civilizations were ground into oblivion. The massive irrigation systems of Khwarezm and the Islamic Middle East were wiped out. A century later the Persian historian, Ibn Battuta, observed the wreckage of the past: "Thence we traveled for a whole day through a continuous series of orchards, streams, trees and buildings, and reached the city of Bukhara. This city was formerly the capital of the lands beyond the Oxus. It was destroyed by the accursed *Tinkiz* [= Chingis] the Tatar, the ancestor of the kings of Iraq, and all but a few of its mosques, academies, and bazaars are now lying in ruins."

We have a continuous tradition of written documents since the thirteenth century. Today, for the first time since the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty in 1368, the Mongols of the Far East, within Outer Mongolia, have regained some

semblance of political unity in the Mongolian People's Republic, an autonomous nation with its own representation in the United Nations but coming ever-increasingly under Soviet control -- and this in spite of the somewhat listless attempts on the part of the Chinese People's Republic to perpetuate the ties between themselves and their former masters and subjects.

The author of the so-called Secret History of the Mongols divides the Mongols of the twelfth century into two groups; the forest hunters, goyin irgen, and the pastoral nomads of the steppe, ker-ün irgen. The forest tribes occupied the regions of Lake Baikal, the source of the Yenisei and the course of the Irtyš. The pastoral peoples traversed the territory of the steppe and the highlands extending from the Lake Kūlūn-Būir to the Altai Mountains. Another section of the pastoralists were located somewhat to the south across the Gobi to the neighborhood of the Great Wall of China. The hunters also derived their livelihood from fishing, and in this and many other respects share common cultural tendencies with the Tungus, who belong to the same general geographical area. Through the centuries, and as a particular consequence of the invasions outlined above, Mongol peoples were distributed throughout Asia, but nevertheless retained a remarkable sense of self-identity. Ties of kinship and tradition remain firm among Mongol clans; the attempt on the part of the Russians to disturb them is the cause of resentment. In more recent times there has been a tendency for some Mongols to adopt a more settled form of life, with agriculture. However, this is a point which should not be over-emphasized; essentially nomadic habits of life still remain characteristic of most Mongol tribes.

Although shamanism is frequently practised by the Mongols, there has been a long tradition of Buddhist observance among many tribes, preceded by a peculiarly

syncretistic form of Nestorian Christianity which was a legacy of the flourishing Uighur kingdom to the west of Mongolia in the area of Kashgar, Tashkent and Samarkand. There has been a recent attempt to curtail the influence and authority of the lamaseries throughout Outer Mongolia. This trend has met with some success, thereby coercing a considerable proportion of the young male population, who would otherwise have presented themselves as novices, to enter an apprenticeship for some trade or profession to the benefit of an expanding community. The Buddhist influence is by far the most notable of all the external religious movements. However, a certain number of Mongol tribes are predominantly Moslem, and in a few areas, due to the untiring efforts of Protestant and Catholic missionaries over the last hundred years, Christianity is accepted by small groups of the population.

The present era of Mongol scholarship was inaugurated by the publication of the chronicle of *Sagang Sečen* by Isaak Jakob Schmidt in 1829. Since that time, the bulk of literature pertaining to the field has grown enormously, in which the contribution of such scholars as Kowalewski, Laufer, Ramstedt, Vladimircov, Lessing, Haenisch, Poppe, Mostaert, Cleaves, Pelliot, Ligeti and Heissig has been paramount.

An unbroken tradition of Mongol writings extends from the time of the 'Secret History' mentioned above. The 'Secret History', compiled in the thirteenth century, but known from the Chinese transcription - the 'Yuan-ch'ao pi-shi' - executed in the fourteenth, is the oldest text in the period ('Middle Mongol'). Prior to the federation of Mongol States initiated by Chingis Khan, the Mongols employed a form of runic script for their inscriptions. Chingis introduced Uighur scribes to Mongolia and instructed them to adapt their orthography -- ultimately derived from a Syriac source through the mediation of Sogdian merchants in the eighth and ninth centuries -- to the requirements of contemporary Mongol

phonology. The Uighur script was used for literary compositions by the middle of the thirteenth century. In 1269, Kubilai Khan authorized a modified form of the Tibetan script to be used in Mongol Chancelleries. This orthography was known as the *ḥP'ags-pa* or square script (*dörbeljin*). Although it remained in use until the middle of the fourteenth century, it never ousted the simpler Uighur script which is still being used today. In 1648 the alphabet was re-adapted for use among the Western Mongols and is current among the Kalmyks and the Mongols in the Koko-nor and those in the T'ien Shan at the present day. In the Buryat ASSR since 1937, and in the Mongolian People's Republic since 1946, the standard orthography in all publications is based on a modified and extended form of the Cyrillic alphabet; this provides a further index of the gradual Russification of the Mongol culture. In non-official documents, however, the vertical script is still maintained by the Mongols themselves as the preferred orthography.

The Buddhist influence among the Mongol peoples dates from the time of Kubilai Khan. 'Classical' Mongol refers exclusively to the highly stylized language of the Buddhist literature, while 'Written' Mongol admits a number of intrusions from colloquial speech. Written Mongol is the language of the secular literature and includes historical chronicles such as the *Altan tobči*, and the *Erdeni tobči* by Sagang Sečen. Today the large proportion of the literature published within the Mongolian Peoples' Republic is strongly influenced by Soviet thought. In this context, it is important to remember that the major literary tradition throughout the Mongol-speaking territory is an oral one which perpetuates Mongol folklore.

When one considers the extent to which the Mongols have moved about in Central Asia during the last millenium, it is expectable that the languages-in-

contact problem will loom large. The Turks (e.g. Yakut) who have come into close contact with the Mongols to the north and west of Mongolia have undergone considerable influence from the Mongol languages of those areas. Soyot, on the western borders of Mongolia also shows influence from the neighboring Mongol dialects and, even further west, in Kalmyk territory, evidence of the intrusion of Mongol upon the local Turkic Kirgiz vernaculars is manifold. On the other hand, any Mongol enclave located in a predominantly Turkic-speaking area is to some extent absorbed into the general culture of the area, a process clearly reflected in the linguistic evidence. Mogul, the Mongol language of Afghanistan, spoken by the remnants of the Chingisids who settled there during the Il-khan period, has been thoroughly Iranized. On the eastern border of the Mongol-speaking area in northern Manchuria the language of the Dagurs was classified as Tungus until Poppe demonstrated that, despite the extent of Tungus borrowing, the structure of the language conformed to a Mongol overall pattern. It is, of course, the high ratio of Tungus loans that constitute the determining factor in the inability of most Mongol-speakers to understand Dagur.

The rest of this report will be devoted to a dialect classification of Mongol, and provide reference to the geographical and statistical distribution of each major speech group. Excepting the case of Dagur, Monguor and Mogul, mutual intelligibility may obtain between speakers of what would then be dialects of one language. The following classification is based exclusively on linguistic data at our disposal. (In most classifications so far published for Mongol languages, there is a tendency to include linguistic, ethnic, and administrative criteria without specifying precisely which is being invoked at any particular point in the classification.)

The four Mongol languages which are better known in terms of their dialect

and tribal names, are:

- (1) Mogul
- (2) Monguor
- (3) Dagur
- (4) remaining Mongol.

It should be noted that 'remaining Mongol' is not the name of a fourth Mongol language, but a label for a hard to state and hard to solve problem. It is necessary to indicate roughly the divisive features in Mongol culture before it is possible to identify who speaks which dialects — or even possibly separate languages — of the 'remaining Mongol' groups.

According to Poppe (1955), there are a half dozen rather than four languages in the Mongol family, namely:

- (1) Mogol (Mogul)
- (2) Monguor
- (3) Dagur
- (4) Oirat
- (5) Kalmuck (Kalmyk)
- (6) East Mongolian (self-designation, Mongol):

"The languages discussed above are separate languages. The following tongues spoken in Inner and Outer Mongolia are in my opinion dialects of one language which can be called East Mongolian. It is important to point out that the tribes speaking these dialects call themselves 'Mongol', while others do not use this name but call themselves Dagur, Monguor, Mogol, Oirat, and Kalmuck [and Buryat]. The tribes inhabiting Inner Mongolia and the Khalkha Mongols in Outer Mongolia are the only ones calling themselves 'Mongol'." (Nicholas Poppe, Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies, Mémoires de la Société Finno-

Ougrienne 110, p. 19, Helsinki, 1955).

Today, most Mongolian people are administered by three main political systems: (1) their own, derived from a Russian pattern (Mongolian People's Republic); (2) the Chinese political system (Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang); and (3) the Soviet political system (Buryat and Kalmyk ASSR's). They are organized into a number of separate administrative subdivisions, mostly autonomous; for example, in China, the 'Leagues' still follow the systems of so-called 'Banners' established by the Manchus during the Ch'ing dynasty.

According to the census held in the Mongolian People's Republic in 1956 — that is, the territory formerly mapped as Outer Mongolia — the total population was 845,500 of whom approximately 763,400 were Mongols. The Russian scholar, Todaeva (1960) estimated the total population of Mongols dwelling in Inner Mongolia as 1,462,952. This contrast, alone, shows that fewer Mongols live in their own country than out of it. The Russian census for 1959 records a total of 106,000 Kalmyks living within the USSR; in addition to this, there are some 700 in America. The same census gives 253,000 Buryats for the population in the Buryat ASSR. Other less reliable estimates are obtainable which differ from those recorded here. For instance, it is quite widely accepted that there are at least one million Mongols in the Mongolian People's Republic. The figures for the Mogul population in Afghanistan vary so much that it is impossible to quote any statistics which can be regarded as trustworthy. However, we may assume that there are, in all, at least two and half million Mongols scattered throughout the Asian continent; the usual estimate is three million, and estimates have ranged as high as five million.

Khalkha Mongol, the official language of the MPR, is used as a lingua franca through most of the Mongol-speaking territory. In all areas colloquial

vernacular differs from the tradition of Classical or Written Mongol.

With regard to actual classification, it is important to note that in the last decade, due in the main to the field expeditions conducted by Hungarian and Russian scholars, drastic revisions have been made of all previous interpretations of Mongolian dialectology. In the following report, the traditional division between eastern and western languages has been disregarded on the grounds that it is linguistically irrelevant and takes no account of the position of Mogul in the west, or of the language barriers existing between Dagur and Monguor vis-à-vis the other Mongol languages in the east.

Mogul, Dagur, Monguor and the Mongol dialects classed in the Pao-an group are much more conservative than the other Mongol languages or dialects and often preserve features from the language attested in manuscripts of the Middle Mongol period. The archaic forms commonly found in these languages have provided much of the basis for historical reconstruction.

The following classification gives nine speech area names, followed in each case by dialect names and other names which suggest tribal affiliation and/or geographic location. Subsequent to the list which now follows, each of the speech area names appears as a center head before a discussion of information relevant to that speech area. In the last speech area, numbered (9), the dialects listed are of a separate Mongol language called Mogul. So also, in the speech areas numbered (4) and (5) the dialects listed are of two other separate Mongol languages, called Dagur and Monguor, respectively. Speakers in the remaining speech areas (numbered (1), (2), (3), (6), (7), and (8) in the list below) enjoy various degrees of partial intelligibility with each other -- at least when the others are neighbors. But this does not guarantee that all are dialects of one remaining, unnamed, fourth Mongol language. The dialect-language

boundary is difficult to test in this group of speech areas--(1) to (3) and (6) to (8)-- because the Khalkha member of this group, numbered (2), is a lingua franca and, furthermore, serves as the official standard language of the Mongolian People's Republic.

So, on the one hand, there may be more seeming intelligibility among speakers in different Mongol speech areas than would be expectable from the linguistic differences that separate them because a smattering of Khalkha can generally be used to bridge the linguistic separation (so far as partial intelligibility is concerned). The situation is essentially similar to the use of Colloquial Classical Arabic, which serves as a crutch for communication of the educated among the very different Arabic dialects. This kind of language situation was neatly summarized by Charles Ferguson when he surmised that if it were not for the continued use of Classical Arabic, the modern Arabic dialects would be called different Arabic languages. In the Mongol case, the question of dialect versus language enjoys even less consensus of specialist agreement than exists among Semitists for Arabic. Differences of a separate language order may sometimes be masked by the use of Khalkha as a lingua franca, on the one hand.

On the other hand, there may occasionally be a real language barrier between Mongol languages whose structural samenesses would make partial intelligibility expectable. If Dagur, for example, were not flooded with Tungus loans, it might be intelligible to speakers in all the other speech areas listed below, except those numbered (5) and (9).

(1) Oirat (Western Mongol)

Kalmyk (Oirat of the Volga)

Buzawa (Derbet of the Don)

Torgut of Orenburg

Oirat of Kobdo

Derbet of Kobdo

Bait

Torgut of the Altai

Uriangkhai of the Altai

Dzakha^ˇin

Dambi-elet

Mingat

Torgut of the Koko-nor

Olot of the Ili Valley

(2) Khalkha

Khalkha of Ulan Bator

Dariganga

Western Khalkha

Eastern Khalkha

Kamnigan

Hotoguitu

(3) Buryat

Khori

Tsongol

Sartul

Ekhirit

Ungin

Nizne-Udinsk

Barguzin

Tunka

Oka

Alat

Bokhan

Bulagat

Bargu-Buryat

(4) Degur

Tsitsikhar

Hailar

Bataxan

(5) Monguor

Monguor

Aragwa

Hu-tsu

Ming-ho

Ta-T'ung

T'ien-yu

Yung-ching

Lin-hsia

San-ch'uan

Narin-guor

Wu-yang-pu

Fulannara

Khalci-guor

(6) Pao-an

Pao-an

Dakhezja

Tung-hsiang

Tung-yên

Senta

Šera-Yögur

Ning-ting

K'ang-lo

Yung-ch'êng

Yunnan

Širingol

(7) Ordos

Ordos

Čakhar

Abaganar

Abaza

Sunit

Khučit

Kešikten

Ujumčîn

Tumet

Urat

Abagai

Otok

Ušin

Wang

Jasak

Khanguin

Žungan

DeLat

Durben-kbukhet

(8) Khorčín

Khorčín

Arkhorčín

Barín

Kharčín

Gorlos

Ogirut

Kharbin

Žastu

Žalait

Žarut

Darkhen

(9) Mogul

Herat

Maimana

Baghtan

Marda of Kunder

Šewit

Mangut

OIRAT

Dialects in the Oirat speech area are spoken farther west than those of any other Mongol language except Mogul. The peoples who speak Oirat dialects

are descended for the most part from the remnants of the Golden Horde and refugees from a series of 17th century wars with the Manchus and with the Eastern Mongols.

The Kalmyks are a branch of the Oirats who left Sinkiang between 1618 and 1758 for the North Caspian Steppe, under pressures created by the expansion of the Manchu Empire. In 1771, after ill-treatment at the hands of the Russians, several clans started out on a migration back to China, but only a few survived the journey and the constant attacks of marauding Cossacks. The Kalmyks who remained in Russia adopted a sedentary mode of life and settled as farmers and agriculturalists in the region of the Volga and the Don. The Boļševik Revolution again disturbed the Kalmyk population and many left the area, but those who remained within the Soviet Union were granted an Autonomous Republic, which, in 1935, was transformed into the Kalmyk ASSR with its capital at Elista. After the Second World War, the Kalmyks were accused of collaboration with the Germans and deported in large numbers to Central Asia and Siberia. Several refugees from this purge were able to make their way to Germany, and from there to the United States where they now live in New Jersey and in a community near Philadelphia. Due to the work of Ramstedt, Kalmyk is still the best known Oirat dialect; since the Kalmyk people have now been reinstated in the Volga region near Astrakhan, it is likely that they will again serve as informants for Russian linguists.

The rest of the Oirat speech area is scattered throughout the Sino-Russian borderlands in the region of Issyk-kul and the T'ien Shan Mountains, and further east to the borders of Outer Mongolia. Many Russian and Tatar influences have affected the Oirat dialects. However, in the region of Issyk-kul situated in the Kirgiz SSR, influence from Tadjik and Kirgiz is fairly strong, while the Oirat dialects spoken in Sinkiang are influenced phonologically by

the other Mongol languages of the area.

The main centers of Oirat speakers are located on the Volga (Kalmyk), in the district of Astrakhan (Buzawa, Torgut of Orenburg), at Kobdo (Oirat of Kobdo, Derbet of Kobdo, Bait), in the Altai (Torgut of the Altai, Uriangkhai of the Altai), in South West Mongolia (Dzakhacin, Dambi-Elet, Mingat), along the Koko-nor (Torgut of the Koko-nor), and in the Ili Valley of Chinese Turkestan (Olot). The minimum estimate for total number of Oirat speakers is 250,000.

Scholars are not in total agreement with regard to the classification of Kalmyk with the other Oirat languages. The arguments adduced against such a classification are based solely on lexical differences. These of course reflect the various influences peculiar to the Kalmyk-speaking area. However, the phonological and morphological characteristics of Kalmyk are not unlike those which differentiate Oirat from other Mongol groups.

KHALKHA

As already noted, Khaikha is the official language of the Mongolian People's Republic, and, beyond Mongolia, is used as a lingua franca. The dialect of the capital, Ulan-Bator (formerly, Urga) forms the basis of the modern Mongol literary language. (Its only serious rival is the well-developed Buryat literary language which is currently used in the Buryat ASSR.) In 1960, Bat-Sux estimated the total number of Khalkhas in the Mongolian People's Republic to be 639,100 (75.6% of the whole population). If we include the small enclaves of Khalkha speakers outside the People's Republic -- in Inner Mongolia and the Buryat ASSR, for example -- it is safe to assume that the total figure will be something in excess of 700,000. Khalkha is spoken throughout the whole of Outer Mongolia. The main concentration of speakers is in the area of the capital in the north, but slightly differentiated dialects have been reported in the region

to the west of the river Orkhon, and to the south and east in the Gobi.

These dialects tend to be rather isolated, and more conservative than that of the north. This is also true of the dialect known as Hotoguitu, spoken by nomads dwelling on the banks of the Belger, the Balčir and the Teš. Here, however, a number of Oirat influences are discernable. The enclaves in Inner Mongolia show an even stronger influence from the Ordos dialects of the area, whereas Dariganga appears to have been influenced to some extent by Čakhar, and by Tsongol, a dialect of Buryat.

The most aberrant Khalkha dialect so far reported seems to be the so-called Kammigan (Tungus), whose speakers are located in the river valley of the Joro, in Khori (Buryat) territory. A Tungus-speaking community in the district of Dadal-sum has evidently come into close contact with the Khalkha settlement.

BURYAT

Buryat is the language of the Buryat ASSR in the area of Lake Baikal to the north of Outer Mongolia. Buryat has been strongly affected by Tungus — second only to Dagur. Including the Buryat clans living in Inner Mongolia, the total number of Buryat speakers is about 275,000. Due to their close political ties with the Soviet Union, the Buryat population is spread across many areas of the USSR, but, for the most part, is located around the north and north-east borders of Outer Mongolia.

Bargu-Buryat is probably the most strongly differentiated Buryat dialect. It is spoken by some 4,500 in North-West Manchuria, in the region of the Hsing-an Mountains, and further west at Hailar. Here, there is evidence of influence both from the Mongolian Dagur and the Tungusic Solon.

Khori, otherwise known as eastern Buryat, along with its major subdivision, Aga, is also spoken in areas adjacent to Evenki settlements within the Buryat

ASSR, while Sartul and Tsongol, the dialects spoken by Buryats living on the banks of the river Selenga, show some affinity to Khalkha.

Ekhirit, Unga and Nižne-Udinsk, along with Alar, Bokhan and Tunka, are often referred to as western Buryat. They are generally spoken to the west of Lake Baikal, and, in the regions furthest to the west, they border on the Oirat group. According to the Soviet census of 1959, 94.9% of the Buryats living in the Buryat ASSR, irrespective of particular dialect, specify their mother tongue to be Buryat. The importance of Russian as a second language is greater in the Buryat ASSR than it is in Outer Mongolia.

DAGUR

As already stated, Mogul, Monguor, and Dagur are three separate languages, and each is unintelligible to the remaining body of Mongol speakers.

N. Poppe has already demonstrated (1930) that the Dagur language is of Mongol and not of Tungus stock, as some scholars, among them Radloff, had previously suggested.

The Dagurs are closely related to the Mongols of the Jerim league in Manchuria, and claim their descent from the K'i-tan. Local tradition refers to Khasar, brother of Chingis Khan, as their ancestor. The Dagurs migrated up the Nonni Valley and across to the Amur River at an early period, possibly the fourteenth century. (Several archaic features in the modern Dagur language (as in Mogul and Monguor) reflect features of Middle Mongol texts dating from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.) Arriving at the Amur basin, the Dagurs found themselves in the territories of the Tungus, many of whom discarded their previous reindeer economy and became assimilated to the new community. The Dagurs' position on the Amur River grew to one of strategic importance in the seventeenth century when they drove a wedge of experienced cavalry against the

Russian marauders penetrating from the west. Nevertheless, within a few years, the Sino-Russian advance across the Amur was responsible for the disruption of settlements. Those Dagurs who did not side with the Russians proceeded southwards to the Nonni Valley, establishing themselves at Mergen and downstream at Tsitsikhar, the present capital of the province of Hei-lung-chiang.

By the 19th century the Dagurs accepted the Manchu administrative system, and thus became the instrument of Manchu policy. Along with the Solon and the Gold, they were drafted into the New Manchu Banners. Large numbers of Dagurs were dispatched to official positions in Hailar west of the Grand Hsing-an.

At present, most of the Dagurs live in these three discrete communities of which that of the Nonni Valley is probably the largest, and also the one most affected by Chinese settlement. The Dagurs of this area have become "a sedentary, agricultural group, who used livestock for farming and animal products, but were in no sense primarily pastoralists or nomads. Their culture shows clear evidence of the infusion of Tungusic, Manchu and Chinese elements" (Aberle, 1962).

Martin's figure (1961) for the Dagur population, probably derived from an informant's statement, of 'some 80 to 100 thousand people in Manchuria' seems exaggerated. Ovdienko (1954), drawing on Chinese sources which would be apt to minimize the size of minority groups, estimates 60,000 for all the Dagur, Manegir, Oročon, Solon and 'other' peoples living in the region of Inner Mongolia. Poppe (1962), who quotes Ovdienko, suggests that hardly more than 10,000 of these speak Dagur. Todaeva's recently published figure of 50,000 (1960) is possibly the most accurate.

MONGUOR

The Monguor refer to themselves as Čagan mongol White Mongol. They live in West Kansu, and their language, while archaic in morphology, has been so in-

fluenced by Chinese, that its phonology bears little resemblance to the common Mongol pattern. A group of Monguor speakers is located in the Tibetan autonomous district of T'ien-yu, where Tibetan influence, observable in all Monguor dialects, is particularly strong.

In the past, it has been customary to classify Šera Yögur and Širingol, and also Tung-hsiang, together with the Monguor dialects. The most recently published linguistic data, however, lead one to assign these communities to another Mongol speech area, namely, Pao-an.

Although Monguor and Pao-an appear to be quite close in many respects, their structures seem to be sufficiently differentiated — since the publication of a Pao-an grammar by Todaeva (1963)—to classify them separately.

The total number of Monguor speakers is fifty or sixty thousand.

PAO-AN

Pao-an is spoken, like Monguor, in the province of Kansu, and claims some 250,000 speakers, of whom 5,000 are Pao-an proper, and 160,000 Tung-hsiang. It is not known how many people speak the other dialects listed under the Pao-an speech area, numbered (6), above.

ORDOS

Ordos and Čakhar are the two chief dialects of the Ordos speech area in Inner Mongolia, and show a slight degree of Chinese influence. Ordos and Čakhar are well-attested by a considerable amount of folkloristic material, and by a literary tradition.

Čakhar is spoken mainly in the Čakhar Territory of Inner Mongolia and in that of the Širingol League. It is much closer than Ordos to Khalkha, especially the Khalkha spoken in the Gobi, Ordos is spoken in the province of Sui Yuan and shares a limited number of peculiarities with Pao-an. The total number of speakers

is probably as high as 375,000.

KHORČIN

Khorčín is the most populous Mongol language spoken in the Chinese People's Republic and, according to native Mongolian scholars such as Chinggiltei and Lubsanvandan, may number as many as 900,000 speakers, of whom some 550,000 belong to the Khorčín and 350,000 to the Kharčín subdivisions. Their main concentrations are in the territory of the Ĵerim, Ĵostu and Ĵu Uda Leagues. These dialects show a striking number of resemblances with the Čakhar dialects of Ordos in the southwest and with Dagur in the north.

MOGUL

Apart from the work of Ramstedt at the turn of the century, the recent study by Ligeti (1963) gives us all the information we have regarding the present status of Mogul, spoken in Afghanistan on the western perimeter of the Mongol family. Despite extensive Iranization, Mogul remains conservative. Tadjik is the donor of the main Iranian influence; lesser influences come from the neighboring Turkic languages, Kirgiz, Uzbek and Turkmen.

Although certain similarities between Oirat and Mogul are observable, the two are differentiated in such a way as to make the usual distinction between Western Mongol (Mogul and Oirat) and Eastern Mongol not only unattested but inappropriate, since Mongol languages spoken in the east do not constitute a linguistic branch of the Mongol family. The dialects now found in the Oirat speech area of the west are spoken by Mongol peoples whose forebears were refugees from the east. Mogul, the westernmost language of the Mongol family, is linguistically coordinate with other languages of the family which shows greater linguistic differentiation in the east than in the west.

TURKIC

3.3. The first impression one has when studying Turkic languages is that they are unbelievably similar. Since different culture units are identified with different kinds of Turkic, names of the ethnic unit are used for the language or dialect of the society. Educated speakers of Turkic languages are able to read books in other Turkic languages, after some adjustment to spelling conventions and phonological correspondences. This situation -- a very low language barrier separating Turkic languages -- is also reflected in the percentage of shared cognates shown in the following lexicostatistic table compiled by Alo Ramm (1956):

	Turkish	Tatar	Bashkir	Uzbek	Tuva	Turki	Chuvash
Turkish	-	68	69	71	60	65	66
Tatar	68	-	89	78	67	70	62
Bashkir	69	89	-	76	65	67	66
Uzbek	71	78	76	-	61	76	65
Tuva	60	67	65	61	-	61	56
Turki	65	70	67	76	61	-	58
Chuvash	66	62	66	65	56	58	-

Assuming that a high percentage of shared cognates among closely related languages is correlated with differentiation from a single proto-language in a matter of centuries rather than of millenia, Turkish and the half dozen more or less different Turkic languages cited above would have been dialects of one language only a thousand years ago. This assumption is dubious. A more testable assumption is that two or more speech communities which have words in common for about three-fourths of the vocabulary of each

are thereby mutually intelligible to each other, and can therefore be counted as dialects of the same language. According to this second assumption, modern Turkish speakers could understand or partially understand Uzbek speech (but probably not the other way around, since Turkish vocabulary has borrowed more heavily from non-Turkic languages than has Uzbek). By the same assumption, Tatar and Bashkir and Uzbek are dialects of one language; and partial intelligibility exists between Uzbek and Turkic speakers. This intelligibility is less great for Urban Uzbek, however, because of considerable phonological differences between it and the rest of Common Turkic.

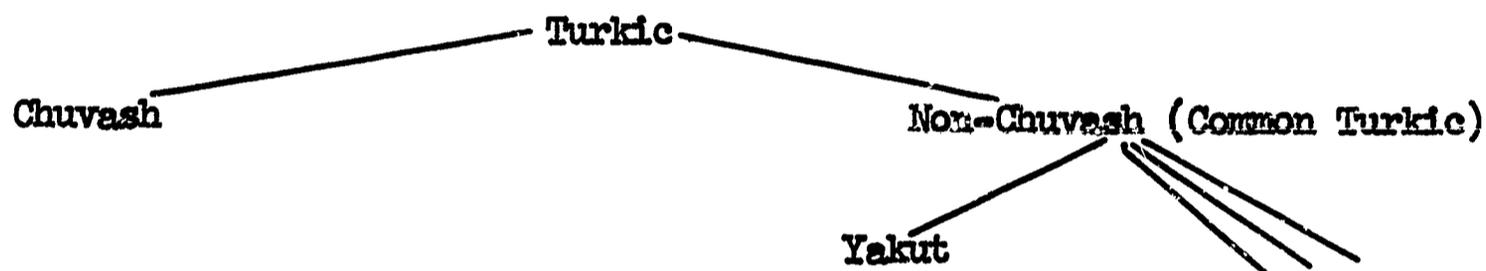
There is no doubt that the Turkic languages and dialects are remarkably similar to one another today; the question raised is whether this current closeness indicates that Turkic languages differentiated quite recently from a single Proto-Turkic language (say within the present millennium), or whether the current closeness reflects convergence from a group of Turkic languages that were already well differentiated a millennium or more ago. The latter interpretation seems the more likely of the two.

This more probable interpretation invokes recurrent levelling among already differentiated dialects to account for the current closeness. What is known of the shallow history but extensive ethnography of the Turkic peoples lends support to the interpretation of recurrent levelling. Turkic 'nations' were, typically, associations of nomadic tribes. When a 'great leader' arose, he was able to organize a more or less extensive association of tribes. After his death, this association would sooner or later be abandoned. New combinations of tribes would subsequently come together in ephemeral associations under new leaders.

There are around 50 million people speaking various Turkic languages today.

About half speak Turkish and live in Turkey. The rest live in various parts of the Soviet Union. A rather negligible number live in countries and states adjoining the Soviet Union and Turkey, notably in the Balkan States, in Iran and on the borders of Afghanistan.

Rather than attempt to present the subrelationships among all Turkic languages and dialects in one chart which is apt to turn out to be very elaborate in the end, we give a series of successive charts.



Turkic languages are first divided into Chuvash and non-Chuvash languages, the non-Chuvash often being named Common Turkic. Among the non-Chuvash Turkic languages, the most individualized is Yakut.

The rest of Common Turkic can be subdivided in more than one way, depending on the criteria used. For instance, if vowel harmony were used as a criterion, a language like Uzbek would fall in two or three different subdivisions, according to the different degrees of Iranization of its dialects. Current classifications of Turkic languages are based mostly on historical criteria. In this context, a detailed discussion of possible subdivisions of Common Turkic would be inconclusive. Instead we adopt the subdivisions of N.A. Baskakov, leaving out of our account his historical references, and adding an occasional critical reservation (Introduction to the Study of Turkic Languages, 1962). Beside Baskakov, we have been guided by the collective work published in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (1959), which is cited below in abbreviated forms, PhITF or PhITFund.

The only survivor of the Bulgar branch of Turkic is Chuvash, spoken

mainly in the Chuvash ASSR, south from the Cheremis ASSR, by almost a million and a half people (1,469, 000); 90.8 per cent of these consider Chuvash to be their native tongue. An old error still needs correction, since one may still find Chuvash listed with Finno-Ugric, though this occurred more frequently in the 1930's. The basis for such an erroneous impression arises from the close and continuous contact which the Chuvash have had with adjoining Finno-Ugric languages. There are two main dialect areas of Chuvash: Anatri (which means lower, southern) and Viryal (upper village, northern).

The Oghuz group, as identified by Baskakov, is the same as PhTF's Southern group. The most important language in this group is Turkey Turkish (Osmanli), spoken in Turkey itself by about twenty four million persons. Speakers of Turkish are found also in surrounding countries (e.g. Bulgaria and Cyprus). In the Soviet Union there are 35,300 Turks; of these 82.2 per cent declared Turkish to be their mother tongue in 1959. Turkish dialects can be conveniently divided into Western or Danubian and Eastern dialects.

Closely related to Turkish is Azerbaijani, spoken in the Azerbaijanian Soviet Republic in 1959 by almost three million people (2,939,700) of whom 97.6 per cent claim Azerbaijani as their native tongue. Something less than an additional three million Azerbaijanians live in Iranian Azerbaijania (perhaps 2,500,000 or more). The dialects in Soviet Azerbaijania are divided in five groups (north, east, south, west and central). Qaşqay and Āynallu are names of Azerbaijanian dialects in Iranian Azerbaijania (perhaps 350,000 speakers); Terekeme and Kyzylbaş which belong to the Western dialect group are closest to the so-called Kazakh dialect (not to be confused with the Kazakh language farther east). Karapapakh is a mixed Azerbaijani-Turkish dialect; Mugaly belongs to the Northern group of Azerbaijani dialects.

It should be added that the language spoken on the southern shore of the Crimea Peninsula is close to Turkish. Speakers of this language were displaced to other parts of the Soviet Union, but may have been partly returned to the Crimea.

Gagauz is spoken both in the Soviet Union (in the Ukrainian and Moldavian Union Republics) and in Eastern Bulgaria and Romania. Those in the Soviet Union numbered 123,800 in 1959; 94 percent of them claimed Gagauz as their native tongue. Their dialects can be divided into an Eastern or Bulgar group (with borrowings from Slavic and Romance), and a Western or Maritime group (with extensive borrowings from Greek).

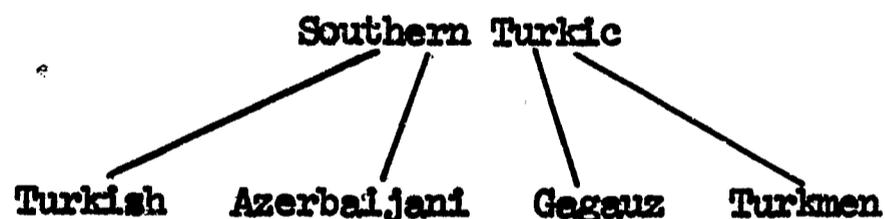
The remaining Turkic dialects of the Balkan area are closer either to Gagauz or Turkish. Turkic immigrants in the area whose forebears came first from the north, consist of about 4 thousand Macedonian Gagauz, about 7 thousand Surguch (in the Adrianopol area), and an uncounted number of Gajal (in the area of Deliorman). The second group, made up of immigrants from Asia Minor and Turkicized Bulgars and Greeks, consists of Yuruk or Konyar (in Macedonia), Karamanli (mostly Turkicized Greeks living in small isolated groups), Kyzylbaş (a small group in Gerlovo and Deliorman), and Tozluks Turks and Gerlovo Turks (in the area of Gerlovo and Osman-bazar).

The last subgroup of the Southern or South-Western group consists of Turkmen and Trukhmen. There were in 1959 a million Turkmen (1,001,600 or 1,004,000); of these 98.9 per cent claimed Turkmen as their native tongue. Most of them live in the Turkmen Soviet Republic. Some 500,000 Turkmen live in Iran and Afghanistan. A characteristic feature of Turkmen is the occurrence of phonemic length. Turkmen dialects can be subdivided according to whether they are marginal or not marginal. Marginal dialects are those adjacent to Iran

and Uzbekistan, known as Nokhurli, Anauli, Khasarli, Nerezim, and by other names. The non-marginal central dialect names are also the names of the principal tribes: Yomud (in West Turkmenia, along the Caspian Sea, and most of the Taşauz oblast), Teke (in Central Turkmenia), Göklen (in Kara-Kala rayon and in Iran), Salyr (in Serakh rayon and northern part of the Čarjou oblast, and also in Northwestern Afghanistan), Saryq (in Yolotan and in Taxta-Bazar rayons), Ersāri (in Eastern Turkmenia, in the oblasts Čarjou and Kerki), and Čavdur (in Southwestern Karakalpakia).

Trukhmen is the language of Turkmen settlers in northern Caucasus in the Stavropol oblast. Trukhmen has undergone considerable change through contact with another Turkic language, Nogai; in spite of this, Trukhmen remains a dialect of Turkmen.

The Southern Turkic languages and dialects discussed so far are now charted to show minimum language barriers.



If more than minimum estimates of language barriers were charted, Crimean Turkish would have to appear on the chart. The dialect-language complexities are better summarized in tabular form:

BULGAR TURKIC

(1) Chuvash

Anatri

Viryal

SOUTHERN TURKIC

(2) Turkish

Western (Danubian)

Eastern**(3) Azerbaijani****Eastern dialects including:**

Kuba

Derbent

Baku

Šamakha

Saiiany

Lenkoran

Western dialects including:

Kazakh

Airym

Borčala

Terekeme

Kyzylbaš

Northern dialects including:

Nukha

Zakataly (Mugaly)

Kutkašen

Southern dialects including:

Erevan

Nakhičevan

Ordubad

Central dialects including:

Kirovabad

Šuša (Karabakh)

Northern Iran dialects including:

Tābriz

Southern Iran dialects including:

Qašqay

Āynallu

Eastern Anatolian dialect:

Karapapakh

(4) Crimean Turkish

(5) Gagauz

Bulgar (Eastern)

Maritime (Western)

(6) Balkan Gagauz-Turkish

Macedonian Gagauz

Surguch

Gajal

Yuruk (Konyar)

Karamanli

Kyzylbaş

Tozluk Turks

Gerlovo Turks

(7) Turkmen

marginal dialects:

Noikhurli

Anauli

Khasarli

Nerozim

non-marginal central dialects:

Yomud

Teke

Göklen

Salyr

Saryq

Esari

Čavdur

Trukhmen

Western Turkic in PhITFund.'s terminology comprises two subgroups of Baskakov's Kypchak group. The first of these is PhITF's Ponto-Caspian or Baskakov's Kypchak-Polovetsian (Kypchak-Comanian), consisting of three languages, Karaim, Kumyk and Karachay.

Karaim is a very interesting language, spoken today by only 16.5 per cent of the Karaims, 5,900 of whom live in the Lithuanian SSR and in the southern Ukraine. These two discontinuous areas can be characterized as distinguishing two Karaim dialects, Northwest and East. The most striking feature of Karaim is the replacement of vowel harmony by consonant harmony (i.e. front vowels have been replaced by back vowels, but with the simultaneous palatalization of the preceding consonant).

In Daghestan ASSR there are 135,000 Kumyk; of these 98 per cent declared Kumyk to be their native tongue in 1959. Kumyk is differentiated into three main dialects:

Khasav-Yurt (northern), Buinak (middle), and Khaidak (southern). In Daghestan ASSR, Kumyk also serves as lingua franca.

In 1959 there were 81,400 Karachay (Qarachaý) of whom 73.9 per cent claimed to speak it as their mother tongue. Another dialect of the same language is

spoken by 42,400 Balkar; in 1959, 97 per cent of these claimed Balkar as their native tongue. The Balkar live in the Caucasus and in Kirghiz SSR-- in the latter as displaced persons.

Crimean Tatars were deported after World War II, mainly to Uzbekistan. Later they had (allegedly) the opportunity to return to Crimea, but no data are available to attest that any did return. The term Crimean Tatars serves to designate two different Turkic groups: (a) the language spoken or formerly spoken on the southern shore of Crimea which belongs to the south-western or Oghuz Turkic; (b) the language of a northern group, the Nogai and steppe Tatars. No statistical data seem to be available for the latter; information on Nogai (given below) is not relevant to this group.

Not counting Turkish and Crimean Turkish or Crimean Tatar, which have been listed above, our tabular list of Turkic is extended by three numbered additions:

(8) Karaim

Northwestern

Eastern

(9) Kumyk

Khasav-Yurt (northern)

Buinak (middle)

Khaidak (southern)

(10) Karachay (Qaraçay)

Karachay proper

Balkar

The Uralian subbranch in PhITF -- so named in reference to the Ural Tatars-- corresponds to Bashakov's Kypchak-Bulgar subgroup, and consists of two languages, Tatar and Baskir.

In 1959 almost five million Tatars were counted (4,967,700); of these 92.1 per cent claimed Tatar as their native tongue. Tatars have their own ASSR where, however, they constitute only 29 per cent of the population; they live also in adjacent areas and in Siberia. According to Baskakov there are three main dialects, and four 'mixed' subdialects of Tatar.

The main dialects are Central, commonly called Kazan Tatar (with perhaps 1,500,000 speakers, mostly of the Tatar ASSR), Western or Mishar (with some 300,000 speakers, mostly spoken outside of Tatar ASSR in the adjoining oblasts and republics), Eastern or Siberian Tatar (with some 100,000 speakers).

The 'mixed' dialects are represented by Astrakhan Tatars (some 43,000 persons, nowadays almost completely assimilated by Kazan Tatar); and by Kasimov-Tatars (some 5,000 persons in the Kasimov and other rayons of the former Ryazan government; Kasimov-Tatar is presumably transitional between the main Central and the main Mishar dialects); and by the Teptyar subdialect (spoken by Permian or Glazov Tatars; Teptyar is also spoken in Bashkir ASSR by some 300,000 people, according to a 1946 estimate; Teptyar is supposed to be transitional between Tatar and Bashkir); and finally by the subdialect of Uralian Tatars, including Nagaib-k—that is, a small group of Kriashon (christened Tatars) or Nogais; altogether, the Uralian subdialect may number 110,000 speakers.

In 1959, Bashkir was spoken by more than half (61.7 per cent) out of about a million Bashkir then counted (989,000), of whom 75 per cent lived in their own ASSR. Many of the so-called Bashkirs actually speak Tatar, this (and the not advanced degree of Russianization among the Bashkir) explains the comparatively low percentage of Bashkir speakers among the Bashkir. There are three main dialect groups: Eastern or Kuvakan or Mountain group (in Eastern Bashkiria); Southern or Yurmaty or Steppe group (in Southern and Central Bashkiria); Western or Burzhan group.

The Uralian, alias Kyapchak-Bulgar, subbranch or subgroup extends our tabular list by two numbered additions:

(11) Tatar

Kazan Tatar (Central)

Mishar (Western)

Siberian Tatar including:

Tura

Baraba

Tom

Tyumen

Ishim

Yalutorov

Irtysh

Tobol

Tara

'mixed' dialects and subdialects:

Astrakhan Tatar

Kasimov-Tatar

Teptyar

Uralian Tatar

(12) Bashkir

Kuvakan (mountain)

Yurmaty (steppe)

Burzhan (western)

Baskakov and PhTFundamenta are in far-reaching agreement except for the placement of Kirghiz which, according to PhTF, goes with the Central Turkic;

according to Baskakov, Kirghiz goes with Eastern Hunnic (and Baskakov's Eastern Hunnic corresponds to PhTF's Northern Turkic). We mention Kirghiz here as an alternative place for its classification, but give information about Kirghiz below in the context of Eastern Hunnic.

The Aralo-Caspian group of Central Turkic in PhTF corresponds to Baskakov's Kypchak-Nogai subgroup of Kypchak. We now give information on languages in this group (subgroup).

The Nogai live in the Stavropol' krai and Cherkes autonomous oblast in the Northern Caucasus. Of the 41,200 Nogai in 1959, 84.3 per cent claimed Nogai as their native tongue. Three main dialects are distinguished: Ak-Nogai (in Cherkes oblast), Nogai proper (in the Ačikulak and Koiasulin rayons of the Stavropol' krai), and Kara-Nogai (in the rayon of the same name in Stavropol' krai).

In the Soviet Union there were 172,600 Karakalpaks, of whom 95 per cent were native speakers, in 1959. This language is spoken in the Karakalpak ASSR, in the Khorezm oblast of Uzbekistan and in Ferghana, in the Astrakhan oblast; it is also spoken in Afghanistan by perhaps 2,000 persons. There are two main dialects: Northeastern, spoken by the inhabitants of the Karauzyak, Takhtekupyr and Muinak rayons; and Southwestern, the dialect of the rest of Karakalpakia. The Southwestern dialect has interesting subdialects which are transitional between Karakalpak and Turkmen, and between Karakalpak and Uzbek.

In 1959 there were more than three and a half million Kazakhs (3,621,600); 98.4 per cent of them claimed Kazakh as their native tongue. Two or three dialects are distinguished--at most, Northeastern, Southern and Western.

The so-called 'Kypchak dialects of Uzbek' are added to the same subgroup. In them, for instance, initial *j* occurs, as it does in Southwestern Karakalpak (e.g. *jol road* in Kypchak of Uzbek, but *yol* for *road* in the rest of Uzbek).

The Aralo-Caspian, alias Kypchak-Nogai, group or subgroup extends our tabular list by four numbered additions:

(13) Nogai

Ak-Nogai

Nogai proper

Kara-Nogai.

(14) Karakalpak

Northeastern

Southwestern.

(15) Kazakh

Northeastern

Southern

Western.

(16) 'Kypchak dialects of Uzbek'

Now we turn to languages that are classified as Eastern Turkic in PhITF, but appear under another cover-term in Baskakov, namely Kariuk--(17) to (19), inclusive; these are followed by Eastern Hunnic, alias Northern Turkic, and other languages grouped in the classification given by Baskakov.

The 1959 census of the Soviet Union includes more than six million Uzbeks (6,015,400) of whom 98.4 per cent are native speakers; 84 per cent of them live in their own Soviet Republic. About 1,200,000 Uzbeks live in Afghanistan. Aside from the Kypchak-Uzbek that have been already discussed, two main Uzbek dialect groups are distinguished: the dialects of cities and their surroundings which are characterized by a six vowel system and lack of vowel harmony; and dialects which have eight or more vowel phonemes and vowel harmony. The urban dialects, especially, have been receptive to borrowing from neighboring Tajik dialects. The Soviet scholar V.V. Rešetov offers a modified tripartition of

Uzbek dialects: Karluko-Chigile-Uighur (closest to the Uighur language); Kypchak (closest to Kazakh and Karakalpak languages); Oghuz (closest to the Turkmen language). Other names of other Uzbek dialects are Qurama, Lokhay, Sart.

In 1959 there were 95,200 Uighurs in the Soviet Union of whom 85 per cent were native speakers. But more than three and a half million Uighurs are found in China (3,640,000)—in Sinkiang. Baskakov distinguishes four groups of Uighur dialects. The first group is Southern: Kashgar-Yarkend, with Yengi Hissar subdialect; Khotan-Kerya dialect with Cherchen subdialect; Aqsu dialect. The second group is Northern: Kucha-Turfan (oases of Qarashahr, Kucha, Turfan, Qomul); Ili or Kulja dialect, also spoken by Soviet Uighurs, and also called Taranchi. The third dialect group is made up of the Lobnor dialect alone. The fourth group consists of the so-called Yellow Uighurs (Sarygh Yugur) in the Kansu Province of China and Salar in Southwest Mongolia.

Also the Khoton (Choton) language in northwestern Mongolia can be added to the Uighur, in spite of its mixed character.

The rest of the Turkic languages appear in Baskakov as the Eastern Hunnic branch which is subdivided into an Uighur-Oghuz and a Kirghiz-Kypchak group. In PhTF all this is called Northern Turkic (except for Kirghiz, as has already been noted).

In 1959 there were 100,100 Tuva or Tuba; 99.1 per cent of them claimed Tuva as their native tongue. Earlier the Tuva were known by names such as Soyon (singular), Soyod (plural), Urianghai and Tannu-Tuva. There does not seem to be much information available concerning the dialects of Tuva, although such terms as central and eastern dialects have been encountered.

There are some 600 Tofa or Tofalar or Karagas in Krasnoiarsk krai; 89.1 per cent of them speak Tofa as a native language. Like the Soyod, the Karagas have Turkicized Southern Semoyed forebears.

In 1959 there were 236,700 Yakuts (Sakha); 97.5 per cent claimed Yakut as their native tongue. An additional 3,500 Dolgan, who speak a dialect of Yakut, live in Taimyr National Okrug.

The Khakassic languages and dialects are discussed in Baskakov's terms. In 1959 there were 56,600 Khakas of whom 86 per cent spoke Khakas as their native tongue. Earlier the Khakas were called Abakan Turks or Tatars or Yenisei Turks or Tatars; the center of the Khakas oblast is Abakan. There are two groups of Khakas dialects, the one consisting of Sagai and Beltir subdialects, and the other consisting of Kacha, Kyzyl and the dialect called Shor (not to be confused with the language called Shor, which follows). The Koibals and part of the Sagai and Kacha were originally Southern Samoyeds. The Turkic Koibal dialect has been replaced by Kacha.

Kamasrian is spoken by about two hundred persons at upper Mana and Kan in the Krasnoyarsk krai. They are Turkicized Southern Samoyeds who speak a dialect of Khakas.

The Shor--also known by other earlier names, such as Aba, Kondoma Tatars, Mras Tatars, Kuznets Tatars, Tom-Kuznets Tatars--live in Northern Altai and Kuznets Ala-tau. There were 15,300 of them in 1959; 83.7 per cent of them claimed Shor as their native tongue. Shor has assimilated non-Turkic dialects, among others the Samoyedic Matur (Motor). There are two Shor dialects: Mrassa (spoken in the valleys of the rivers Mrassa and Tom, close to Khakas), and Kondoma (spoken in the valleys of Kondoma and lower Tom, and close to the northern dialects of the Altai language).

Chulym--that is, the language of the Chulym or Meletsk Tatars--is spoken by a small national group in the basin of the Chulym River which is a tributary of the Ob. In a broader sense also Kacik or Kazik and Kuarik can be connected with Chulym. Chulym proper can be divided in two dialects; lower

Chulym and middle Chulym.

To the Khakas subgroup Baskakov also adds the northern dialects of the Altai language: Tuba, Chalkandu and Kumandy.

Baskakov's last group is Kirghiz-Kypchak.

In 1959 there were almost a million Kirghiz (968,700); 98.7 per cent of them claimed Kirghiz as their native tongue. Kirghiz is spoken not only in the Kirghiz SSR, but also in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region of the CPR, the Kazakh SSR, the Uzbek SSR, the Tajik SSR, and the Kingdom of Afghanistan. Baskakov distinguishes two dialects (northern and southern), and claims that the dialect differentiation is due to contact between Kirghiz and Uzbek.

Altai, the last language in Baskakov's list, is spoken by people who live in the Mountain-Altai oblast of the Altai krai. Up to 1947 they were called Oirat (a name of a Mongol tribe). In 1959 there were 45,300 Altai people among whom 88.6 per cent declared Altai to be their native tongue.

Northern and southern dialects of Altai differ so much that they have to be considered different languages; they are attributed to different groups of Eastern Hunnic.

Only the southern Altai dialects belong to Altai proper (spoken along the rivers Katun, Sema, Peschanaya, Charysh, Ursul and Maima; speakers of this dialect call themselves Altai-kizhi, and a subgroup of them Maima-kizhi); the Talangit dialect can be subdivided into Talangit-Tolos (spoken along the rivers Chulyshman and Bashkuz, and on the southern shore of the Lake Teles), and Chuy (spoken along the river Chuy). A third dialect of Altai, Teleut or Telengut, is spoken mainly along the rivers Bolshoi and Malyi Bachat.

The northern group of Altai which Baskakov assigns to the Uighur-Oghuz group also consists of three dialects: Tuba (altogether about seven thousand

speakers), Kumandy (also seven thousand), and Chalkandu or Shalkandu, known in Russian as Lebed' Tatars (altogether two thousand).

The Eastern Turkic and remaining Turkic languages and dialects are summarized in tabular form, as follows:

(17) Uzbek

Karluko-Chigile-Uighur

Kypchak

Ochuz

Qurama

Lokhay

Sart

(18) Uighur

Southern (18.1):

Kashgar-Yarkend, including Yengi Hissar

Khotan-Kerya, including Cherchen

Aqsu

Northern (18.2):

Kucha-Turfan, including subdialects at Qarashahr, Kucha, Turfan, and Qomul oases

Ili (Kulja, Tararchi)

Lobnor (18.3)

(19) Khoton (Choton)

(20) Tuva (Tuba, Soyon [sg], Soyod [pl.], Uriangkhai, Tannu-Tuva)

(21) Tofa [sg.], Tofalar [pl.] (Karagas)

(22) Yakut (Sakha)

Dolgan

(23) Khakas (Abakan Turks, Abakan Tatars, Yenisei Turks, Yenisei Tatars)

Sagai

Beltir

Kacha

Kyzyl

Shor (a dialect of Khakas, not to be confused with the Shor language (24), below)

Kamassian

(24) Shor (Aba, Kondoma Tatar, Mras Tatar, Kuznets Tatar, Tom-Kuznets Tatar)

Mrassa

Kondoma

(25) Chulym (Malet Tatar)

lower Chulym

middle Chulym.

(26) Northern Altai

Tuba (different than Tuba above)

Kumand'y

Chalkandu (Shalkandu, Lebed' Tatar).

(27) Yellow Uighur (Sarygh Yugur)

Selar.

(28) Kirghiz

northern Kirghiz

southern Kirghiz

(29) Altai (Oirat, not to be confused with the Oirat in the Mongolian family of the Altaic phylum)

Altai proper (the dialect of a Turkic language, not the phylum; self-designations of Altai proper speakers include Altai-kizhi and Maima-kizhi)

Talāngit:

Talāngit-Tōlōs

Chuy

Teleut (Telengut)

KOREAN

4. Korean (Corean, Hankul, Chosen) is spoken by 32,300,000 people in Korea, 1,100,000 in China and 600,000 in Japan. The following seven dialects are distinguished (six on mainland Korea, and one on an outlying island):

Pyöŋanto

Namkyöŋto

Seoul

Čunčöndo

Kyöŋsaŋto

Jöllato

Čečuto.

Dialect boundaries coincide in general with provincial boundaries.

Pyöŋanto is the northwest province; Namkyöŋto that of the northeast. Seoul is the capital of South Korea and is the focus of the central dialect area. Just south of Korea, with Chogju as the focus, is the area of the Čunjöndo dialect. Jöllato is the southwestern province, and Kyöŋsaŋto is the southeastern one. Directly south and fifty miles offshore of the Korean peninsula, is Cheju (Quelpart) Island, where the Čečuto dialect is spoken. The source of the above data (Seok Choong Song) mentions that such dialects are demarcated by extensive differences in phonology and vocabulary—to such an extent that some dialects are mutually intelligible only after considerable time. At the northern political boundary of Korea—where the Yalu and Tyumen Rivers separate Korea from

the Peoples' Republic of China—is an area of language interpenetration; most of the 1,100,000 Korean speakers in China live here—just across the Yalu.

Chinese is the chief donor of loan-words in Korean; between 108 B.C. and 1500 A.D. Chinese culture and literature were to Korea as Greek and Latin were to the western nations. The first written orthography for Korean was a direct borrowing of Chinese characters, used to specify Korean syllables. A Korean phonetic alphabet called Hankul (Hangul, Hank'ul, Ĕnmun, Önmun) was invented in 1443. Diringer (442-6, 1948) calls this 15th century öm-mun or 'vulgar' script 'the only native alphabet in the Far East' (where alphabet-included logographic systems are 'native'; self-sufficient alphabets are generally borrowed rather than invented in the Far East). The unique Korean alphabet may have developed from some earlier script, but its origins are not really known. It was preceded by Syöl Chong's invention (690 A.D.) of a Korean syllabary of thirty-six signs based on Chinese writing and 'also influenced by Indian scripts'.

Japanese influence before the turn of the 20th century was slight and intermittent. Japanese military victories over China (1894) and Russia (1904) culminated in the annexation of Korea (1910). The whole educational system for the next thirty-five years was organized in order to assimilate Korea into Japan's culture. After World War II, textbooks and dictionaries in the Hankul script were mass-produced and Korean writing replaced Japanese writing. By 1950 the literacy rate in the Hankul script was about 80 percent. Many Koreans are bilingual in Japanese and Korean. In the north—especially around the political boundary—there are bilinguals in Korean-Chinese (Mandarin). Chinese and

Russian are becoming important second languages in North Korea, and fluency in English is increasing in the South.

Seoul was the official dialect of the peninsula before the Korean War, and it remains so in South Korea today. Seoul is the center of the massive educational program and the news media; the standard dialect now being disseminated widely is that of Seoul; it is used whenever two speakers of different dialects meet.

Samuel E. Martin (Lg 27. 519-533, 1951) gives phonemic distinctions made in the standard ('Standard colloquial Korean ideally represented by educated speakers native to Seoul'):

p t ʧ k ʔ
 s h
 m n ŋ
 l
 w y

	front unrounded	front rounded	back rounded	back unrounded
high	i		u	e
mid	e	ö	o	ɔ
low	ɛ			a

plus phonemic vowel length

plus non-identical vowel clusters

Stops have slight aspiration, when voiceless, and have (except for /ʔ/) voiced allophones--intervocally in fast speech; /ʧ/ has both prepalatal [c] and palatal [č] affricates as allophones; /s/ has [s] and [z] as its allophones--

the latter intervocalically in fast speech; so also /h/ has a voiced allophone. Between unvoiced consonants the nasals, the lateral, and all vowels become devoiced.

JAPANESE-OKINAWAN

5. Japanese is spoken by nearly 100 million speakers in the main islands of Japan, in Taiwan (several thousand), Hawaii (200,000), continental United States (200,000 centering in California), and Brazil (380,000). Japanese is replacing the Okinawan language, even in the most remote areas. In Taiwan Japanese is found as a lingua franca among certain tribes of aboriginals, e. g. between the Ayataru and Bunutan, and between speakers of the mutually unintelligible dialects of Chinese, e. g. Fukkien and Cantonese.

The Japanese culture can probably be traced back to the Yayoi rice-growing culture which flourished in Japan 2,000 years ago. The speech of the Yayoi people is identified with Proto-Japanese. Samuel E. Martin (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1964) regards a remote relationship between Japanese and Korean as 'probable,' and a still more remote relationship of both (Korean and Japanese) to Altaic languages (Tungus, Mongol, and Turkic) as 'possible.' Mongol and Japanese are structurally so similar that they can be translated one into the other morpheme-by-morpheme, including many idioms; at the same time, there is no noticeably cognate density in vocabulary, except possibly for five or ten words, according to John Krueger.

Martin quantifies the high degree of cultural and linguistic impact of Chinese on Japanese. Linguistically, this is shown in the extremely heavy

borrowing of Chinese technical and abstract terminology (in a manner analogous to the use of Latin and Greek by English). In the 'basic' Japanese vocabulary, however, Martin cites 5 per cent of the lexical items as being borrowed from Chinese, while twice as many (10 per cent) are borrowed from Korean.

Among the other influences which the Japanese had from China was the adaptation of characters from the Chinese writing system, which, in their Japanese form are called Kanji. From the Kanji the Japanese have developed-- by the addition of certain symbols possessing only sound values--a cumbersome syllabary, called Man'yō-gana. There are two modern versions of the syllabary, each with about 50 symbols, called Kana. The ordinary syllabary, with roundish symbols, is called hiragana; and a special kind for a special purpose (a squarish type used as a kind of italics for foreign and unusual words) is called katakana. In seeking to ease the burden of becoming literate, the Japanese Government has reduced the number of Kanji to under 2,000 (from a former inventory ranging from 3,000 to 5,000); simplified the shapes of the Kana; and adopted a type of Romanization.

The most interesting features of the Japanese language are the differentiation of styles. The major styles in the language are as follows:

Ordinary (plain) or da-style

Polite or desu-style

Very polite (honorific) or gozaimasu-style

Ordinary or dearu-style

Polite or dearimasu-style.

The first three are the styles of general use and the last two are written styles.

The labels are given because the stylistic distinction is most evident in the sentence final particles, *da*, *desu*, *de gozaimasu*, *dearu*, *dearimasu* to be

(or glossed as an auxiliary particle when used with other verbs). The sentence final forms of the verbs also differ according to the styles:

ordinary:	<i>aru</i> <u>to exist</u>	<i>suru</i>	<u>to do</u>
polite:	<i>arimasu</i> <u>to exist</u>	<i>shimasu</i>	<u>to do</u>
very polite:	<i>oru</i> <u>to exist</u>	<i>itasu</i>	<u>to do</u> .

Styles are not mixed in one utterance or discourse unless for some intended effect obtainable by a deliberate mixture of styles. The plain style is used when speaking to an inferior or an intimate; the polite style, when speaking to a stranger or to acquaintances of approximately equal rank; and the honorific style is used in speaking either to or about a superior.

Women in general speak in a slightly more polite style than men; everyday female speech is somewhere between the ordinary and the polite styles. For instance, the sentence finals */dawa/*, */noyo/*, */deshoo/* and */o...nasai/* are added to the ordinary sentence final phrases. Public speeches are mostly in the ordinary style, though sometimes they are also in the *dearimasu* style, and, except in special cases, most of the writing is done in *dearu* style of ordinary type.

Standard Japanese is best represented by the language of educated speakers native to Tokyo. Bloch (*Studies in Colloquial Japanese*, Lg. 26. 86-125, 1950) lists two extremes of Standard Japanese which he calls: (1) conservative, in which foreign loans are assimilated into native patterns, and (2) innovating, in

which a number of English phonemes are borrowed (chiefly by those bilinguals who have a good command of English).

Misao Tōjō, with other dialectologists, divide Japanese into three regional dialects:

Kyūshū, with three subdialects subdivided into two groups: Honichi, on the one hand, and Hichiku and Satsugūon on the other;

(Honshū) Seibo, with two groups having of a total of five subdialects: Chūgoku and Unpaku, on the one hand, and Hokuriku, Kinki and Shikoku on the other;

(Honshū) Tōbu, subdivided into two subdialect groups with a total of five members: Takaitozan and Hachijojima, on the one hand, and Hokkaidō, Tohoku and Kantō on the other.

These dialect divisions are based upon phonological morphological and lexical isoglosses.

Phonologically there are three major divisions:

Ura-Nihon, in the southern half of Hokkaido;

Omote-Nihon, covering the greater part of Honshū and Shikaku,

Satsugu, Kagoshima and Moro Kata Districts of Miyazaki Prefecture.

The following chart of the phonemes of Standard Japanese represents a consensus among our sources: Shiro Hattori (in the section on Japanese in *An Introduction to the Languages of the World*, Vol. II, Tokyo, 1955), Misao Tōjō (ed. of *Nihon Hōgen-gaku*), Bernard Bloch (*Studies in Colloquial Japanese*, Lg. 26, 86-125, 1950), and Samuel E. Martin (*Morphophonemics of Standard Colloquial Japanese*, Lg. Diss. No. 47, 1952):

p t č k ?
 b d ž g
 s h i u
 m n ŋ e o
 r a
 w y

Hattori includes /y/ found in some but not all dialects.

Bloch and Martin indicate a syllabic nasal / \bar{n} /, syllable length /·/, and nasalization /~/. The phonemes /f/ and /v/ are cited only for Bloch's innovating dialect. Both Bloch and Martin also indicate four pitch levels / 1 2 3 4 /.

Martin originally had an SGC of devoicing, but subsequently (in a review) indicated that it was in complimentary distribution with voiced vowels. Martin also indicated that /ʔ/ disappears in rapid speech.

Hattori includes the 'mora elements' /N/ and /Q/, which may form separate syllables (for /N/ see Bloch's syllabic nasal / \bar{n} /).

Misao Tōjō includes /z ž m̄ f š x/.

OKINAWAN (RYUKYU)

Ryukyu (Ryuukyuu, Luchu, Okinawan, Shuri) is spoken by some 900,000 in the Ryukyu (Luchu) Archipelago, mostly on the largest island, Okinawa (80 per cent).

Although often considered a dialect of Japanese (Misao Tōjō, Kokugo no Hoogen-Kukaku [The Dialect Areas of Japanese], Okinawan is not mutually

intelligible with Japanese. Tomonga Kaneshiro and Shiro Hattori (Ryuukyuu or Okinawa Language, in the Japanese Introduction to the Languages of the World) cite B. H. Chamberlain as the first to postulate (in 1895) the descent of Ryukyuu and Japanese from a common ancestor; there has been considerable agreement ever since despite the paucity of work in reconstruction. There is a good deal of Okinawan vocabulary which bears no cognate relationship to Japanese. Malayo-Polynesian voyagers are known to have been shipwrecked on Okinawa; earlier contacts with speakers of other language families may have come about in the same way.

Between Tokyo Japanese and Shuri Ryukyuu (Okinawan) the /a/ of Japanese corresponds to Shuri /a/, the /e i u/ of Japanese after /c z s/ correspond to Shuri /i/, and the /u o/ elsewhere of Tokyo correspond to /u/ of Shuri. There seem to be many words, however, for which neither the vowel nor the consonant correspondences are clear, as is shown in the following pairs with the same gloss; taijoo (Japanese), ti:da (Ryukyuu) sun; otoko (Japanese), wikaga (Ryukyuu) man; kita (Japanese) nishi (Ryukyuu) north.

Different sources estimate different degrees of dialect differentiation in Okinawan: three (Misao Tōjō); five dialects (Toosoo Miyara); seven dialects (Sinken Iha). The dialect divisions given by these sources, however, are criticized by Kaneshiro and Hattori as being based on geographical--rather than linguistic--criteria. The combined list of such putative dialects includes:

Okinawa (Central group), with a northern and a southern subdialect (including

Shuri);

Sakisima (Sakishima, Southern group), with Miyako and Yaeyama (Yayeyama) subdialects;

Amami-Osima (Oosima);

Tokunosima;

Nikai;

Okinoerabu (Okierabu);

Sacunan.

Tomonaga Kaneshiro and Shiro Hattori (Languages of the World, in Japanese) give the following phonemes for the Shuri (Okinawan group) dialect:

p	t	c	k	Q	ʔ		
b	d		g			i	u
	s			h		e	o
	z					a	
m	n			N			
	r						
w	y						

The letters /N/ and /Q/ represent syllabic nasal and syllabic stop, respectively.

AINU

6. In 1955-6, Shiro Hattori, Mashibo Chiri and five other field workers surveyed Ainu communities in Hokkaido and Sakhalin, and published their findings in *Minzokugaku-kenkyu* (The Japanese Journal of Ethnology) 24.21-66

(Lexicostatistic Study of the Ainu Dialects); Hauro Aoki's abstract appears in IJAL 27. 358-60 (1961). Based on results obtained from eliciting with the Swadesh 200-word list, nineteen Ainu dialects are differentiated, thirteen on Hokkaido and six on Sakhalin. Those dialects which are more closely related are grouped together; while the remainder (since their relationships with other dialects are not specified) are listed coordinately.

Hokkaido dialects of Ainu:

Yakumo
Oshamambe

Nukkibetsu
Hiratori
Niikappu

Obihiro
Kushiro
Bihoro

Sôya

Nayoro

Asahikawa

Harobetsu

Samani

Sakhalin dialects of Ainu:

Ochiho

Tarantomari

Maoka

Shiraura

Raichishka (Rayciska)**Nairo**

Sôya (probably spoken on the northernmost peninsula of Hokkaido with the same name) shows closer relationships with the dialects of Sakhalin than with the other dialects of Hokkaido.

The Ainu may have been the aboriginal non-Mongoloid inhabitants of Sakhalin, the Kuril and Ryukyu festoons, and Japan. The modern Ainu number: 16,090; their present habitat is given in the following list of Ainu dialects taken from Tae Okada's excerpts from the second volume of the Japanese Languages of the World books (pp 726-49, Tokyo, 1955):

Sakhalin (Saghalin)—1,600 speakers

Taraika (Northern Sakhalin),

Southern Sakhalin

Shikotan (Kuril)—90 speakers

Ezo (Yezo, Hokkaido)—15,000 speakers

North Ezo

South Ezo

Tansin

Hitaka

Tae Okada selects the last listed of these Ainu dialects (Hitaka) to give a sample of phonemic distinctions made in Ainu.

p	t	č	k		i	u
	s		h		e	o
m	n				a	
	r					
w	y					

All stops have voiced [b, d, ʃ, g] and voiceless [p, t, č, k] allophones, alternating freely in medial and final positions; the voiceless allophones occur in initial position always. Besides [č, ʃ], /č/ also has a voiceless dental affricate allophone [c, or ts], and a voiced allophone [dz]. /s/ has two variants-- [š] occurs before high front vowels, and [s] elsewhere. /h/ has two allophones-- [ϕ] bilabial fricative occurs before /u/, and [h] elsewhere. A non-contrastive (non-phonemic) glottal stop [ʔ] occurs before a stressed vowel; stress is predictable, occurring on the final vowel of stems; hence [ʔ] is also predictable.

Vowel length is also non-contrastive (non-phonemic), occurring in open syllables. This is the only data given on allophonic range of vowels. John Batchelor (A Grammar of the Ainu language, Memoir V. Imperial University of Japan, (1887)) is sure of what Ainu lacks--there is no stress, length, or tone.

Clusters of two consonants (including geminates) occur in Ainu, but only word-medially: sapte to put out, tckpa to peck, yapte to put in, tanne long, takne short, matne of a woman, pinne of a man, sanke to extinguish, yanke to raise. Diphthongs (but not vowel geminates) also occur.

PALEOSIBERIAN LANGUAGES

7.0. For some centuries, speakers of Paleosiberian languages have been in what Roman Jakobson calls 'progressive retreat' (AA 44.602, 1942), since they were successively displaced — first by Tungus and other Altaic expansions and then, after the 17th century, by Russian expansion — from large parts of Siberia to their present habitat. This begins at the Amur River and the off-shore island of Sakhalin (with the Gilyak living in the northern part of Sakhalin Island and on the adjacent mainland). It includes the Kamchatka Peninsula (with the Kamchadal surrounding an enclave of Koryak in the southern half of the Peninsula; but the Koryak alone occupy the northern half of the Kamchatka Peninsula). It extends from the Kamchatka Peninsula across the Sea of Okhotsk to the mainland between the Sea of Okhotsk and the East Siberian Sea (with the 20th century Yukaghir and Chuvantzy living largely south of the Arctic Circle, and the Chukchee north of the Arctic Circle). The present-day habitat, as outlined so far, represents a drastic reduction from the pre-Altaic, pre-Russian expansion period when the Paleosiberian territory extended across Siberia from the Bering Strait in the east to the Yenisei River country in the west, where today speakers of a single remaining language — Ket, of the Yenisei-Ostyak family — are still living.

Paleosiberian languages are sometimes called Siberian Americanoid languages (and the speakers are called the Americanoids of Siberia) to draw attention to internal features in these languages and to external interpretations about them.

In internal features of phonology, they are not like American Indian but rather like the adjacent Altaic languages; they are even more like the flanking Chinese languages in East Asia than they are like North Pacific Coast languages in North America. The Siberian Americanoid languages never distinguish glottalized consonants from plain consonants (a distinction commonly encountered on the American North Pacific Coast but — except in the Caucasus — rarely found in Asian languages). They make around four linear distinctions for stops, while some North Pacific Coast languages make twice that number.

In internal features of grammar, typological similarity between Siberian Americanoid languages and American Indian languages comprises what Sapir called the 'polysynthetic' type, while Altaic languages exemplify an 'agglutinative' type, and Chinese languages an 'isolating' type. Such internal or structural similarities have led to a conjecture that migrations of American Indians were interrupted in prehistoric times, after the forebears of Indian languages left Asia but just before the speakers of Siberian Americanoid languages emigrated. The latter were, as it were, trying to be Men Out of Asia, but for some unknown reason never got out of Asia.

But it is an opposite external interpretation that the term Siberian Americanoid languages alludes to. That is to say, the possibility has been suggested, by Waldemar Jochelson and others, that Siberian Americanoids are indeed Men Out of Asia who actually migrated to the New World and then back-tracked to the Old World where they were first encountered by European

investigators. For this interpretation, the label 'Siberian Americanoid' is indeed more suggestive than the term 'Paleosiberian'; but the latter seems less loaded with conjecture.

If the Paleosiberian languages were—as Waldemar Bogaras postulated—aboriginal to Siberia, and the Tungus languages had a southern provenience and arrived later in Siberia, as has been suggested above (3.1), some mutual influence might be expected after a millenium of contact between the old aboriginal languages and the newly arrived languages. It is possible to show that Tungus languages which are adjacent to Paleosiberian languages (or even Samoyed) permit velar nasals in initial position; other non-adjacent Tungus languages may include velars among their nasal consonants, but non-initially so. Additional observations might be made on the peculiarities of vowel harmony in Tungus languages that are adjacent to Paleosiberian languages. The evidence is far from overwhelming; rather, there are, in general, only slight traces of influence of Paleosiberian languages on Tungus languages, or of Altaic influence on Paleosiberian languages. Gilyak was very much influenced (7.3); Yukaghir not at all (7.2).

Though it may be conceded that Paleosiberian languages are aboriginal to Siberia, it does not follow from this that all the Paleosiberian languages are related to each other. Viewing these languages as one would view some half dozen languages in a comparable culture area of native America—say the North Pacific coast—three alternative possibilities of classification would be considered.

(1) Was every one of the dozen languages in the Paleosiberian culture area related to the other in a language family sense? Our New World perspective would tend to make us expect that they were probably not so related, since most culture areas in the New World are represented by more than one language family. And, in fact, the evidence for Paleosiberian languages shows that four separate language families were found in one culture area at the time Jochelson and Bogoras mapped The Koryak [and their neighbors] (1901).

(2) Are the four language families in the one Paleosiberian culture area related to each other somewhat more distantly as a group of language families—say in the sense of micro-phylum linguistics? Curiously enough, this kind of comprehensive remote relationship does not occur in Native America for single culture areas; instead, one language family in one culture area is more apt to be related—in phylum linguistics—to another language family in another culture area. But in the Old World, this kind of relationship does occur (e. g. North Africa). And it has been suggested—though doubted by Roman Jacobson (AA 44604, 1942)—that all Paleosiberian languages are genetically related in a phylum linguistic sense.

(3) Is one language family in the Paleosiberian culture area related in phylum linguistics to a language family in another culture area—as Algonquian in the Eastern Woodlands is related to Wiyot-Yurok of the North Pacific Coast—while another language family in the same culture area (e. g. Iroquoian) is related to still other language families (e. g. Caddoan) in other culture areas?

This may be characterized as the general case for ultimate relationships among American Indian languages.

Roman Jakobson (op. cit.) does seem to imply (if not to press) the analogy to alternative (3) of the New World for the Paleosiberian languages of the Old World. The argument for this requires that the proposed connections with either New or Old World language families be phrased in terms of some particular Paleosiberian language or group or family, rather than to all Paleosiberian languages. Thus, it has been proposed—by scholars cited in Jakobson (AA 44.603-4, 1942)—that there are genetic connections between the Uralic family (Samoyed) and the Chukchee-Koryak-Kamchadal group; the Eskimo-Aleut family (Asian and American Eskimo) and the Chukchee-Koryak-Kamchadal group; the Uralic family and Yukaghir; the Uralic family and Gilyak; the Ainu family and Gilyak; the Sino-Tibetan phylum and the Yenisei-Ostyak group [and in fact earlier (in 1926) Pater Schmidt had proposed the same connection].

A curious consequence of this argument is the lack of symmetrical sympathy on the part of its proponents. On the one hand, Jakobson presents most of the proposed genetic connections listed above with such warm sympathy as to suggest that he himself is a proponent of almost all of them; on the other hand, he finds it necessary to conclude his argument with an explicit disavowal of genetic relationships among the four families in the

Paleosiberian category, and to invoke areal linguistics to account for typological features shared by all of them (AA 44.604, 1942): "...if nothing warrants our assuming a genealogical relationship between the Luorawetlan family [the Chukchee-Koryak-Kamchadal group], the Yukaghir family, the Gilyak and the Yeniseian family, one gets nevertheless a glimpse of an affinity of all these languages owing to an ancient geographical proximity."

The twenty years that have elapsed since Jacobson published his summary, *The Paleosiberian Languages*, have not been empty of further far-flung proposals, including some made under the assumption that Paleosiberian languages are all related to each other, either in a language family sense (a), or as a group of four language families constituting a phylum (b).

Evidence in hand belies (a); but support for (b) may some day be realized.

The evidence for (b)—interfamily genetic connections in a linguistic phylum sense—may possibly be forthcoming before long, since both American and Russian investigators are currently engaged in Paleosiberian research. For example, Dean Stoddard Worth's *Kamchadal Texts Collected by W. Jochelson ('S-Gravenhage, 1961)* is to be followed by a Kamchadal-English dictionary and, one hopes, by a grammar. The prestige of the Marr school of linguistics is extinct, but typological questions raised by that school continue to be asked. When Paleosiberian languages are genetically allied with Asian Eskimo, or Caucasian languages, as they were by Meščaninov (1948), it might be well to label the pivotal languages in the alliance 'Paleoasiatic'; and to reserve the term 'Paleosiberian' for languages whose ultimate genetic

relationship may still be proved. Still another alternative term for Paleosiberian (Hyperborean) is not at all appropriate because speakers of at least one of the languages in question (Gilyak) live no farther north than English speakers in England.

7.1. The first of the four Paleosiberian language families is sometimes called the Louravetlan (Lourawetlan) group, sometimes the Chukchee-Koryak-Kamchadal group, and most recently the Chukchee-Kamchatkan family.

(1) The Russian census for 1959 locates 11,700 Chukchee (Chukchi) in the Chukchi Peninsula, Chukchi National Okrug; 93.7 per cent of the 11,700 speak Chukchee. Louravetlan is the self-designation of the Chukchee, but is used by some linguists for the whole family, including languages (1) to (5), as listed here. In fact the Chukchee have two self-designating terms (luorawetan true man; liiyiliil true language).

Chukchee structure has been described in two basic works, the first of which is a monograph by Waldemar Bogoras (Handbook of American Indian Languages, BAE-B 40.637-903, 1922). This has as its scope "The group of languages...the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal. Of these, the first two are closely related, while Kamchadal shows markedly divergent forms." In his preface to the first basic monograph on the Chukchee, Franz Boas says, "It seemed important to add the Chukchee to the sketches contained in the Handbook, because it proves conclusively that those features which are most characteristic of many American Indian languages are found also on the Asiatic continent."

The second basic work on Chukchee begins with two articles by P. Ja. Skorik (1958) that propose reclassification, and contribute information on dialect differentiation (cited from Dean Worth's article on recent work of Soviet linguists in *Current Trends in Linguistics I*, The Hague, 1963). Kerek is now regarded as a separate language, differentiated into two dialects (see below); the dialects listed for Chukchee are:

Uellenskij

Pevekskij

Enmylinskij

Nunligranskij

Xatyrskij.

Other work by Skorik (1948-1961) builds upon and phonemicizes the basic work of Bogoras, cited above; and makes a deeper analysis of Chukchee, as does the work of T. A. Moll, P. I. Inèlikèj, and F. N. Šemiakin. First class linguistic attention to Chukchee thus extends from the time that Bogoras collected materials on his first field trip, 1895-97, as a member of the Sibiryakov Expedition of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society; it continued through the Marr period; and it is on-going in modern Soviet linguistic circles. The latest work is especially sensitive to variety within a particular language, as Chukchee; earlier work was not.

Thus, Bogoras was able to say (op. cit. p. 63^o): "The work on the Chukchee is also facilitated by the fact that the language has no dialects, the dialect of the maritime Chukchee of the Pacific Coast being almost

identical with that of the reindeer-breeders of the Kolyma river."

And Jochelson was interested enough to observe exactly the location of "...Chechin Village the population of which is mixed Chukchee and Aiwan [Eskimo] and in which the Chukchee language is spoken" (Peoples of Asiatic Russia, N. Y., 1928, p. 46), without showing interest in how Chukchee might sound in the mouth of an Eskimo.

This insensitiveness to variety (or 'no dialect') view of Chukchee was silently corrected by Roman Jakobson in 1942 (op. cit. p. 604-5): "This vast [Chukchee] territory interrupted by the Russian wedge along the river Kolyma extends from the basin of the Alazeia in the Northwest as far as the Bering Strait and the Bering Sea in the East, with the exception of a few headlands and islands along the sea-coast, inhabited by the Eskimos and the Koryaks (Cape Navarin) and is bounded on the South by the basin of the Anadyr. The dialect of the semi-sedentary Chukchees on the seacoast and the of nomads, tawtu ('keepers of the reindeer', source of the Russian term 'Chukchee') distinguish one from the other."

(2) Kerek are not counted separately in the Russian language census; presumably speakers of this language are included among the Chukchee, or among the Koryak. Kerek dialects are named:

Majna-pil'ginskij

Xatyrskij.

Worth (op. cit.) credits Skorik with having shown that Kerek is not a dialect of Chukchee, as formerly supposed, but a separate language, with the

simplest sound system in the Chukchee-Kamchatkan family, and not synharmonic--in fact, the only language in the family without vowel harmony. But both in lexical and morphological inventories, Kerek coincides as much with Koryak as with Chukchee. In 1942 Jakobson (AA 44, 605) reported Kerek to be dialect spoken on Cape Navarin isolated from the rest of the Koryak dialects, while Worth (1963), as already mentioned, says that Kerek was formerly regarded as a Chukchee dialect. Though Kerek may be a separate language, as Skorik says, native speakers of Kerek are bilingual in Koryak or Chukchee or both; according to Jakobson (op. cit., p. 605), only the Koryak and Chukchee resisted bilingualism and their neighbors spoke these languages as lingua francas. It should be added that both Koryak and Chukchee are no longer preliterate, and are classified as literary languages.

(3) The 1959 census locates 6,300 Koryak (Nymylan--the self-designation, nimil'an dweller) in the Koryak National Okrug (on the northern shore of the Sea of Okhotsk and south of the Chukchee Peninsula at the base of the Kamchatka Peninsula); 90.5 per cent of the 6,300 claim Koryak as their native language. In location, the Koryak are flanked (and in places were also surrounded) by speakers of other Paleosiberian languages (Kamchadal, Chukchee and Yukaghir). The Russian word for Koryak is derived either from tamtu keepers of the reindeer or from korak raisers of the reindeer, living on the tundra (a single dialect; 'whereas the speech of the population now or recently semi-settled is divided into groups of the North and South and very diversified' (Jakobson, op. cit. p. 605). Skorik gives the following

names for Koryak dialects:

Čavčuvenskij

Apokinskij

Kamenskij

Parenskij

Itkanskij.

Additional self-designations of the Koryak are reported by Jochelson (The Koryak, N. Y., 1901); one wonders whether these and others (see above) may not be self-designations of particular dialects or of socio-political bands rather than of the whole sociolinguistic unit. Two of Jochelson's four dialect names refer in general to geographic districts; of the two others, one is Kerek-- the new language (2), above; the other is Alutor --another new language (4).

(4) Alutor are not counted separately in the 1959 census, but the numbers of their speakers may possibly be included among the Koryak.

Shorik gives the following names for Alutor dialects:

Aljutorskij

Karaginskij

Palanskij.

(5) The Kamchadal (Itel'men --the self-designation, itelmen man) numbered 3,500 in the 1926 census, 1,100 in 1959; and only 36 per cent of the 1,100 claimed Kamchadal as their native language. Russian is spoken as a second language by some Kamchadal, and, apparently, as the only language of most

Kamchadal today. The Kamchadal provide an instance of on-going 'progressive retreat', for they "... still occupied the entire southward part of the Kamchatkan Peninsula in the eighteenth century and formed three sharply distinct branches, but during the course of the nineteenth century Russian displaced Southern and Eastern Kamchadal, always embodying some indigenous vestiges into its phonemics and grammar. Only Western Kamchadal managed to hold its own but even it ceded a part of its territory to Koryak and is spoken at the present time only in eight fishing hamlets belonging to the Koryak District. This remnant, divided into two dialects, alters its vocabulary and simplifies its grammatical system under a very strong Russian influence." (Jakobson, op. cit. p. 605). Skorik gives the following names for Kamchadal dialects:

Sedanskij

Xajrjuzovskij

Napanskij

Sopočnovskij.

Kamchadal is the most divergent language in the Chukchee-Kamchatkan family. It distinguishes voiced-voiceless, plain-palatal, and fortis-lenis consonants, as well as 'free consonant clustering'. Morphologically, it has no incorporation, no marking of person in either the noun or the adjective; other languages of the family have these features. Phonemically again, the whole family including Kamchadal, has back velars. Kamchadal has the most elaborate phonemic system, Kerek the simplest. Dual number is marked

by Chukchee, Koryak and Kamchadal.

7.2. The Yukaghir family includes one language still spoken (Yukaghir), and another language now extinct (Chuvantzy). Like Kamchadal (7.1), Yukaghir speakers have been in 'progressive retreat' (after the 17th century) pressed by Lamut, Yakut and Russian expansions, until today there remain only two isolated Yukaghir dialects:

Kolyma (spoken between the Jasachnaia and Korkodon Rivers, tributaries of the Kolyma);

Tundra (spoken in the tundra between the Indigirka and Alazia Rivers).

In the 1900 census taken by Jochelson (op. cit., p. 55), 1,003 Yukaghir were counted, and 453 Chuvantzy. Even at the turn of the century, there remained only 'remnants of the Chuvantzy dialect'; according to Jochelson (op. cit. p. 55):

"Odul (plur. Odulpe, or Odupe) meaning, the strong one, is the Yukaghir name for themselves. Traditionally, they were reputed to be the best warriors in the extreme northeast of Siberia. The Chukchee and Koryak call the Yukaghir and Chuvantzy, Atal or Etel, which is the Chukchee-Koryak pronunciation of the Yukaghir, Odul. This may be considered as additional evidence that their neighbors regarded the Yukaghir and Chuvantzy as divisions of one tribe, which is also corroborated by their folklore and the remnants of the Chuvantzy dialect still extant among the Russianized Chuvantzy on the Anadyr River."

If Chukchee has received the greatest linguistic attention among the Paleosiberian languages (from Bogoras to Skorik), and Koryak and Gilyak the next best attention (beginning with Jochelson and Šternberg, respectively), then Yukaghir may be said to have been relatively neglected until the recent work by E. A. Krejnovič. In the judgement of Worth (op. cit. p. 366), Krejnovič's *The Yukaghir Language* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1958) '... provides us with the first really thorough description of Yukaghir...' The Yukaghir vowel system appears to be asymmetrical (but not as asymmetrical as that of Hopi):

i		u
e	ø	o
	a	

In the consonant system, voicing is an additive component that combines with all plain stops (and with a latent uvular stop that appears only voiced); the two series each make four linear distinctions (five for voiced), as do the nasals, in symmetrical matching (except for the voiced uvular stop):

p	t	t ^y	k
b	d	d ^y	g q
m	n	n ^y	ŋ

Liquids contrast /r l l^y/, fricatives contrast /s h/, and semivowels /w j/.

In estimating the relationship of the now described Yukaghir language to other Asian languages (e. g. between Kot, formerly spoken on the upper Yenisei, and Ket which is discussed below, and Samoyed of the Uralic

family), Krejnovič is inclined to interpret demonstrated similarities as a consequence of areal linguistics (diffusion) rather than that of comparative method linguistics (descent from a reconstructed parent language). He explicitly disavows the hypothesis of a Yukaghir-Altaic genetic connection, proposed by Collinder; and then, consistently enough, asserts that no evidence at all exists for postulating genetic connection between the Paleosiberian Yukaghir family and the Paleosiberian Chukchee-Kamchatkan family (7.1). Despite several centuries of contact with non-Paleosiberian languages (Tungus and Yakut), Yukaghir remains essentially uninfluenced, and is influenced by Russian only in vocabulary.

7.3. Gilyak (Nivkhi—the self-designation, nivx man) is the southernmost of the Paleosiberian languages. In the Russian census for 1959, the Gilyak numbered 3,700 and 76.3 per cent then claimed Gilyak as their native language; but apparently all are bilingual in Russian and Gilyak (which is now written). The Gilyak are officially located in the Sakhalin Oblast, and are found on both sides of the Tatar Strait which separates the delta river country of the Amur from Sakhalin Island. Three-fourths of the Sea of Okhotsk is a Paleosiberian Sea, since its southern shores are occupied by the Gilyak, its northern shores by the Koryak, and its eastern shores by the Kamchadal and Koryak on Kamchatka Peninsula. The Gilyak are official residents of the northern half of Sakhalin Island, but some scores of Gilyak emigrated about a century ago to the southern part of the Island; their descendants now live among the Ainu and Tungus. Both on the Island and

on the coastal and inland Amur River country of the mainland, the Gilyak are flanked or surrounded by Tungus speakers.

If it is true that the Gilyak are in 'progressive retreat' from the Tungus, it may be equally true that the Ainu had retreated to the southern part of Sakhalin Island under pressure from the incoming Gilyak. This is suggested by three facts. First, the flora and fauna which are endemic to the Island are named in Gilyak by terms borrowed from Ainu. Second, the Gilyak have a name, *kugi-tulkč* Ainu pits, for the ruins of underground dwellings in the non-Ainu part of Sakhalin Island (the northern half). Third, Gilyak folktales are filled with accounts of wars against the Ainu.

Work on the Gilyak language from the last century days of Sternberg to that of present day Soviet linguists has taken cognizance of the influence that neighboring languages have exerted on Gilyak. Such diversified influence may have led to difficulty in structural analysis; at any rate, Gilyak structure is more controverted than that of other Paleosiberian languages appearing in the recent Russian literature and summarized by Worth (op. cit. pp. 367-72). Krejnovič, the Yukaghir specialist who found that the Tungus languages did not influence Yukaghir at all, despite ample contact time to do so (7.2), reports that Tungus languages did influence Gilyak, as did Korean at an earlier period. The problem here is not one of tracing genetic relationships with Gilyak, but rather of tracing Gilyak migrations from former contacts in areal linguistics; as Worth puts it (op. cit. p. 349): "The parallels Krejnovič finds between Gilyak and Korean

are exclusively typological in nature. After moving north, the Gilyak were subjected to a long and strong period of influence on the part of some Manchu-Tungus group, the linguistic results of which are apparent in the phonology, grammar and lexicon of the G'lyak."

Little has been written about the genetic relationship of Gilyak with other Paleosiberian languages since Sternberg asserted that Gilyak had such connections with Yukaghir. Though Krejnovič is explicit in denying that Yukaghir is related to Chukchee-Kamchatkan (7.2), he responds with silence to the earlier Sternberg assumption that Yukaghir is related to Gilyak.

The phonemic inventory for Gilyak which follows combines information from two sources—that given by Robert Austerlitz (Word 12. 260-79) whose informant in southeast Sakhalin (Japan) was the widow of a Gilyak fisherman and the daughter of a mixed marriage (Gilyak-Tungus); and that given by Roman Jakobson (BIHP, *Academica Sinica* 29. I. 255-81). An additive component (aspiration, in Jakobson; voicing in Austerlitz) combines with plain stops, yielding two series of stops. Both Jakobson and Austerlitz find that Gilyak makes five linear distinctions among plain stops (with the letter for palatalized /t^y/ of one source equivalent to the letter for palatal affricate in the other):

/p t t^y k q/.

There are five (Jakobson) or six (Austerlitz) linear distinctions among plain fricatives (counting /R/ as fricative); an additive component of

voicing combines with all oral fricatives, yielding two series of fricatives (with the voiceless series making the maximum linear distinctions):

/f ɸ s x ɣ h/.

Nasals make four linear distinctions:

/m n ŋ ŋ/.

There then remain among the consonants two semivowels and one lateral (having counted the /ɸ R/ consonants among the fricatives):

/w y l/.

The vowel system is of the symmetrical 2(F C B) type, in which Front, Central, and Back vowels are distinguished at two tongue heights, higher /i ə u/, and lower /e a o/.

7.4. Ket (self-designations—*osti:k*, as well as ket man) is spoken in the western (discontinuous) area of the Paleosiberian culture area —on both sides of the Yenisei between two tributaries (Kureika and middle Tunguska), and up to the mouth of the Sym. The 1959 Russian census locates 1,100 Ket (of whom 77.1 per cent claim Ket as their native language) east of the Khanty-Mansi National Okrug, Krasnoyarsk Kray, along the upper and middle Yenisei.

Ket is also called the Yenisei-Ostyak language, not to be confused with three entirely different languages bearing similar names—Yenisei Samoyed (Enec), and Ostyak Samoyed (Selkup), and Ostyak (Xanti). Paleosiberian Yenisei-Ostyak serves not only as an alternative name for the Ket language, but also as the name for a language family; this language

family is also known as Yeniseian.

(1) Ket is the only language still spoken in the Yenisei-Ostyak or Yeniseian family.

(2) Cottian (Kotu)-Mana dialects of another language in this family became extinct in the last century; Castrén reported five available Cottian informants in 1845.

(3) Asan (north of the Cottian), and

(4) Arin (west of the Yenisei in Krasnoyarsk) both became extinct in the 18th century.

The Following Abbreviations Will Be Used

AA	. . . .	American Anthropologist
ACLS	. . . .	American Council of Learned Societies
AES-P	. . . .	American Ethnological Society, Publication
AL	. . . .	Anthropological Linguistics
APS-P	. . . .	American Philosophical Society, Proceedings
APS-T	. . . .	American Philosophical Society, Transactions
BAE-B	. . . .	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
BAE-R	. . . .	Bureau of American Ethnology, Report
CU	. . . .	Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology
IJAL	. . . .	International Journal of American Linguistics
IUPAL	. . . .	Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics
JAF	. . . .	Journal of American Folklore
JSAP	. . . .	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris
Lg	. . . .	Language
RCPAFL	. . . .	Research Center Publications in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics
SJA	. . . .	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
SIL	. . . .	Studies in Linguistics
TCLP	. . . .	Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague
UMPL	. . . .	University of Michigan Publications, Linguistics
UCPAAE	. . . .	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UCPL	. . . .	University of California Publications in Linguistics
VFPA	Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology
WDWLS	William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series

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