

Identiteetin rakentuminen
udmurtilaisessa päivälehdessä

Outi Tánczos

Medialla on merkittävä rooli identiteettien muotoutumisessa. Median tuottamia representaatioita voidaan tarkastella kriittisen diskurssi-analyysin keinoin. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi ottaa huomioon tekstien ja ympäröivän yhteiskunnan vastavuoroisen suhteen ja pyrkii löytämään ja analysoimaan teksteihin kätkeytyvien valintojen arvoja asennetaustoja. Artikkelissani tarkastelen udmurtinkielisen päivälehden, *Udmurt Duñhen*, teksteissä esiintyviä tapoja representoida udmurttilaisuutta. Tarkastellut tekstit ovat ilmestyneet alkuvuonna 2007. Analyysin tulokset antavat lisätietoa siitä, kuinka vähemmistökielinen päälehti suhtautuu kielellisen tilanteen muutokseen ja sen synnyttämään tarpeeseen määritellä udmurttilaisuutta uudelleen. Udmurtin kieltä on pidetty udmurttilaisuuden tärkeimpänä rakennusaineena. Kielenvaihto on kuitenkin viime vuosina huomattavasti kiihtynyt udmurtinpuhujien keskuudessa. *Udmurt Duñhessa* udmurtin kieli on keskeinen ja toistuva aihe. Kiihtyvistä kielenvaihdosta huolimatta lehden tekstit korostavat edelleen udmurtin kielen merkitystä udmurttilaista identiteettiä luovana ja udmurttilaisuutta säilyttävänä tekijänä. Lehden näkökulma kielellisiin kysymyksiin, ennen muuta udmurtin kielen nykytilanteeseen ja tulevaisuuteen, on yllättävänkin optimistinen. Udmurtin kielen näkyvyyden merkitystä korostetaan, mutta monet udmurtin puhujia koskevista kielellisistä ilmiöistä, kuten kaksikielisyyden vaikutus kielelliseen käytökseen, jäävät käsittelemättä.

MÁRTA CSEPREGI & SOFIA ONINA

Observations of Khanty Identity: the Synya and Surgut Khanty

Abstract

In this study we deal with two groups remote from each other geographically and different in their language and ethnic identity: S. Onina examines the situation of the Synya Khanty and M. Csepregi the Surgut Khanty.

The traditional way of life and settlement structure has survived right up to the present along the Synya River. The Khanty, originally from along the Synya, can be divided into three groups on the basis of their language skills: the first group comprises those where all generations speak the language fluently; they live in small villages beside the river. The second group is composed of families living in the central villages. Here the parents actively use the language, the children only understand it. The third group is made up of educated Khanty who have migrated to the towns. In these families the parents still speak the Khanty language but the children no longer do.

Since the 1960s there has been intensive oil and gas production in the lands of the Surgut Khanty, bringing with it a large influx of Russian-speaking industrial workers. In the last twenty years, use of the Khanty language has been steadily declining, even in Khanty families living in the traditional way. In addition to language use, the study also examines the use of ethnonyms, costume, customs and religion in the experience of identity. We also touch on the situation where the fear of exclusion and being treated as inferior lead to the abandonment of self-identity.

1. Introduction

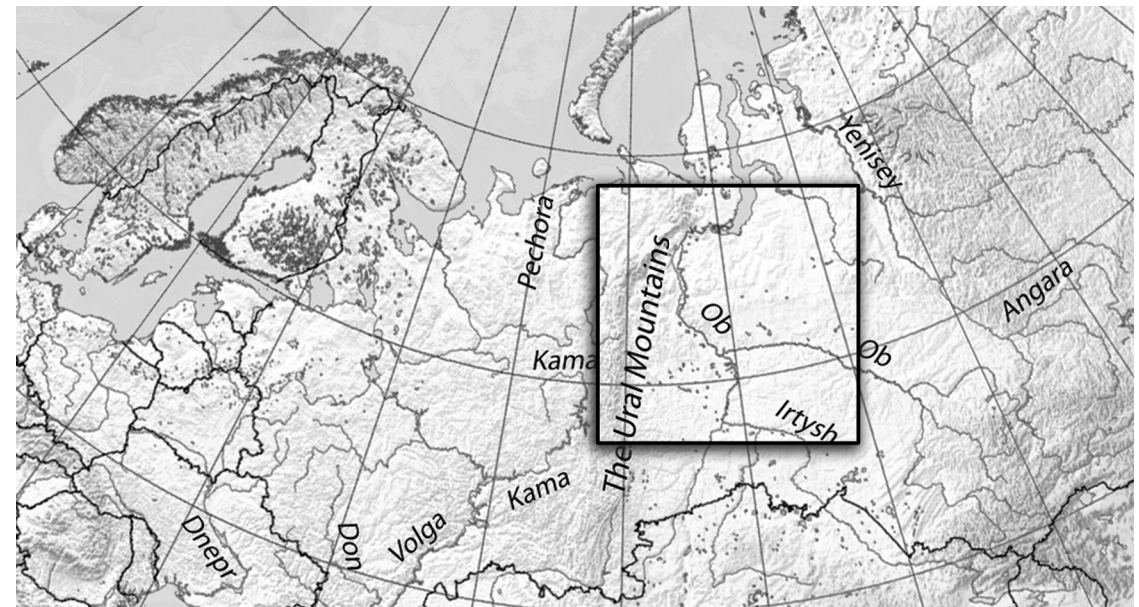
The question of identity, and in particular that of the Finno-Ugrian peoples, has been the subject of a number of scholarly forums, conferences and publications. We quote from a recent study on the Šuryškary Khanty as an introduction to our own study: “The territory inhabited by the Khanty is very large and there are substantial linguistic and cultural differences. The Khanty cannot be examined as a culturally uniform group and information collected within a single Khanty group cannot characterise the entire community. For centuries the economic and social changes have been influencing the culture of the various Khanty groups in different ways.”¹ (Siikala and Uljashev 2008: 149–150).

The Khanty live in Russia, in northwest Siberia, along the Ob and its tributaries. Their lands belong, for the purpose of public administration, to the Tyumen’ Oblast’, and within this to two autonomous districts. According to the census of 2002 they number 28,678 persons in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug Yugra and 8,760 in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug. The easternmost Khanty, 873 in number, live in the Tomsk Oblast’ and the 88 westernmost Khanty in the Komi Republic. In other regions of Russia a total of 1,829 persons declare themselves to be Khanty. Probably slightly less than half of the Khanty, around 47%, speak their native language.² Even the majority of those who speak the language are bilingual. At the very latest, by the time they begin school all Khanty learn Russian and in time this becomes the dominant language with Khanty restricted to use within the family.

A number of dialects differing considerably in phonology, morphology and lexicon have emerged within the Khanty linguistic territory, which covers over half a million square kilometres. These are generally divided geographically into northern, southern and eastern

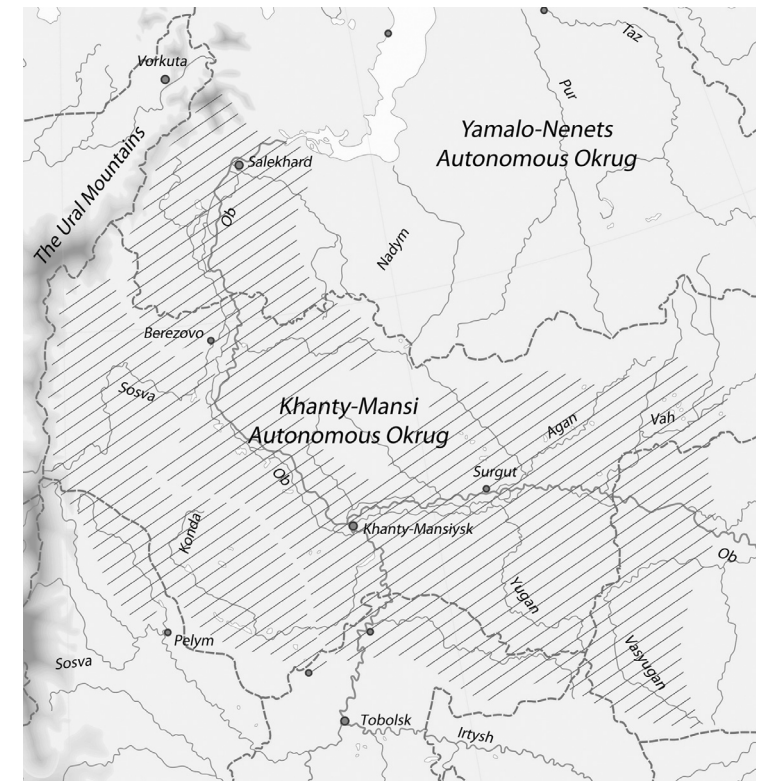
1. Hantien asuma-alue on hyvin laaja ja sen kielelliset ja kulttuuriset erot merkittäviä. Hanteja ei voikaan tarkastella kulttuurisesti yhtenäisenä ryhmänä eikä yhden hantiryhmän keskuudesta koottua tietoa voi pitää hanteja kokonaisuudessa kuvaavana. Taloudelliset ja yhteiskunnalliset muutokset ovat muokanneet eri hantiryhmien kulttuuria jo vuosisatojen ajan.

2. <<http://www.gks.ru/PEREPIS/tabs.htm>>



Map 1. West Siberia.

Map 2. The Khanty-Mansi Autonomous District in Russia and the main living areas of Khanty and Mansi.



groups. The northern dialect region extends from the mouth of the Ob to the confluence of the Ob and the Irtyš. It seems likely that speakers of the southern dialects switched language around the mid-20th century so that Khanty can no longer be heard spoken along the Irtyš and its tributaries, the Demyanka and the Konda. The eastern dialects are spoken along the tributaries of the middle Ob.

In our study we deal with two groups remote from each other geographically and different in their language and ethnic identity: the Synya and the Surgut Khanty. The River Synya flows through the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, so the Synya Khanty dialect belongs among the northern dialects. The town of Surgut is located in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug and the dialect known as Surgut is one of the eastern Khanty dialects. The differences between the northern and eastern Khanty dialects are so great that it would be more correct to speak of separate languages. One of the authors of our study, Sofia Onina, was born beside the Synya while Márta Csepregi has been doing linguistic and folkloristic research among the Surgut Khanty since 1992. Another study in this volume by Zoltán Nagy deals with the third group, the Vasyugan Khanty. There are a number of general studies of the whole Khanty-speaking territory that describe the present linguistic situation (see: Csepregi 1997, Sipos (ed.) 2006), two of them very recent (Salo 2009 and Csepregi 2009). Table 1 presents basic information on the two Ob-Ugric groups, the Mansi and the Khanty, according to the population censuses of the Soviet Union (1989) and Russia (2002).

	1989		2002	
	persons	%	persons	%
Mansi	8,474	37.1	11,432	24.1
Khanty	22,521	60.5	28,678	47.3

Table 1. Total Ob-Ugric population and the percentage speaking their native tongue based on data of the 1989 and 2002 censuses.

2. The Synya Khanty

The Synya is a western tributary of the Ob, close to the Arctic Circle. It arises in the Urals and flows into the Little Ob south of Muzhi. Because this region, lacking mineral resources, has escaped industrialisation, the traditional way of life, based on fishing, hunting, gathering and reindeer herding, has been preserved along the Synya. The settlement structure has remained unchanged too. There are eight small villages along the river, each consisting of a few houses, with all of their inhabitants belonging to the same clan. The Synya people live in these houses from autumn till spring. The reindeer herders drive their animals into the Urals for the summer while the others move down to the Ob to fish. Ovgort, the central village, has a population of around 1,500, of whom 1,200 are Khanty (Ovgort 2009). However, some of those who declare themselves to be Khanty of the Synya now live elsewhere and so they differ from each other in language behaviour and self-identity. The Khanty of the Synya can be divided into three groups on the basis of their language use (Onyina 2006: 57–61, Onina 2008): the first group comprises those where all generations speak the language fluently, the second group families where the parents actively use the language but the children only understand it, and the third group parents who still speak Khanty but whose children no longer do. In the following we take a closer look at these three groups.

2.1. Both adults and children fluent in their native tongue

These people live in the traditional villages and are engaged exclusively in traditional occupations. Part of the community moves to the Ob for the summer to fish while the other part herds reindeer. The reindeer herders live a nomadic life in the Urals for most of the year. Families move around together but their children only spend the school holidays with them. They communicate among each other solely in Khanty. They use traditional means of transport – boats and sleds – the women wear folk costume and also make their own winter clothing and footwear from reindeer skins.

Their children attend boarding schools in the central village, Ovgort. Accommodation in a hostel is arranged so that children with the same family name, meaning that they are all from the same village, are placed together in the same room. Professional child-care workers who speak Khanty work in the hostel, so the children are able to use their native tongue. In their free time they learn Khanty crafts. They are often given traditional Khanty food: boiled, baked or raw fish, frozen meat, or raw reindeer meat.

2.2. Parents speaking Khanty and with little proficiency in their native tongue

These are the Synva Khanty who live in the central village, Ovgort. The parents have completed secondary or higher education and work in institutions such as kindergartens, schools or the fish processing plant, where communication is exclusively in Russian, the language understood by all nationalities. Those over 25 years of age are able to speak their native tongue. They use the language only in the home environment, within the family, or if they are speaking with older people who do not speak Russian. Young Khanty parents from the traditional culture, although fluent in their native tongue, only speak Russian with their children so that they will do better at school. As a result, the younger generation only speaks Russian. The young people understand the Khanty language and respond to it, but they always reply in Russian, even if their elders address them in Khanty.

In the recent past, the majority of elderly Khanty moved into the village. They are fluent in Khanty and understand Russian but do not speak it. They understand what their Russian-speaking grandchildren say, but most of them reply in Khanty.

The Ovgort Khanty do not make their own tools and very few of them wear traditional dress. Some of the women may wear Khanty dress, tie their shawls in the Khanty way and wear the winter cloth or reindeer skin coats, but their footwear is always factory-made. They do not make their own clothes but buy them or barter them from women who still practise the traditional craft. In the barter trade, a reindeer skin coat can be worth a motorbike or motorboat.

2.3. Parents speaking Khanty and children not familiar with the language

These are the groups of Khanty who live in towns and have completed secondary or higher education. All occupations are represented here. They work in education, culture, health care, commerce and public administration, in jobs that can impose a big psychological strain on the northern peoples. Many of them live in Khanty–non-Khanty mixed marriages and do not attach importance to the nationality of their partner.

There is no communication in the Khanty language within these families, even if the parents speak Khanty. As a result the children do not learn their parents' native tongue. The Khanty language is rarely spoken, most often in the presence of members of the older generation. Even those familiar with the native tongue speak and think in Russian.

These people do not wear Khanty dress at all, although it is important for the women to possess a Khanty folk costume. They do not sew clothing or practise crafts, but buy the Khanty clothing and objects or receive them as gifts and use them to decorate their homes. They are familiar with the Khanty customs and religious traditions but do not practise them.

2.4. Low prestige of Khanty language and culture

The circumstances described above determine the sense of ethnic and linguistic identity. Today the young generation of Khanty simply do not want to be Khanty. Children of kindergarten age say: "I'm not Khanty, I'm Russian". More and more young people want to resemble the majority nation.

It is not easy to integrate into the majority population. It is Onina's experience that Russians are irritated if a Khanty wants to be of equal standing with them. And the Khanty, especially young people who have moved from the countryside to a town, feel awkward and are ill at ease among Russians. They are ashamed to wear folk costume and speak in their native tongue. But there are also encouraging

phenomena. Students studying at the Khanty-Mansiysk State University clearly showed increased self-esteem after they took Sofia Onina's course in the "Ethnology of the Ob-Ugrian peoples". As they got to know their own culture they realised that they are inheritors of valuable traditions that they can embrace with pride.

The natural process of the transmission of culture and language has been broken over the past decades. The generation of 40–50 year-olds or older possess all the skills of the traditional economy and culture, but under the new conditions are unable to pass on their knowledge to their children. In the past this transmission took place on weekdays, as they worked together. But today's youth, who spend most of their time in boarding schools in a Russian-speaking environment, have lost contact with the way of life and traditions of their people. As a result they not only fail to learn the language, but also lack a sense of perspective for the traditional way of life. Nowadays the occupations of reindeer herder, fisherman and hunter have very low prestige among the young generation. The youth department of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug is trying to change this situation by organising ethnological expeditions for Khanty and Nenets youths who have lost contact with their roots (Sipos 2006).

It can be seen from the above classification that, as is to be expected, the language and Khanty identity are preserved mainly among the Khanty living a traditional way of life; a way of life that is becoming increasingly rare in the entire Khanty-speaking territory. The Synya valley is a special case because here the prerequisites still exist for that way of life. The second and third groups in Onina's classification can also be found elsewhere in the region of the Ob. In the mixed population central villages built in the 1950s, the Khanty language can be heard less often, and in the absence of work and meaningful occupations there is a great danger of lumpenisation. Khanty afflicted with alcoholism and forced to the fringes of society can do little to preserve their language and culture. Indeed, the low prestige of the Khanty language depends to a considerable extent on the image majority society has formed by observing these unfortunate people. The Khanty who have learnt a trade or earned a diploma and live in the towns switch language.

3. The Surgut Khanty

The Surgut dialect is spoken along the tributaries of the middle Ob. These rivers are to the north of the Ob, the Pym, the Tromagan and the Agan, and to the south of the Ob the Great Yugan and the Little Yugan. The majority of Surgut Khanty live in the territory of the Surgut rayon, but there are also Yugan Khanty in the Nefteyugansk rayon, while most of the Agan Khanty live in the Nižnevartovsk rayon.

It is difficult to estimate the exact number of speakers. According to official data, in 2005 there were 2,800 indigenous people in the Surgut rayon, 98% of whom were Khanty and 2% Forest Nenets and Mansi. About 500 families, that is more than 2,000 persons, live in the tribal lands (KhMAO 2009). In our experience those Khanty who lead a traditional way of life, breeding reindeer, hunting and fishing, do use their language: only those who have moved to the towns abandon it and switch to Russian – even within the course of a generation. The number of Surgut Khanty is greater by about 800 when those kinfolk who live on the banks of the Agan River and belong administratively to the Nižnevartovsk rayon are added (Nižnevartovsk 2009).

Geographically this territory lies on the border of the forest tundra and the taiga. North of the Ob the traditional economy is forest reindeer herding, that is the Khanty families follow their reindeer and change their place of dwelling each season. Further south around the source of the Yugan, in the taiga zone, they do not keep reindeer but only engage in fishing and hunting. The traditional way of life has been in decline since the 1960s when the extraction of oil and gas began. Big industrial towns have been built along the main waterway, the Ob, and the Khanty have been forced back to the tributaries and their headwaters.

The Hungarian co-author of this article, Márta Csepregi, did her first fieldwork in the region in 1992 among the Tromagan and Yugan Khanty, and since then has been closely following changes in language use and ethnic identity. In the following we present a few case studies to illustrate the ethnic situation and state of the language.

3.1. The language situation since the early 1990s

In 1992, in the seasonal quarters of the reindeer herding Khanty – as they called it: in the forest – all generations only spoke Khanty. At that time there were still monolingual Khanty, members of the oldest generation, who had sufficient prestige to declare that only Khanty can be spoken in the forest. However, the educated members of these families, who lived in towns or villages, did not pass on the language to their children. In the second half of the 1990s family members who had lost their jobs in the towns moved out to the forest quarters. Some of them only spoke Russian and so for their sake conversation was more and more often in Russian. Now practically all native Khanty speakers are bilingual and the children learn both languages simultaneously. Both languages are present in the forest quarters too and code switching is very frequent even within a sentence. The local people say that they do not even notice whether they are speaking Khanty or Russian. Even the dogs understand command words in Russian. The reindeer is the only being that they only address in Khanty. Nevertheless, there are some young people who grew up in the forest and went on to attend university who preserve and actively practise the traditional culture (Csepregi & Sosa 2009).

Industrialisation came earlier to the region along the River Agan that Csepregi visited in the early 2000s. The story of the traditional lands of the Khanty writer Yermey Aypin is a good example of the changes. After the death of the writer's father in 1995, everyone thought that the settlement would become depopulated. But a few years later three families moved there to try forest life. The young heads of the families – Aypin's cousins – had lost their jobs in the town and so decided to live in the forest. However, the linguistic-cultural continuity had been interrupted. While the men had been in state employment they had forgotten the traditional way of life. At the beginning of the school year the families live in the village so that their children do not have to stay in boarding school. They use the forest quarters more as a summer home and fishing place. The men speak a mixed language, the children only speak Russian and know only a few expressions in Khanty.

3.2. A few markers of identity

3.2.1. Ethnonyms

Identity is the distinction between *us* and *them*, and this distinction is most easily made at the linguistic level with the help of ethnonyms. It was found that the Surgut Khanty do not have an ethnonym applying to all the Khanty people. They do not feel either the ethnonym *Ostyak*, which was used in Tsarist times, or *Khanty*, which was first used to designate them in Soviet times, to be their own. This is because the Russian word *ханты* reflects the pronunciation characteristics of the northern Khanty dialects. In the eastern Khanty dialects it has the form of *ḡāntəy*. But expressions with the prefix *ḡāntəy* do not only designate the Khanty. *ḡāntək ḡo* means not only 'Khanty man', but also 'man' in general. Accordingly the construction *ḡāntəy ḡāy* also has two meanings: 1. 'Khanty people' 2. 'people of traditional culture'. If a Surgut Khanty wishes to refer to the whole of mankind living on the earth, he says: *rut'-ḡāntəy ḡāy*, literally: 'Russian-Khanty people'.

At the beginning of the Soviet period the authorities tried to get rid of the pejoratively used external ethnonyms and therefore began to use their own internal names to refer to the nationalities of the Soviet Union. In the case of the eastern Khanty this aspiration was not realised. As Yosif Sopochin, a Tromagan Khanty, commented in August 1996: "We are Khanty only in Russian³. In Khanty our name is *ḡāntəy ḡāy*, but we don't use that either, but refer to the different groups of our people on the basis of the rivers. We say: *tōrəm ḡāwən ḡāy* 'Tromagan people', *āwən ḡāy* 'Agan people', *ḡāwən ḡāy* 'Yugan people', *kasəm ḡāy* 'Kazym people', and so on."

The situation is even more complicated along the Agan. There Khanty live side by side with Forest Nenets. Inter marriages are common and in the ethnically mixed families Khanty-Nenets bilingualism and dual identity is taken for granted. As a Forest Nenets declared with a touch of self-irony: "If I get up in the morning and wash, I'm a Khanty. If I don't wash, I'm a Nenets."⁴

3. "Мы ханты только по-русски."

4. Oral communication by Elena Perevalova, October 2009.

3.2.2. Dress, ethics

Yosif Sopochin, quoted above, said that women's nationality was always visible because they wore Khanty costume all the year round, but men could only be seen to be Khanty in winter when they wore their reindeer skin coats. Is a person who lives in a town and speaks Russian a Khanty? Is (s)he a Khanty as long as the ethnonyms Khanty and Mansi figure in the name of the autonomous district?

According to a communication from Lyudmila Kayukova, the urban Khanty, who have become Russified in their language, differ from the Russians in that the women hang out their washing so that their underwear is lower than the men's and children's clothing and in a place where strangers cannot see it. In the forest environment they take care not to wash men's and women's clothes together, but they are unable to do this in the town. The rules of cleanliness and avoidance determining Khanty identity are outliving the language even if not in every minute detail.

3.2.3. Religious traditions

From the 1990s, religious traditions have also played an important role in the expression of identity. Although religious observances of all kinds were banned in Soviet times or at least qualified as a sign of backwardness, animism, respect for the forces of nature is still very much alive among the Khanty. They regularly visit the sacred places and hold their regular communal feasts where they can experience a sense of belonging together. Some ceremonies are held in public and they can be used by the Khanty to express their difference from the Russians and also allow the Russians (and Ukrainians, Tatars and migrant workers of other nationalities) to become acquainted with Khanty culture. Traditional Khanty feasts, such as the Crow Feast, which greets the arrival of spring, and other celebrations inherited from the Soviet era (e.g. Fishermen's Day, Reindeer Herders' Day) are now unimaginable without a ceremonial sacrifice. These events, which are a combination of a carnival and a sporting event, have largely contributed to the fact that the Khanty are now more willing to declare their identity to the majority society and also that non-Khanty

now acknowledge the existence of the Khanty and recognise the value of their culture.

3.2.4. The opposition between outside and inside, tradition and modernity

It has already been noted that even at the level of ethnonyms the Khanty do not define themselves as a single people. Accordingly, their identity is not Khanty identity either, but – to take an example from the Surgut territory – Tromagan, Agan, Yugan, etc. The Tromagan Khanty knows exactly how her/his dress, way of life, customs, language, etc. differ from those of the Agan Khanty. In addition, he also experiences the difference between the people of the forest and the town, or as he puts it, between Khanty and Russian. The Khanty living in the forest live in the traditional culture. An urban Khanty communicating in Russian increasingly sees her/his people and their culture from the outside and in that comparison barbarism and civilisation are opposed.

The formulation of self-identity is a process in which similarities and differences to other peoples must be constantly assessed. In their fear of being regarded as inferior and excluded, the Khanty do not dare to differ greatly from the Russians. This is the cause of a phonetic change that occurred in a number of dialects that have since become extinct. Yugan Khanty who have moved to the region of the River Salym pronounce the voiceless lateral fricative *ʃ* very characteristic of the Surgut Khanty dialect, as *t*. Lyudmila Kayukova, who comes from this group, explains this by saying that they are more civilised than the other Yugan Khanty, and they do not wish to differ greatly in their speech from the Russians. In a situation where two languages are in contact, sometimes the minority language adapts to the phonetics of the prestige language. Lauri Posti believes that this was why the palatal consonants in the languages of the Baltic Finns became depalatalised – in that case the influence was Germanic (Posti 1954), although there may be another explanation for the change (Kallio 2000).

A book on the Tromagan Khanty living in their traditional culture published in 1995 in Hungary (Winter, et al. 1995). This book contains photos depicting their life and culture, as well as poems by

Agrafena Pesikova inspired by the photos. These poems are actually the first example of Surgut Khanty literature. This album came to be used for an interesting survey: Agrafena Pesikova showed it to many people. Those who had not yet broken away from their culture looked at it with pleasure, tried to identify the places, compared the implements with their own and copied the ornamentation on the fur coats for themselves. In contrast, the Russified Khanty living in towns found the images to be rough, shameful and hurtful. “What is all this blood? Why did they take photos of dirty children? Why did they have to shame the Khanty before the whole world?” they asked. Some of them were not even prepared to take a second look at the book. They did not understand the verses and considered the publication of the book insulting (Peszikova 1998).

4. Conclusion

In our study we outlined a few typical characteristics of the Khanty linguistic and ethnic identity, but we did not deal with all aspects of this complex question. Among others, we did not discuss the problem of literacy and the literary language, which is the subject of much debate among the Khanty too. We only touched upon the question of education, although it has an important role to play in shaping a healthy self-identity. Further research and joint efforts are needed if the Khanty wish to survive and if this aspiration is also to find support in the majority society.

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К проблеме языковой и этнической
идентичности народа ханты
– на примере сынских и сургутских ханты

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В зависимости от степени владения хантыйским языком выявляются три группы:

1. Владеют языком старшее и младшее поколение. Общаются между собой исключительно на родном языке. Ведут только традиционный образ жизни. Изготавливают сами и пользуются не только традиционную одежду, но и средства передвижения. По роду своей деятельности: оленеводы, охотники и рыбаки. Дети фактически круглый год находятся в интернате. Соблюдают многие традиционные обряды.
2. Владеют языком взрослые и дети, но чаще живут в сельской местности. Реже общаются на родном, чаще общаются на русском языке. В меньше степени изготавливают традиционную одежду, утварь и средства передвижения, но чаще не для удовлетворения собственных нужд, а для продажи. Предпочитают профессии воспитатель, санитарка, кочегар, охранник, доярка и т.п. Дети с родителями проживают дома и из дома посещают школу. Соблюдают не все традиционные обряды.
3. Владеет языком часто старшее поколение, дети фактически не владеют родным языком, но очень хорошо владеют русским. Общаются между собой исключительно на русском. Живут часто в крупных населенных пунктах, городах. Традиционных изделий не изготавливают и не носят, но предпочитают иметь их в качестве сувениров. Это своего рода класс современной интеллигенции. Для них привлекательны сферы образования, культуры и искусства, здравоохранения, коммерции и органы управления. Они осваивают те виды нетрадиционных занятий, которые для народов Севера считались психологически трудными. Традиционные формы занятости для них утрачивают привлекательность. Не соблюдают традиционных обрядов, но знают многие традиции своего народа.

Щӑња па сургут х̆нты лыпи х̆расэл
па йасңел элты

Марта Чепреги – София Онина

1. Х̆нты йасэңэн йӑма хошлэт ун ѓтдал элты ай ѓтдал унты. Ёды сѓх т̆йлэт. Х̆нты пѓрмас верты хошлэт. Щит вой-х̆л велты йох па ташэ̆н йӑхты йох. Ѓаврэмдал арпелэкэн интернатэн уллэт, туп кӑныкулы пѓрайэн йѓхи йӑңхэлылэт. Х̆нты йэмэңх̆тлэт арпелэклал уйэтлэт.

2. Х̆нты йасңел щикунш уйэтлэл, лый к̆тлалэн арпелакэн р̆щ йасэңэн пѓтэрлэт. Тащ хотэн ӑт йӑңхлэт, х̆л туп лэты кемэн уллэт. Ай вошэтэн уллэт. Ѓаврэмдал йѓлта улдат па ӑшкудая йӑңхэлылэт. Мѓлты вош рупатайэн рупитлэт, х̆й садикэн, х̆й кѓчегаркайэн, х̆й ӑшкулайэн. Унан̆фидал-унащилал ӑт кепаверэтлэт ищипа р̆щ йасэңэн таллэт. Х̆нты пѓрмас хошлэт верты, верлэт-ки, арпелакэн тыныты кеша.

3. Х̆нты йасңел арпелакэн ӑт уйэтлэл. Ун ѓтдал нӑь кемэн верэтлэт, нӑврэмдал щӑх йасңел ӑт уйэтлэл. Х̆нты пѓрмас вѓлаң ӑт верлэт, туп мойлэм х̆нты пѓрмасэт шавиман т̆йлэт. Т̆ам мѓхет ун вошэн уллэт. Уншэк т̆ахайэн рупитлэт: леккарэт, утэлтэты нэңэт, утэлтэты хуйэт, кущайа рупэтлэт. Ѓаврэмдал р̆щэт иты т̆йлэдал. Л̆ый к̆тлалэн туп р̆щ йасэңэн пѓтэрлэт. Унан̆фидал-унащилал щикунш йасңел уйэтлэл, лыйэд ищи кеншэк р̆щ йасэңэн пѓтэрт̆ыйа. Х̆нты щирэн ӑт уллэт. Х̆нты йэмэң х̆тэлдал щикунш уйэтлэдал нэпекэт элты, щипи щирэн ищипа ӑт уллэт.

ZOLTÁN NAGY

The Invisible “Ostyaks”: The Khanty people in the Oblast’ of Tomsk

Abstract

In this study I deal with the ethnopolitical position of the Khanty living along the river Vasyugan. After some initial dilemmas I decided to take the example of the village of Novy Vasyugan and analyse how the name “Ostyak” works as an “invisible”, concealed social category: how they are excluded from the historical canon on both levels, the village’s and the oblast’s. I examine the mode of representation (1) of the memory of the recent and even more recent Russian conquests, the civilisation of the taiga, represented in the official memory; (2) of the cult of the archaeological cultures in “ancient culture” discourse; (3) of the Evenkis and the Khanty from the Khanty Mansi Autonomous Okrug in the discourse of exoticism; (4) of the relocated people in the process of making the Moscow-periphery conflict visible. I will point out the fact that the “Ostyaks” only have a place in the local academic discourses, with hardly any place in the local cultural scene and no place at all in local economic and political life. I will also discuss how the category of “Ostyak” works as a “race” or lifestyle category and how lumpenisation, criminalisation and extreme poverty become ethnic markers. Finally I will show how – due to the aforementioned points – the Vasyugan Khanty became a dissolved community void of all meaning, without any interest in identifying themselves as a distinct community.

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