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Enets Language in the Studies of Domestic and Foreign Scientists

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The article presents a historiographical review of foreign and domestic research literature devoted to the Enets language. The analysis of publications made it possible to identify general tendencies in the study of the Enets language, the indigenous minorities of the North, and also the vector of modern research. Modern cultural processes in the global space form and make an inexhaustible interest in the traditional cultures and, especially, in the cultures of small-numbered peoples urgent. The study of the languages of these ethnic groups appears as one of the tasks, the solution of which will allow revitalizing native languages, as well as the values of traditional culture as a whole.

Keywords: The Enets, indigenous minorities of the North, traditional culture, language studies.

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Introduction

Language determines the thinking of a person, draws that view of the world according to the culture it corresponds to. Until now, there has been a keen interest in studying the language in science. The conceptual research associated with it is one of the most advanced in scientific knowledge.

Linguists from different countries almost unanimously express the opinion that the number of languages on Earth is declining and this is even provided that new words and new practices of speech behaviors are constantly appearing. The causes of changes in language, which are deformities, the death, or, conversely, the emergence of new verbal forms, changes in the rules of language use, etc. are social change. Especially those, which are associated with ubiquitous globalization processes, in which today the whole world is included. The researcher M.E. Krauss (1992) believes that the rapid development of computer technologies and Internet communications is particularly responsible for these changes.

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Basically, the languages of communities that are poorly protected politically fall into the category of dying languages. These are the languages of ethnic minorities. The languages of almost all groups of indigenous people are under threat of extinction. As noted by D. Nettle and S. Romaine in the book "Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages" (2002): in total, aborigines account for 4 % of the total population of the Earth, while they carry 60 % of the recorded languages. This ratio is found everywhere, in different states. Thus, indigenous peoples are in a very difficult, dangerous situation. Linguistics believes that death threatens the language, if the number of its speakers is less than 100 thousand people, it is not predominant in society and is not prestigious (the language of science, politics, etc.). Therefore, very often, representatives of small ethnic communities choose bilingualism, where the native language is realized only at the domestic level, or they refuse to speak their native language for the sake of the dominant language. Hence, many languages currently are spoken by a much smaller number of people than is accepted in linguistics, sometimes even less than a hundred. Such processes influence the fact that along with the change or disappearance of the language, cognitive mechanisms, peculiar ethnic notions of the world are reduced. This is constantly stated in the reports of numerous linguistic conferences. This is also the subject of a new direction in linguistics - "recording of languages", which changed the notion of the field gathering of linguistic material and analysis of the data obtained. The recording of texts, and especially the living "everyday" language, is very important today. It helps not only to fix the "fading language", but also to obtain anthropological data, important information about the changing culture of the ethnos. The record of everyday conversations (language events) in different

life situations (at work, with neighbors, in the family) that is the ethnography of the present is the most important (Duranti, 1997: 54). Although the fixation of any data that does not even relate purely to the linguistic field, can be of great benefit in consequence. The activities of several major international programs, for example, the "Endangered Languages Documentation Program", are devoted to the recording of the disappearing languages. The main goal of the new direction of linguistics is the intensification of studies of disappearing languages and their fixation, as well as the creation of language corpora and digital archives of linguistic data (Himmelmann, Gippert, Mosel, 2006), so that not only scientists, but also the indigenous peoples themselves could learn more about their culture and turn to the language of their ancestors.

The language composition of Russia is rich in its diversity, in particular, it includes not only the languages spoken today by a significant percentage of representatives of ethnic cultures, but also unique linguistic rarities. Such languages are Ket, Nivkh, Yukagir, Nanai, Enets and other languages. All of them are today in a depressing state. In places of compact residence of these ethnic groups, the majority of their representatives speak only the dominant Russian language. Native speakers are very few.

The Enets language, the research of which this review is devoted to, is today a dying Samoyed language. It is spoken by less than 100 people who live locally in the North of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (the Taimyr peninsula). The use of the Enets language is limited to two settlements: the village of Potapovo in the south of the district (forest dialect) and Vorontsovo in the north (tundra dialect). This language is practically not used in everyday life, becoming for the speakers rather a rarity, a symbol of belonging to a unique culture, but not an urgent need. The official status of the Enets language is almost extinct¹.

Therefore, today it is extremely important to refer to the available material of these languages, especially those collected during field work, to remember the great contribution to the preservation of culture that scientists have made and to continue their work in recording and interpreting unique linguistic materials.

Description of the method

In the presented study, the main method is a historiographic survey. To begin with, materials on the Enets language were collected (the history of its fixation, linguistic scholars and ethnographers who dealt with this subject). They chose a chronological order of the exposition, which allowed tracing the evolution in the study of the Enets language since the 17th century and to this day. The review presents two blocks: foreign studies and domestic studies of the Enets language.

Studies of the Enets language by foreign scientists

Foreign scholars have often shown and still show interest in studying the languages of indigenous peoples of Russia. On the one hand, it is necessary to supplement the databases and reference books of languages (Abondolo, ERRE, ES, etc.), learn the languages of related groups, on the other hand, it can be private initiatives to meet unique language rarities.

The first detailed linguistic data on the Enets were collected by the Finnish linguist and ethnographer M.A. Castren in the middle of the 19th century. At the end of 1846 and the beginning of 1847 Castren made his second trip to Siberia, visiting the Taimyr Peninsula. Here he collected material on the Enets and Nganasans (Castrén, 1854). Despite a minor stay on the peninsula, Castren was able to make notes and collect materials on Samoyedic languages that were published after his death in the monumental

twelve-volume series "Nordische Reisen und Forschungen". A number of Castren's records were very peculiar, including a very significant description of the grammar of the Tundra Enets.

Many followers note the accuracy of Castren's records. However, at the same time, the issue of dividing the language into dialects (forest and tundra) is not fully solved. Thus, the linguist believed that the speech of the Enets is more attracted to the dialect of the Nenets, and is not an independent language. Castren's assumption that the Enets language was only a kind of dialect of the tundra Nenets prevailed for many years.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Finno-Ugric society decided to send researchers to different Samoyed peoples to collect additional materials on languages. In 1911, not far from the Taz River, T. Lehtisalo came across forest Enets and collected a small set of lexemes, which he later used in his studies on the history of Nenets vocalism (Lehtisalo, 1927). His colleague K. Donner visited Dudinka in December 1912 and compiled a list of words of the Enets language, which was published only in 1956.

Foreign researchers have always encountered a number of problems in the study of Samoyedic languages in Russia. In the 20th century, with the beginning of the October Revolution, field studies on the territory of the USSR for foreigners became impossible for the next 70 years.

An important role in the study of Samoyed languages belongs to the scientist of Lithuanian origin K. Labanauskas. Despite the fact that his works on the language and folklore of the Taimyr Nenets and Nganasans are considered to be the most famous, his authorship includes several articles on tundra enets and a short grammatical essay "Forest Enets" and "Tundra", published in 2002. Labanauskas undertook many field studies in places of compact residence of the indigenous peoples of the North. He not only collected materials on Taimyr Samoyedic languages, but

also edited them (Labanauskas, 1992, 2002). His archive in Dudinka still enjoys popularity and is much demanded.

Since field work on the territory of the USSR was forbidden for foreigners, the only way to study the Enets language was to communicate with students of the Institute of the Peoples of the North who were the speakers of this culture. A similar practice was used by Hungarian researchers collecting grammatical and lexical data: J. Pusztay (1978), T. Mikola (1995), A. Künnap (1999). These scientists published the first texts on "forest enets" outside the Soviet Union.

All the scientists described above are researchers of the Enets language in the territory of their state of residence. Some researchers did this work directly abroad. Basically, they adhered to the philological approach, analyzed the available publications in the Enets language, and relied on the works of their predecessors. This "office work" was as important as field research. For example, the dictionary of the Yenisei-Samoyed language (Enets) by M. Katzschmann and J. Pusztay (1978), containing the majority of linguistic data from ethnographic studies of the Enets was worthy a great effort. M. Katzschmann devoted his works to the Enets language, referring to the comparison of nominal words and transcriptions (Katzschmann, 1986).

By the way, despite the fact that there were no chances to conduct field work, J. Pusztay and T. Mikola communicating with students from Leningrad published much more texts initially than Russian researchers.

The data given by J. Pusztay and T. Mikola differ from each other. Later they were integrated into philological and historical-comparative studies. Even now, these approaches have their followers among Hungarian scientists (Szeverényi, Körtvély, 1997; Szeverényi, 1999).

The work of these researchers is important, although they are not without flaws. Thus, the

scientists Szeverényi (1999), Künnap (1999) and Katzschmann (2008) did not identify differences in the language of tundra and forest Enets. Although today it is recognized that these are two very different dialects of "somatu" and "pe-bai".

The research fellow at the University of Tartu F. Siegl, Department of Ural Languages, Faculty of Philosophy (Estonia), indicates that the fault is the lack of primary data (2013). The expeditions of the above-mentioned researchers were too short. Moreover, they had to compare the data of different times, while the living language is constantly changing and this cannot be ignored.

This scientist lived in Potapovo and was engaged in conducting consistent field research. working not only with the sources of the parent language, but also studying the modern language. Siegl noticed that there were differences in the lexicon, the influence of the Russian language was obvious, as the current generation of the Enets grew up in boarding schools and have many contacts with the Russians. Besides, the pace of speech of the current generation has become slower than before. Examples of language changes were published by Siegl in the scientific bulletin of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District in 2008. In conclusion of his thesis, he noted that the language of forest Enets had practically disappeared in functional terms. It is well-spoken only by 10 people. At the same time, the total forest Enets are about 40. And not only the language, but they themselves are on the verge of extinction.

The author is sure that the work of the same researchers as he, should now be intensified on the collection of materials of dying languages. Sound recordings, video recordings should be transcribed and published, while forest Enets are still alive. It is necessary to concentrate efforts on creating a corpus for describing the language of the latest generation of speakers in terms of

language recording and also to engage in a more thorough study of language changes between generations.

Historiographical review of the fixation and study of the Enets language

Despite the fact that the Enets language as an independent language was recognized only in the middle of the 20th century, the history of fixing and studying this language goes back to the 17th century.

One of the first who recorded individual words and a small text in this language is N. Witsen (1641-1717). The materials collected during expeditions across Siberia were published by N. Witsen in the book "Northern and Eastern Tataria", which appeared in Russian in 2010. In total, the scientist wrote 65 words and the prayer "Our Father" in the Enets language.

The next stage, connected with the active study of indigenous languages of the north, begins already in the Soviet era, when scientists purposefully go on expeditions, collect field material and, on the basis of its processing, create teaching aids for studying various languages.

A great contribution to the study of the Enets language was made by the Soviet researcher Georgy N. Prokofiev (1897-1942), who collected rich material during a trip to the Taimyr Peninsula in 1933, lasting about six months from May to October. On the basis of these materials, the opportunity to create educational literature for peoples speaking the Samoyedic group of languages, including Enets, subsequently arose. Today, the materials from the archives of G.N. Prokofiev are kept in Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. O.A. Kazakevich in the article, devoted to the activities of G.N. Prokofiev and his wife E.D. Prokofieva, lists the following entries of the scientist: the dictionary of the Enets language, the preparatory material for the creation of the

grammar of the Enets language, and field records in the Enets language.

In the essay "Enets (Yenisei-Samoyed) dialect" (1937), G.N. Prokofiev gives a description of the Enets ethnos, a brief description of the phonetic and morphological features of the language, which was the first description of this language in Russian science. He considers the language of the Enets as a dialect located at the intersection of the Nenets and Nganasan languages. In the syntax, according to G.N. Prokofiev, the Enets language completely coincides with the Nenets language.

In the late 1930's B.O. Dolgikh (1904-1971) goes on expeditions to the north of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, where, among numerous field materials on the ethnography of different peoples living in this territory, he also collects texts in the Enets language. In 1961, a collection of the Enets folklore "Mythological Tales and Historical Traditions of the Enets" is published in Russian, as well as "Household Entes Tales" (1962).

N.M. Tereshchenko (1908-1987) continued the work begun by G.N. Prokofiev in the 1960s. Her interests included Samoyedic languages, in particular, the researcher was engaged in describing and comparing the syntax of these languages. Not only the chapters of the monograph "Syntax of Samoyed Languages" (1973), but also a number of articles are devoted to the Enets language. They are "On the comparative study of the Samoyed languages (the language of the Enets)" (1965), "Enets language" (1966). N.M. Tereshchenko specialized in the dialect of forest Enets, in 1965 she published a report in which she proposed the independence of the Enets language. N.M. Tereshchenko is also the author of a sketch of the grammar of the Enets language, which was published already after her death in 1993, in 1986 an article was published on the spelling of the language.

Irina P. Sorokina, a student of Tereshchenko, continued the work of her mentor, and although she focused on the study of forest and tundra Enets language, nevertheless, to a greater extent, her interest relates to the former. Specific features of the Enets language are discussed in a number of articles by the researcher: "Basic phonetic correspondences as a feature distinguishing the Enets language from the Nenets language" (1974), "Dependent predicates with case formants in the Enets language" (1981), "Morphological structure of the verb of the Enets language" (1973), "Basic phonetic correspondences as a feature distinguishing the Enets language from the Nenets language" (1974) and others.

In the 1970s-1980s the scientists from Tomsk Y.A. Glukhii and V.A. Susekov conducted field research, which resulted in the publication of articles on the phonetics of the Enets language, namely the dialect of Bai. Thus, Y.A. Glukhii in his thesis "Consonantism of the Enets language (dialect of Bai) on experimental data" (1978) gives a linguistic description of the consonants of the Enets language. Vocalism of the Enets language was analyzed in detail in the work of V.A. Susekov "Vocalism of the Enets Language (Experimental-Phonetic Study on the Dialect of Bai Material)" (1978). Later, in 2010, a collective monograph "Essays on the Phonetics of Endangered Samoyed Languages (Enets, Nganasans, Selkups): Analysis of Distribution and the Phonemic Composition" presented the results of a phonological analysis of the language based on the data that the researchers received from speakers of the Enets language.

Modern studies of the Enets language by Russian researchers

Modern studies of the Enets language are developing in several directions. One of them is a continuation of the traditions of research, laid down by scientists of previous generations. For example, O.A. Kazakevich (2010) made a significant contribution to the study of the archives of G.N. Prokofiev and E.D. Prokofieva. Among the documents of these scientists are text field notes in the Enets language, including the names of the material culture items of the Taimyr National District (1933), and preparatory materials for the grammar of the Enets language (excerpts from field records) 1933-1934.

Linguistic studies are the largest part of the works devoted to the study of the Enets language.

Phonetic features of the language are studied by A.A. Burykin (2002), Y.A. Glukhii, S.V. Glushkov, A.K. Stoliarova (2012).

A.A. Burykin (2002) draws attention to the features of the sound structure of the Enets language, and also to the situation with writing. The Enets language is considered a non-written language, but the author emphasizes that the alphabet of the Enets language was developed and published.

Y.A. Glukhii, S.V. Glushkov, A.K. Stoliarova (2012) are interested in the issue of the implementation of vowels and consonant phonemes in the language Enets, Nganasan, Selkup.

A.Yu. Urmanchieva (2006) examines the verbal system of the Enets language. In the collection "Small Languages and Traditions: Existence on the Edge" (2008) gives a detailed description of the features of the Enets language, as well as texts in the forest dialect of the Enets language.

M.A. Ovsyanikova (2011) contributed to the comprehension of the grammatical features of the language.

Besides, the morphology of the Enets language is the subject of research interest of S.I. Burkova (2015). The author pays special attention to the importance of prospective forms in the North-Samoyed languages, including the Enets.

L. Liesiö (2014) analyzes the nominal categories of time in the North Sami languages,

separately considering the tundra Enets language and the forest Enets language.

Continuing the traditions laid by I.P. Sorokina, the Enets language was studied by O.V. Khanina and A.B. Shluinsky (2010, 2012, 2015, 2016). The scientists are studying the morphological features of the language.

In addition to purely linguistic research, there are also cultural, philosophical, sociological, ethnological works.

V.P. Krivonogov (2004) examines the demography of indigenous minorities of the North. And also touches upon such a question as language proficiency. The data obtained by the scientist indicate a problem in this area, a low level of the knowledge of the native language by the Enets today, entails the disappearance of the language in the future.

O.E. Dobzhanskaya (2017), in the context of studying the folklore of the indigenous peoples of Taimyr, also draws attention to the fact that the language and traditional culture of the Enets are on the verge of extinction.

Understanding the current situation in which native languages of the indigenous peoples of the North are located, first of all, the researchers turn to the study of the legislative base. F.M. Lekhanova (2008) raises the problem of the situation of the languages of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East in the Russian Federation. The author notes that to date the languages of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation can be divided into the following groups: persistently preserved languages (Nenets, Dolgans, Tuvans-Todzhans) who are in a favorable situation (the languages of the Khanty, Chukchi, Koryaks, Evens) in an unfavorable situation (the languages of Evenki, Selkup, Nanai, Shor, Sami). The Enets language falls into a group of languages that are at the last stage of extinction. The author analyzes the legislative base on the basis of which it is possible to improve the situation with disappearing languages, and also pays attention to how languages are represented in the Russian segment of the Internet.

D.A. Katunin (2010) also addresses the study of the status of indigenous languages. To do this, he examines the changes in the regional language legislation of the Siberian Federal District, analyzes the areas of use of the language, notes that the use of the official language and / or office work in places of compact residence of their speakers is enshrined in the Enets language.

The question of the status of the language is raised by N.B. Vakhtin, E.V. Golovko (2010). The scientists analyze the dynamics of the language policy of European countries and Russia and conclude that there are two positions. According to one of them, the disappearance of languages is an inevitable, natural and irreversible process; the current trend of language development will inevitably lead to the unification and sharp reduction of cultural and linguistic diversity. According to the second position, developed countries should make every possible effort to stop the process of disappearance of languages. In addition to the political side of the issue, the researchers designate the task that linguists should solve: recording, describing the languages of small peoples in order to preserve the most detailed information about them. In general, this means continuation of the work on recording and describing the languages of the indigenous smallnumbered peoples of Siberia, the North and the Far East, which began at the beginning of the 20th century.

Language as the core of ethno-cultural identity is considered by N.P. Koptseva (2014). The author notes a low level of knowledge of native languages among the indigenous minorities of the North, including the Enets. As a solution to the problem, it is proposed to create the necessary legislative acts for the maintenance

of traditional cultures, as well as to rely on the positive experience of other countries.

V.A. Kudashkina, E.V. Ivanchenko (2015) analyze the correlation between the study of the Russian language and the national languages of indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North and Siberia in the education system, emphasize that the Enets language is not studied.

Conclusion

Based on the literature, a number of conclusions can be drawn. The study of the Enets language as the language of an indigenous small people is the subject of research interest of both foreign and domestic scientists. In the course of linguistic research, the authors comprehend the features of the language, fix it, which, of course,

is necessary both for preserving the language and for preserving the traditional culture of the Enets as a whole. Language appears as a nucleus, the revitalization of which will strengthen the processes of the ethno-cultural identity of the Enets. To achieve this, the work of linguists, culturologists, ethnologists and political scientists is necessary.

The considered works of the scientists represent a great contribution to the study of the unique Enets culture. In the conditions of modern globalization processes, when this ethnos is on the verge of extinction, it is especially important to remember this and continue the noble cause of recording and interpreting linguistic materials that will preserve the rare Enets culture and their unique image of the world.

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Энецкий язык в исследованиях отечественных и зарубежных ученых

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В статье представлен историографический обзор зарубежной и отечественной научно-исследовательской литературы, посвященной энецкому языку. Анализ публикаций позволил обозначить общие тенденции в изучении языка энцев, коренного малочисленного северного народа, а также вектор современных исследований. Современные культурные процессы в глобальном пространстве формируют и делают актуальным неисчерпаемый интерес к традиционным культурам, особенно к культурам малочисленных народов. Изучение языков данных этносов предстает как одна из задач, решение которой позволит ревитализировать родные языки, а также ценности традиционной культуры в целом.

Ключевые слова: энцы, коренные малочисленные народы Севера, традиционная культура, исследования языка.

Исследование выполнено при поддержке Красноярского краевого фонда науки в рамках реализации проекта: «Разработка научно-методического обеспечения сохранения уникального культурного наследия для кетской и энецкой этнокультурных групп коренных малочисленных народов Севера, Сибири и Дальнего Востока, проживающих на территории Красноярского края.

Научная специальность: 24.00.00 – культурология.