CHAPTER - IV

Languages of the Russian Federation
Language emerged together with the appearance of human society.\(^1\) According to Darwin, "the formation of different languages and of distinct species, and the proofs that both have been developed through a gradual process, are curiously parallel".\(^2\) Marx finds language as old as consciousness.\(^3\)

Today it does not seem startling that a single language, through the migration of a group of its speakers and their subsequent isolation, should in the course of time develop into two distinct languages, as the speech of the emigrants and that of the original group gradually drift apart.\(^4\) This idea of language formation, however, has had many precursors to this, before we had approximately about 6000 languages in the world today\(^5\), about 130 of which belong to the Russian Federation. By this figure, we reach at a rather curious figure that about 2.1% of the total number of the world's languages are spoken by about 2.1% of the world's total population living on the Russian territory.\(^6\)

This analogy, however, gets completely distorted when we look at the ratio of the languages and the respective number of speakers for each one of them within the Federation. This heterogeneity in language distribution can best be explained by the fact that only one language - Russian is the language of about

\(^{1}\) Isayev, M. I., *op. cit.*, p. 28.


\(^{6}\) As of January 1, 2001, the total population of the Russian Federation was 145.18 million, as in *The Demographic Yearbook of Russia, 2001*, State Committee of the Russian Federation on Statistics (*Goskomstat* of Russia), Moscow, 2001, p. 22.
82% of the total population, the remaining 18% of the population constitute the whole body of speakers of the remaining of the languages. Needless to add that it is indeed quite disproportionate. And in this disproportion lies the significance of this study.

Here we propose to study all the languages at par, irrespective of their size. It is however important to see how these vast number of languages are related to each other, from the point of view of their origin, and how they are not. In other words, we must focus on their ‘genetic classification’.

**Genetic Classification**

Classification, or taxonomy, is a fundamental pursuit of science, an indispensable first step in the search of understanding. Hence, it becomes all so important to get acquainted with language classification of the languages that are spoken in the Russian Federation, before we study them. Languages can be classified in many ways, depending on the criterion chosen. But the most developed classification of languages is the genealogical one. The idea that groups of languages that share certain systematic resemblance have inherited those similarities from a common origin is the basis for genetic classification. The basis for genetic classification is a linguistic attribute, rather than a religious or anthropological one. This is also confirmed by the instances that more often than not the name of the language and the name of the people who

---

9 Ruhlen, Merritt, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
speak it coincide. For example, the Russian language and the Russian people; the Tatar language and the Tatar people.

The largest, or widest, category of related languages is termed as the family of languages. Small language groups are identified within large language families, which in turn form intermediary steps within the same family, the so called “language branches” or “language groups”.

All the languages of the Russian Federation, or those spoken on its territory, can be classified into seven large categories or family of languages: Indo-European, Altaic, Uralic, Iberian-Caucasic, Paleo-Asiatic, Isolated, and others. Each of these families of languages constitutes of several groups and subgroups of languages, to which the languages belong.

The largest family of languages in Russia by far is the Indo-European, which is spoken by about 85% of Russia’s total population. Seven groups of this language family are represented in the Russian Federation: Slavic, Iranian, Baltic, Romance, Germanic, Indian, and also the Armenian language, which constitute a special group. The East Slavic subgroup of the Slavic languages includes the three most widely used languages: Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian. These three East Slavic languages are very close to each other in terms of their phonetics, grammatical structure, and vocabulary.

The Iranian languages form another group of the Indo-European family. These include: Tajik, Ossetian, and Tati, all of which have a written

---

10 See Appendix III.
form, as well as languages that do not possess a written form. There is a clear phonetic as well as lexical correspondences among these languages, suggesting a common Iranian origin.

Lithuanian and Lettish are the two genetically related languages constituting the Baltic group of the Indo-European family of languages. They are considered as closest to the Slavic languages. The Moldovian language is the only representative of the Romance group in Russia. The Armenian language represents a separate and autonomous branch of the Indo-European family. The German and Yiddish languages belong to the Germanic group. Whereas, the Gypsy language belongs to the Neo-Indian group of the Indo-European family of languages.

Another family is that of the Altaic languages, constituting mainly of the Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungus-Manchu groups. The Turkic group is the most numerous one, as it includes about 25 closely related languages and dialects. In terms of number of speakers these languages are second to the Slavic languages in the country. Tatar is the most widely used of the Turkic languages in the Federation. Another group of the Altaic family is the Mongolic, which is represented by two languages in Russia: Buryat and Kalmyk. Both of them possess recently acquired written forms. The Tungus-Manchu group includes the languages of the Far North. Eight languages belonging to this group are spoken in Russia: Evenki, Even, Nanai, Negidal, Ulcha, Orok, Oroch, and Udege. Only the first three (Evenki, Even, and Nanai) of these languages have written forms.
Two major groups constitute the Uralic family of languages – The Finni-Ugric and the Samoyedic. Despite practical linguistic difficulties of tracing their common origin with any degree of certainty, the Finno-Ugric languages are conventionally divided into five subgroups: Baltic, Volga, Perm, Ob-Ugric, and Saamic. The Baltic subgroup has six languages, which are spoken in Russia: Estonian, Karelian, Vepsian, Izurian, Vodian, and Livonian. Of these, only Estonian has a literary language. The Volga subgroup has four literary languages: Moksha or Mordovian Moksha, Erzya or Mordovian Erzya, and the two Maris – the Meadow Mari and the Hill Mari. The degree of proximity among these languages varies. Another subgroup of the Finno-Ugric group of the Altaic languages is the Perm, which has three languages: Udmurt, Komi Zyryan, and Komi Permyak. They are quite close to each other both genetically and in terms of their structural properties. Two languages constitute the Ob-Ugric subgroup: Khanty and Mansi. They are spoken in northwestern Siberia. The Saam language forms an independent subgroup within the Finno-Ugric group, which does have a written form. Another group of the Altaic family is the Samoyedic, which has four languages: Nenets, Enets, Nganasan, and Selkup. Nganasan and Enets languages do not have a written form.

The fourth major language family is the Iberian-Caucasic or the Northern-Caucasic, spoken primarily in the Caucasus region. It is divided into four groups of languages: Kartvelian, Abkhaz-Agyghe, Nakh and Daghestan. Georgian is the main Kartvelian language spoken in Russia. Abkhaz, Abaza, Kabardian-Circassian, and Adygei are the four Abkhaz-Adyghe languages
spoken in Russia. Chechen, Ingush, and Bats are the three Nakh group languages. The Chechen and the Ingush have retained their attributes to such a degree that they are mutually intelligible, despite significant differences between their grammar and vocabulary. The Bats language differ significantly from these two languages of the group, and it also does not have a written form. Approximately thirty languages, almost one quarter of the languages of the Russian Federation, belong to the Daghestan group of the Iberian-Caucasic family. Avar is the most widely used language of this group.

The Paleo-Asiatic family of languages has two major groups of languages: Chukchi-Kamchadal and Eskimo (Eskimo-Aleut). To the first group belong five languages: Chukchi, Koryak, Itelmen (Kamchadal), Kerek, and Alutor. Only Chukchi, among these, have a written form. The second group of the Eskimo or Eskimo-Aleut languages has two languages: Eskimo and Aleut. The Eskimo language has a written form, and the latter does not have. The Paleo-Asiatic languages were grouped together simply because none of them belonged to any of the well-known large language families or groups.

Another category of the Isolated languages has three languages: Nivkh (Gilyak), Ket, and Yukagir. Only the Nivkh language, also known as Gilyak, has a written form.

The remaining two languages spoken in Russia include New Syrian (Aisor) and Dungan, which cannot be attributed as genetically linked to any of the above mentioned language families or groups. The Dungan language is very close to the Chinese language in terms of grammatical structure.
It is against the background of this genetic relationship and linguistic divergence/convergence that we shall study all the languages of the Russian Federation in the following section.

The Languages

The vast number of languages and dialects spoken in the Russian Federation present a most unique case of linguistic diversity and plurality in any single country. India is perhaps the only country, which has more number of languages than the Russian Federation. Despite this similarity in linguistic composition and heterogeneity of population, Russia faces problems of a different kind in so far as there are languages a plenty which are facing extinction on account of a shrinking population and a host of other social problems.

Almost all of the minority languages spoken in the Russian Federation are endangered, most of them seriously. But the indigenous languages of Arctic Russia and Siberia with a few thousand speakers or less, face the most immediate threat. Only a few years ago the main problem with language endangerment was seen in the loss of linguistically interesting data rather than that the loss of irretrievable human diversity and potential. Even the
Red Book of the Languages of the Peoples of Russia\textsuperscript{12}, which is by far the most detailed and reliable source for further information, mechanically excludes languages of the titular peoples of the republics and autonomous provinces. This is despite them, like for instance Karelian, being equally and undoubtedly endangered. For similar reasons its coverage of languages is sometimes unequal. The three Northern Altai idioms are given separate entries, while Olonetsian and Ludian, officially regarded as Karelian dialects, are left out, although they are likely to be more diverse and at least as endangered.

We propose no such bias in the following description of all the languages of the Russian Federation. The degree of endangerment, however, is evaluated along the scale - "not endangered", "endangered", "seriously endangered", "nearly extinct" and "extinct". This broadly corresponds to the basic viability classes in Krauss (1997)\textsuperscript{13}, who also deals with most though not all of the Siberian languages. It is indeed very exciting to examine the functional relevance of some of these languages, which can also be termed as 'exotic' languages. Their coexistence with majority languages, such as Russian, is a testimony to the resilience of language as an impregnable identity of culture and nationality.

Given the multiplicity of languages in the Russian Federation, and assuming that so many of them are still not known to the world, here is an

\textsuperscript{12} Neroznak, V. P. (ed.). \textit{Krasnaja kniga jazykov narodov Rossii: nciklopedicheskijes/ovar'­spravochnik}, Academia, Moscow, 1994.

effort to catalogue them in alphabetical order for a convenient reference. We have also included the relevant diachronic and synchronic sociolinguistic details of the languages listed herein.\(^\text{14}\)

**Abaza**

It belongs to the North-Western or the Abkhaz-Adyghe group of the Iberian-Caucasic languages. It is mainly spoken in the Karachay-Cherkess Republic. This is used by about 34,800 speakers in the Russian Federation (1989 census), 95% of which speak it as their mother tongue. About 69.5% of the Abazins are fluent in Russian language as well. There are also about 10,000 speakers of Abaza in Turkey (1995). Most of the Abazins are Sunni Muslim.

Tapanta, Ashkaraua and Bezshagh are the main dialects. Tapanta is the most important as it is also the basis of literary language. The Abaza written language was first created in 1932 on the basis of the Latin script. In 1938, its written form was changed into a modified Cyrillic alphabet. Among all the languages of the Russian Federation, Abaza phonetics is considered the most difficult one. Some of its dialects are partially intelligible with Abkhaz language.\(^\text{15}\)


\(^{15}\) It also contains elements characteristic of the Kabardian language.
Literary works as well as textbooks and newspapers are published in Abaza language\(^\text{16}\) and it is also used as means of instruction in the schools. There is some television broadcasts and daily radio broadcasts in the language. Typology is SOV\(^\text{17}\), with ergative-absolutive agreement on verb.

**Adyghe**

This is also an Iberian-Caucasic language. It became an official literary language in Adyghea Republic along with Russian in 1994. There are about 300,000 speakers of this language all over the world: 125,000 in Russia (1993), over 100,000 in Turkey (1995), 44,000 in Jordan, 25,000 in Syria and about 8,000 in Iraq. In the Russian Federation about 96% of Adyghean speakers use it as their mother tongue. Majority of Adyghea speakers is Sunni Muslim.

It has four basic dialects: Abadzekh, Bzhedug, Temirga (Chemga), and Shapsug. The definitive form of the literary language is based on Temirga and Bzhedug dialects. An alphabet based on the Arabic script was created in 1918. A Latinized alphabet was adopted in 1927, which eventually gave way to Cyrillic in 1938, which is still the script of the language in the Russian Federation.

Its use in school instruction is still prevalent. Typology of the language is SOV.

---

\(^\text{16}\) There is one Newspaper in Abaza language, which is the same as in 1970. Whereas, the number of books and brochures published have increased from eight in 1970 to 13 in 1994.

\(^\text{17}\) Sentence order - Subject + Object + Verb.
**Aghul**

Belonging to the Lezgin group of Dagestan languages of the Iberian-Caucasian language family, Aghul is primarily spoken in the remote and hilly southeastern part of the Daghestan republic. About 98% of its 19,000 speakers use it as their mother tongue. Most of the Aghuls are Sunni Muslim.

There are four distinguishable dialects of this language: Koshan, Keren, Gekxun and Agul. In absence of its own literary form, Lezgi is used as the literary language.

**Ainu**

Ainu has not been determined to be related linguistically to any other language. There are about 16,500 speakers of this language in the world – a majority lives in Japan with about 15,000 speakers. In the Russian Federation, Ainu is spoken by about 15,000 people living in South Sakhalin Island and southern Kuril Islands.

Sakhalin, Taraika, Hokkaido and Kuril are the main dialects with about 15 others. It does not have a literary form.

**Akhvakh**

This language belongs to the Daghestan group of Iberian-Caucasian languages, spoken by about 5,000 people in the southern part of Dagestan republic. A majority of Akhvakhs are Muslims.

Kaxib, Northern Akhvakh and Southern Akhvakh are its main dialects. It also does not have a written language and Avar is mainly used as the literary language. Like all other Dagestan languages, Akhvakh too has a
number of unusual features. There are about 49 consonant phonemes in this language, which is quite extraordinary.

**Aleut**

It belongs to the Eskimo (Eskimo-Aleut) group of the rare Paleo-Asiatic languages, with only about 400 native speakers in the world, living in Nikolskoye settlement, Bering Island and Komandor Islands. There were only 300 speakers of Aleut in Russia in 1991 and about 90 in the USA. Majority of its speakers is over the age of 50 and only 10 among all could speak the language vigorously. But most of the Aleuts in Russia speak Russian as their mother tongue.

Beringov (Bering, Atkan), and Mednov (Copper, Attuan, Creolized Attuan) are the dialects. Aleut is taught in school until the fourth grade. An Aleut-Russian pidgin has developed on Medny Island.

**Altai, Northern**

Belonging to the Turkic family of Altaic languages, the Northern Altaic is spoken by people living in Gorno-Altai region in the Altai Autonomous Republic of the Russian Federation. There are about 71,600 speakers of the language including those of the Southern Altai (1993). Religion of the group is by and large traditional and secularist.

It is considered a separate language outside the region and Southern Altai is rejected by the Northern Altai children. It is also not intelligible with the Southern Altai.

---

18 The native name of the Aleut language is Unangam Tunuu.
**Altai, Southern**

This is also a Turkic language belonging to the Altaic family of languages with about 71,600 speakers, which constitute about 86% of the ethnic population (1993). Altai people are mostly Christian orthodox or Buddhists.

Main dialects are Altai Proper (Altai-Kizhi, Maina-Kizhi, Southern Altai) and Talangit. Written Altai is based on Southern Altai. Though its written form was first created by the missionaries way back in 1840s on the basis of Teleut dialect.\(^1\) In 1928, a Latinized alphabet was introduced, which again was changed into Cyrillic in 1938.

This language has a literary status and also a ‘working language’ status within the Altai Republic.\(^2\) There are two newspapers in this language. But a downward trend in language maintenance is evident as more and more people of this group are using Russian as a contact, literary, urban professional and cultural language.

**Alutor\(^2\)\(^1\)**

Belonging to Chukchi-Kamachatkan group of Paleo-Asiatic languages, Alutor has only about 100 to 500 elderly speakers out of some 800 in the ethnic group (1991). They live in the Olutor district of Kamchatka region, mostly in the village of Vyvenka.

---

\(^{19}\) Teleut is considered a separate language outside the Alai region.

\(^{20}\) English is the other ‘working language’ in the republic with only Russian as the official language.

\(^{21}\) It was considered a dialect of Koryak until very recently.
There are three dialects: Alutorskij, Karaginskij and Palanskij. Some of the elderly speakers are monolinguals, but all below 35 years of age only know Russian. This is an endangered language, and needs careful treatment.

**Andi**

This Iberian-Caucasic language of the Daghestan group is spoken by about 10,000 people (1993), mostly living in the southern part of Daghestan republic. Majority of the speakers is Muslim.

Munin, Rikvani, Kvanxidatl, Gagatl, and Zilo are the divergent dialects of Andi, which does not have a writing system. Avar is used as the literary language by the group.

**Archi**

This is a most divergent of the Lezgian languages of Daghestan group of languages belonging to the Iberian-Caucasic family. Spoken in the southern part of Daghestan, it had about 850 speakers in 1975. Most of the Archins are Muslim.

Mostly used in everyday family communication, this language does not have its own writing system. Archi, however, is very popular in the native territory. Avar is used as the literary language.

---

22 Mostly in the districts of Botlikh, and Tsumadin.
23 Approximately thirty languages, almost one quarter of the total number of languages spoken in Russia, are concentrated in the relatively small territory of Daghestan.
**Armenian**

The Armenian language represents a separate and autonomous branch of the Indo-European family of languages. There are 532,000 Armenians living in the Russian Federation, about 90% of which cite Armenian as their mother tongue.

The Armenian language has a very ancient written form, which was invented in the year 396 AD by Mesrop. There are two versions of Armenian language: Eastern and Western. Both these versions differ most in phonetics and vocabulary. Differences in their morphology and syntax are less pronounced. But they are inherently intelligible mutually. After the disintegration, this language has suffered an evident decline in the Russian Federation in absence of the state support. Typology is SVO.

**Assyrian Neo-Aramaic**

In terms of its genetic attributes this language, also known as Aisor, belongs to the Semitic group. Living primarily in the Trans-Caucasia, there are about 10,000 speakers of this language in Russia.

The script is Syriac, and the language do have a long literary tradition. Most of the speakers today are elderly, and Russian is used as the primary language by the young Aisors.

---

24 National language of Armenia, with 31,970,000 speakers (1993), 91% speak it as their mother tongue. About 30% use Russian as their second language.

25 Sentence order is Subject + Verb + Object, as in English.

26 There are about 2,000,000 speakers of this language worldwide: 30,000 each in Iraq and Syria, 10 to 20 thousand in Iran, 8,000 in Georgia and about 5,000 in Armenia (1995).
Avar

Spoken by Daghestan’s largest ethnic group, this language belongs to the Daghestan group of Iberian-Caucasic Languages. There are about 550,000 speakers of this language in Russia, of which about 98% percent use it as mother tongue. Avar is also spoken in Azerbaijan, Kazakhistan and Turkey.

The current alphabet, which is based on the Cyrillic was adopted in 1938. Salatav, Kunzakh, Keleb, Bacadin, Untib, Shulanin, Kaxib, Hid, Andalal-Gxdatl, Karax, Batlux, Ancux and Zakataly are the main dialects. The literary language is based on the northern dialect, Kunzakh, with a rich literature. Education in this language is for the first two years except in the cities. There were 17 newspapers published in this language in 1994. Majority of this ethnic group is Sunni Muslim.

Azerbaijani

Also known as Azeri, this language belongs to the Oghuz Seljuk sub-group of Turkic branch of the Altaic language family. There were about 332,500 speakers of this language in Russia in the year 200027, most of them using the northern dialect of the language and living primarily in the southern part of Daghestan.

Cyrillic alphabet was adopted in 1939. But the language still have a lot of Arabic influence, which was the script till 1920. There are eight dialect groups in Azeri and the language has a strong literary tradition. The grammar is

27 Another 7 millions speak this language in the independent state of Azerbaijan.
agglutinative\textsuperscript{28} and the sentence order is SVO. Most of this linguistic group practice Islam as their religion.

**Bagvalal**

Also known as Bagulal, this language belongs to the Daghestan group of Iberian-Caucasic languages, spoken primarily in the southern part of Daghestan. There are about 5,000 speakers of this language.

Tlisi is the main dialect, and it is considered close to Tindin\textsuperscript{29}. There is no written form of the language and Avar is used as the literary language. People are mostly Muslim.

**Bashkir**

It's a Turkic language of the Altaic family of languages, largely spoken in the Republic of Bashkortostan, Orenburg, Chelyabinsk, Samara, Kurgan and Sverdlovsk regions of the Russian Federation. There are about 13,45,000 speakers of Bashkir in Russia\textsuperscript{30}, 72.8% use it as their mother tongue\textsuperscript{31}.

There are three main dialects: Kuvakan or Mountain Bashkir, Yurmaty or Steppe Bashkir, and Burzhan or Western Bashkir. The literary language is based on the Kuvakan dialect. Cyrillic script was adopted in 1939. Bashkir has a very close resemblance with Tatar language. There were 31 newspapers published in this language in 1994. Most of the ethnic group belongs to Sunni Muslim sect.

\textsuperscript{28} Grammatical functions are indicated by adding various suffixes to fixed stems.
\textsuperscript{29} But these are probably not inherently intelligible.
\textsuperscript{30} There are 21, 442 speakers of Bashkir in Kazakhstan, 35, 000 in Uzbekistan, 3, 250 in Kyrgyzstan, 5, 412 in Tajikistan, 2, 607 in Turkmenistan, and 3, 672 in Ukraine.
\textsuperscript{31} 370, 000 ethnic Bashkir speak Tatar as mother tongue.
Belorussian

It's a Slavic language of the East Slavic subgroup of the Indo-European family of languages. There are about 12,06,000 speakers of this language in Russia.\(^\text{32}\)

Northeast Belorussian (Polots, Viteb-Mogilev), Southwest Belorussian (Grodnen-Baranovich, Slutsko-Mozyr) and Central Belorussian are the major dialects. Linguistically this language is considered between Russian and Ukrainian, with transitional dialects to both. The script used is Cyrillic.

Buriat

Belonging to the Altaic language family, this is a Mongolic language with about 3,18,000 mother tongue speakers, which constitute about 90% of the total ethnic Buriat population in the Russian Federation.

Major dialects are Ekhirit, Unga, Ninzne-Udinsk, Barguzin, Tunka, Oka, Alar, Bohaan (Bokhan), and Bulagat. Khor is the main dialect in Russia. Cyrillic script is used and it has a literary tradition heavily influenced by Russian. There is a sharp downfall in the social status of the language, as there were only 6 newspapers published in this language in 1994 compared to 15 in 1990.

\(^{32}\)There are over 7 million speakers of Belorussian in Belorussia, which comprises 98% of the total population of the country. In total there are about 1,02,00,000 speakers of Belorussian worldwide.
**Bezhta**

Also known as Kapucha, Bezhta is a Daghestan language belonging to the Iberian-Caucasic language family, spoken primarily in the southern part of Daghestan.

Bezhta, Tlyadaly, and Khocharkhotin are the major dialects. Without a written language Avar is used as the literary language by the group.

**Botlikh**

Botlikh is another Daghestan language belonging to the Iberian-Caucasic language family spoken primarily in the southern part of Daghestan. It has about 3,500 speakers including those who also speak Godoberi.

It's major dialects are Botlikh and Zibirkhalin. Avar is used as the literary language as there is no written form of Botlikh language. It is also very close to Andi language.

**Chamalal**

Belonging to the Daghestan group of languages, Chamalal is also an Iberian-Caucasic language. About 5,500 people speak this language, most of whom live in the southern part of Daghestan.

Gadyri (Gachitl-Kvankhi), Gakvari (Agvali-Richaganik-Tsumada-Urukh), and Gigatl are the dialects which are quite distinct to each other. It is also not a written language and Avar serves the literary purpose.

---

33 A separate language from Hunzib.
34 Godoberi is a separate language.
**Chechen**

This is the largest of the Iberian-Caucasic languages belonging to the Nakh group. There are about 9,446,600 speakers of this language in Russia\(^{35}\), 97% of which use it as their mother tongue.

Ploskost, Itumkala (Shatoi), Melkhin, Kistin, Cheberloi and Akkin (Aux) are the dialects. Melkhi is the transitional dialect to Ingush.\(^{36}\) Cyrillic alphabet is used. It also has a literary status. There were 11 newspapers published in this language in 1990, of which only one had remained in publication by 1994. Language typology is ergative.\(^{37}\)

**Chukot**

Also known as Chukchi (Luorawetlan), this language belongs to the Chukchi-Kamchadal group of the Paleo-Asiatic family of languages. It has about 12,480 mother tongue speakers\(^{38}\), which constitutes about 78% of the total ethnic population. This is spoken primarily in the Chukchi peninsula, Chukot and Koryak National Okrug, northern Yakutia and northeastern Siberia.

---

\(^{35}\) Chechen language is used by about one million speakers worldwide.

\(^{36}\) Chechen is partially intelligible with Ingush.

\(^{37}\) There are many consonants and vowels, extensive inflectional morphology, many nominal cases, and several gender classes in Chechen language.

\(^{38}\) Maritime Chukchi are about 25% of the speakers, and Reindeer Chukchi is spoken by the remaining 75%.
Major dialects are Uellanskij, Pevekskij, Enmylinskij, Nunligranskij, Xatyrskij, Chaun, Enumin, and Yanrakinot. It has a literary status and is taught in schools. Chukchi also has one newspaper. Shamanism is the widely practiced religion.

**Chulym**

Another Turkic language, which belongs to the Altaic family of languages. This is spoken by a very small group in the basin of Chulym river, which is a tributary of the Ob river, north of the Altay mountains.

Lower and Middle Chulym are the two major variants. Chulym is so close to Shor that some consider them as one language. Majority of this group is bilingual with Russian as another language.

**Chuvash**

As the only extant language in the Bolgar branch of Turkic languages, Chuvash belongs to the Altaic family. It is spoken by about 17,740,000 people in the Russian Federation, most of them living in Chuvashia, east of Moscow. 82% of the ethnic group speak it as their mother tongue.

Anatri and Viryal are the two main dialects. Chuvash does have a literary status, with Cyrillic being the script. There are about 34 newspapers published in this language, and there are also television and radio programs in this language. About 80% of Chuvash speakers can use Russian as a second language.

---

39 Chuvash has about 22,871 speakers in Kazakhstan, 2,092 in Kyrgyzstan, 8,868 in Uzbekistan, and about 1,200 in Estonia.
**Dargwa**

Belonging to the Daghestan group of the Iberian-Caucasic languages, Dragwa is also called as Dargin. It is spoken by about 3, 60, 000 people in the Russian Federation\(^4^0\), 98% speak it as mother tongue. Majority of them inhabit the southern part of Daghestan.

Cudaxar, Akusha, Kajtak, Kubachi, Dejbuk, Xarbuk, Muirin, and Sirxin are the main dialects.\(^4^1\) Dargwa literary language is based on the Akusha dialect. Cyrillic alphabet is used. There are 7 newspapers published in this language. Most of the ethnic group is Sunni and Shi’a Muslims.

**Dido**

Also known as Tsez, this language belongs to the Daghestan group of Iberian-Caucasic languages. It is spoken by about 7, 000 people.

Sagadin is the only distinct dialect, as the dialects vary from village to village. Avar is used as the literary language. Majority practices Islam.

**Dolgan\(^4^2\)**

Belonging to the Turkic group of Altaic language family, Dolgan is spoken by some 5, 000 people.

It has two separate orthographies: one based on Yakut and another on Russian. Both of them have Cyrillic as the basic script. Shamanism or traditional religion is practiced by the group. Mainly because of a divide and rule policy of the Russians, the northernmost Yakut-speaking group known as

---

\(^{40}\) There are about 3, 71, 000 speakers of Dargwa in all countries.

\(^{41}\) Kubachin and Kajtak were previously considered separate languages from Dargwa.

\(^{42}\) It’s a separate language from Yakut.
the Dolgans is officially regarded as one of the Peoples of the Far North and
distinct from Yakut proper. The Dolgan speakers use their language, a dialect
fairly close to other Yakut dialects, almost as vigorously as the rest of the
Yakut speakers.

**Domari**

It’s a Gypsy language of the Neo-Indian group of Indo-European
family. There are about 5,00,000 speakers of this language, mostly spoken in
the Caucasus.

Karachi, Luli, and Maznoug are the area-specific dialects of this
language.\(^{43}\) It does not have any literary status and has no written form. Most
of this linguistic group are Muslims.

**Enets**

This is a Samoyedic language of the Uralic family of languages,
which is also called as Yenisey-Samoyed. There are only about 90 speakers of
this language surviving, and none of them are children or young. It’s spoken
only in Taimyr National Okrug along the Yenisei river’s lower course.

Bay (Pe-Bae, Forest Enets) and Madu (Somatu, Tundra Enets) are the
two dialects, which are barely intelligible mutually. Previously it was
considered as part of Nenets. Most of its speakers are bilingual or trilingual,
and the community is class-maintaining.\(^{44}\)

\(^{43}\) Karachi dialect is used in the Caucasus, and Luli and Maznoug in Uzbekistan.
\(^{44}\) Intermarriage with other ethnic groups is highly uncommon among the Enets.
**Estonian**

It’s a Baltic language of the Finno-Ugric group belonging to the Uralic family of languages. There are about 56,000 Estonian speakers in Russia.\(^45\)

North Estonian or Tallinn and South Estonian or Tartu are the two mutually intelligible dialects. Literary tradition is based on Tallinn. Roman alphabet has been used for the language for years, which was given a standard form after 1850. Estonian is very closely related to Finnish and share about 83.5% of the vocabularies. Its grammar has no genders and the word order is SVO.

**Erzya**

Also known as Mordovian Erzya, this language belongs to the Volga subgroup of Finno-Ugric languages of the Uralic family. It is spoken by about 4,400,000 people in Russia\(^46\), mostly in northern Mordvin.

It is quite different a language than the Mordovian Moksha, and has a literary status. People are mostly Russian Orthodox as far as their religious identity is concerned.

**Even**

It belongs to the Tungus-Manchu family of the Altaic languages. There are about 7,170 mother tongue speakers\(^47\), which is about 56% of the

---

\(^{45}\) Estonian is the official language of the Republic of Estonia, with about 1.5 million speakers.

\(^{46}\) There are about half a million speakers of Erzya in all the countries: 34,371 in Kazakhstan, 14,176 in Uzbekistan, 5,390 in Kyrgyzstan, 3,488 in Turkmenistan, and 1,150 in Azerbaijan.

\(^{47}\) Which is in fact a good percentage of the total ethnic population as compared to other languages of the same social standing and numerical strength.
total ethnic population of 12,800, mainly living in Yakutia and the Kamchatka peninsula.

Arman, Indigirka, Kamchatka, Kolyma-Omolon, Okhotsk, Ola, Tompon, Upper Kolyma, Sakkyryr, and Lamunkhin are the main dialects. Ola is the basis of literary language, which is although not accepted by the speakers of other dialects.

**Evenki**

Another Altaic language, which belongs to the Tungus-Manchu family. There are 28,000 ethnic Evenkis in Russia, of which about 12,000 (43%) are mother tongue speakers.

There are about 25 dialects of this language. One of them, Podkamennaya Tunguska is the basis for the literary language. Most of the speakers are bilingual and nearly all are literate.

**Finnish**

It's a Finno-Ugric language of the Uralic family of languages. There are 31,570 speakers of Finnish in Russia\(^{48}\), 41% of which speak it as mother tongue.

There are various dialects, eastern ones merge gradually into Karelian language. Most of its speakers are bilingual.

\(^{48}\) There are about six million Finnish speakers in the world: 4.7 million in Finland, 3,00,000 in Sweden, 2,14,168 in the USA and about 36,000 in Canada.
**Georgian**

As one of the most ancient languages of the world\(^{49}\), Georgian belongs to the Kartvelian group of Iberian-Caucasic family of languages\(^{50}\). There are 1, 30, 000 Georgian speakers in Russia\(^{51}\).

Kartlian (Meskh and Dzhavakh), Kakhetian (Kizik), Pshav, Khevsur, Tush, Mokhev, Imeretian, Gurian and Adzhar are the main dialects and sub-dialects of the language. Contemporary Georgian writing is consistently phonemic, i.e., there is a symbol for each phoneme. Keeping in tune with the ancient linguistic heritage, Georgian has a very reach literary tradition, which became secular in nature from the 12\(^{th}\) century onwards.

**German**

This Indo-European language of the Germanic group is spoken by about 8, 96, 000 people in Russia. The Russian Germans use the same literary language that is employed in Germany. However, certain elements that are territorial specific inevitably also enter into their speech.

**Ghodoberi**

This belongs to the Daghestan group of Iberian-Caucasic languages. It is used by about 3, 000 speakers, living in the southern part of Daghestan. Ghodoberi does not have a written form and is mostly used in daily family conversation. Avar is used as the literary language by the group.

---

\(^{49}\) The earliest written documents in Georgian language date back to the 5\(^{th}\) century AD.

\(^{50}\) Some scholars, however, find it close to the Indo-European languages.

\(^{51}\) Georgian is the official language of Georgia.
**Gilvak**

Also known as Nivkh, Gilvak would fall in the category of Isolated languages. With only about 400 aging mother tongue speakers out of an ethnic population of 5,000, this language indeed faces extinction. Most of these people live in the Sakhalin Island, and many in Nekrasovka and Nogliki villages.

Main dialects are Amur, East Sakhalin, and North Sakhalin⁵². Although the language has been written, forced settlement has weakened the language use significantly. Gilvak is taught in a few schools up to second grade.

**Greek**

Greek is one of the most ancient of Indo-European languages ⁵³. There are about 1,05,000 Greek speakers in the Russian Federation ⁵⁴.

**Hinukh**

Also known as Ginukh, this language belongs to the Daghestan group of the Iberian-Caucasic family of languages. There are only about 200 speakers of this language left in the Russian Federation.

This is not a written language, and Avar is used as the literary language. This language is considered close to Tsez (Dido) ⁵⁵, and remains the language of the family.

---

⁵² Amur and East Sakhalin dialects have difficult inherent intelligibility with each other.
⁵³ History of the language begins, as far as the earliest surviving texts are concerned, as early as the 13th century BC.
⁵⁴ Greek is spoken in Greece by over 10 million people
⁵⁵ But they are probably not mutually intelligible.
**Hunzib**

Belonging to the Daghestan group of the Iberian-Caucasic language family, this is also known as Gunzib. It is spoken by about 2,000 people living in southern Daghestan.

This does not have a written form and Avar is used as the literary language. There are as many as 16 vowels in this language\(^{56}\) and grammar is nominative-ergative.

**Ingrian**

Also known as Izurian\(^{57}\), this is a language of the Baltic Subgroup of Finno-Ugric languages of the Uralic family. This is spoken by only about 300 people out of an ethnic group of 10,000 to 15,000.

Soykin, Khava, Lower Luzh, Oredzh (Upper Luzh) are the main dialects. This falls in the category of the endangered languages of the Russian Federation.

**Ingush**

Belonging to the Nakh group of Iberian-Caucasic languages, Ingush is spoken by about 2,30,000 mother tongue speakers, which constitute about 97% of the total ethnic population.

Ingush does have the status of a literary language, and Cyrillic alphabet is used. There was one newspaper in the language in 1994. Ingush is almost intelligible with the Chechen language.

---

\(^{56}\) Word stress is generally linked to the pre-final vowel.

\(^{57}\) Close to Karelian, but officially considered a separate language.
Itelmen

This language of the Chukchi-Kamchadal group of the Paleo-Asiatic family is also known as Kamchadal. Out of an ethnic population of about 1500, only about 100 speak this language.

Sedanka, Kharyuz, Itelmen, Xajiruzovskij, Napanskij and Sopocnovskij are the main dialects. Itelmen is taught in school through fourth grade. However, this language faces extinction, as most of the present speakers belongs to the elder generation.

Judeo-Tat

Also called as Tati, this language belongs to the Iranian group of Indo-European language family. There are about 7,000 speakers of Tati in Russia. Derbend is the main dialect, which is also the basis of literary language. Cyrillic alphabet is used in general. Hebrew script too is used recently in some private literature. Most of the people are Jewish in faith.

Kabardian

This is another Iberian-Caucasic language. There are about 4, 43, 000 speakers in Russia, 97% of that speak it as their mother tongue.

Greater Kabardian, Baksan, Lesser Kabardian, Malka, Mozdok, Kuban, Cherkes, and Beslenei (Beslenej) are the main dialects. Cyrillic

---

58 There are about 24, 000 Tati speakers in Azerbaijan, and about 40, 000 in Israel.
59 There are about 6, 47, 000 Kabardian speakers in the world.
alphabet is used, and this language has a literary status. Most of the linguistic
group are Sunni Muslim.

**Kalmyk-Oirat**

It's a Turkic language of the Altaic language family. There are about 1,74,000 speakers of this language in Russia, 91% of which use it as their mother tongue.

Buzawa, Oirat, Torgut (Torguud, Torghud, Torghoud), Dorbot (Dorbod, Derbet), Sart Qalmaq are the main dialects. Kalmyk has literary status in Russia. There is one newspaper published in this language. In general, Cyrillic script is used. But, Tibetan is used as the religious language as most of the Kalmyks are Lamaist Buddhist.

**Kamas**

This is an Uralic language of the Samoyedic group. There was only one speaker of Kamas in 1987, who was 92 years old. Hence, in all probability, this language has become extinct.

Kamassian and Koibal were the main dialects and the language was originally spoken in Siberia.

**Karachay-Balkar**

This is another Turkic language belonging to the Altaic language family. There are about 2,41,000 mother tongue speakers of the language in Russia, which is about 97% of the total ethnic population.

---

60 There are about 5,18,000 speakers of this language in all countries: 1,39,000 in China, and about 2,05,000 in Mongolia.
Balkar and Karachay are the two identical dialects. As a literary language a common Karachay-Balkar language was created with Cyrillic alphabet. There are two newspapers published in this language. Most of the people are Sunni Muslims.

**Karagas**

This belongs to the Turkic languages of the Altaic language family. Officially known as Tofa or Tofalar, this language is spoken by about 500 people, mostly living in the Siberian region.

Russian is used as a second language by the group, and it does not have a literary tradition.

**Karata**

Belonging to the Daghestan group of the Iberian-Caucasic languages, Karata is spoken by about 5,000 people in the Russian Federation.

Karatin and Tokitin are two quite distinct dialects. In absence of a written language, Avar is used as the literary language by the group.

**Karelian**

This is a language of the Baltic subgroup of the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic family of languages. Spoken primarily in Karelia, it has about 1,72,000 mother tongue speakers in the Russian Federation. Northern Karelian, Southern Karelian, Novgorod, and Tver (Kalinin) are the major dialects. It does have a literary status as well as a dictionary. One

---

61 There are about 1,28,000 Karelian speakers in all countries, with about 10,000 in Finland.
newspaper is published in this language. Some of the group use Finnish as second language.

**Kazakh**

This is one of the most widely spoken Turkic language of the Altaic family of languages. It is spoken by about 6,36,000 speakers in the Russian Federation.

Northeastern, Southern and Western are the main dialects, with very minor differences. Cyrillic alphabet is used and it also has a rich literary tradition. Grammar is agglutinative and word order is SOV.

**Kerek**

This belongs to the Chukchi-Kamchadal group of the Paleo-Asiatic languages. There were about 200 to 400 speakers of this language in 1990. Now it is nearly extinct.

Mainypilgino (Majna-Pil’Ginskij) and Khatyrka (Xatyrskij) are the two dialects. Kerek is only now classified as a separate language, as previously it was considered a dialect of Chukot.

**Ket**

Belonging to the Isolated languages category, Ket has about 900 mother tongue speakers, which constitute about 80-85% of the total ethnic population.

---

62 Kazakh is the principle native language as well as the official language of the Republic of Kazakhstan. It is spoken by about 6.5 million people in the country.

63 There are also about 1.2 million Kazakh speakers in China and about 1,00,000 in Mongolia.
Ket is taught in five schools, and has no other extant related languages\textsuperscript{64}. Most of the speakers use Russian as second language.

**Khakas**

This belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic family of languages, spoken by about 64,800 people\textsuperscript{65}, which is about 81% of the total ethnic population in Russia.

Sagai (Sagaj), Beltir, Kacha (Kaca), Kyzyl, Shor, and Kamassian are the main dialects. It does have a literary language, which is based on the Sagai dialect and Cyrillic script.

**Khanty**

Khanty belongs to the Ob-Ugric subgroup of the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic languages family. There are about 13,500 mother tongue speakers of this language, out of an ethnic population of about 22,000.

Northern Khanty, Eastern Khanty, Southern Khanty, Vach (Vasyugan) are the main dialects. Geographically distant dialects are not easily intelligible. It has a literary status, though the dialect used in writing is rejected by many speakers. There is one newspaper published in this language.

**Khvarshi**

Belonging to the Daghestan group of Iberian-Caucasic languages, Khvarshi has about 1800 speakers, used mainly in daily family communication.

---

\textsuperscript{64} The Arin, Assan, and Kott peoples became extinct in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.

\textsuperscript{65} There were ten fluent speakers of this language in China in 1988.
Xvarshi, Inxokvari are two quite distinct dialects. In absence of a written language, Avar is used as the literary language by the group.

**Komi-Permyak**

It belongs to the Perm subgroup of the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic languages. There are about 1,160,000 mother tongue speakers, out of an ethnic population of about 1,510,000.

Main dialects are Zyudin, North Permyak (Kochin-Kam), and South Permyak (Invyen), which are mutually difficult to understand. It has an ancient literary and cultural tradition.

**Komi-Zyrian**

This is another language belonging to the Perm subgroup of the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic family of languages. There are about 2,620,000 mother tongue speakers of this language, out of an ethnic population of about 3,45,000.

Yazva is the main dialect of Komi, which also has a literary status. There were five newspapers in this language in 1994.

**Koryak**

This is a Chukchi-Kamchadal language of the Paleo-Asiatic family of languages, spoken by about 6,200 people as their mother tongue, which is about 69% of the total ethnic population.

---

66 80% cognate with Komi-Zyrian and Udmurt.
The main dialects are Cavcuvenskij (Chavchuven), Apokinskij (Apukin), Kamenskij (Kamen), Xatyrskij, Paren, Itkan, Palan and Gin. Some of them are not inherently intelligible. Koryak does have a literary status.

**Kumyk**

It is a Turkic language belonging to the Altaic family of languages. It is spoken by about 2,820,000 people in the Russian Federation.

Khasavyurt, Buinaksk, and Khaikent are the three main and apparently divergent dialects. It has a literary status and Cyrillic is the script. There are also weekly newspaper and occasional radio broadcasts in the language. Kumyk language plays are too performed in one theater.

**Lak**

This is another Daghestani language belonging to the Iberian-Caucasic family. There are about 1,12,000 mother tongue speakers of Lak, out of an ethnic group of about 1,18,000 in Russia.

Kumux, Vicxin, Vixlin, Ashtikulin, and Balxar-Calakan are the main dialects, which are quite close to each other. It has a literary language based on the Kumux dialect. Cyrillic alphabet is used. There are four newspapers published in this language.

---

67 Different from the Kumux dialect of Lak.
68 It is also spoken in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.
**Latvian**

More commonly known as Lettish, it belongs to the Baltic group of the Indo-European family of languages. There are about 29,000 speakers of this language in the Russian Federation.

West Latvian (Tamian) and East Latvian (Latgalian) are the two main regional dialects, with each having a separate literary tradition. West Latvian however is the basis of standard Latvian. Orthography is based on the Roman alphabet, and the word order in the sentence is SVO.

**Lezgi**

Also known as Lezgin, it belongs to the Daghestan group of the Iberian-Caucasic family. There are about 2,570,000 speakers of this language in the Russian Federation.

Kiuri, Akhty, Kuba, Gjunej, Garkin, Anyx and Stal are the main dialects. Kiuri is the basis of the literary language. Cyrillic alphabet is used.

**Lithuanian**

Belonging to the Baltic group of Indo-European family of languages, Lithuanian is considered very close to Latvian. It is spoken by about 67,000 people in the Russian Federation.

---

69 Latvian is the official state language of the Republic of Latvia, where about 1.7 million people speak it as their first language.

70 Subject-Verb-Object.

71 It is also spoken by about 1,71,000 people in Azerbaijan, 10,000 in Turkmenistan, 3,600 in Georgia, and about 2,500 in Kazakhstan.

72 Lithuanian is the official state language of the Republic of Lithuania.
Lithuanian literary language was definitively formed towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. But the first book in Lithuanian language was published way back in 1547\textsuperscript{73}.

**Livvi**

Also known as Livonian, this language belongs to the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic language family. About 80,000 speakers use this language, out of a total ethnic population of 1,400,000.

Considered as distinct from Karelian and Ludic, Livvi is being developed as a literary language. There are radio and television broadcasts, and newspaper in this language.

**Ludic**

Also called as Ludian, it is another Uralic language of the Finno-Ugric group, spoken by a very small group in the Karelian Republic of Russia. It is considered a transitional language between Livvi and Veps. It has no literary language.

**Mansi**

Belonging to the Ob-Ugric subgroup of the Finno-Ugric languages, Mansi is another Uralic language, which is also known as Vogul. There are about 3,000 mother tongue speakers of the language, out of an ethnic population of about 8,200.

\textsuperscript{73} Isayev, M.I., *op. cit.*, p. 72.
Northern Vogul (Sos'va, Sosyvin, Upper Lozyvin), Southern Vogul (Tavdin), Western Vogul (Pelym, Vagily, Middle Lozyvin, Lower Lozyvin) and Eastern Vogul (Kondin) are the main mutually difficult dialects of Mansi. It does have a literary status based on the Sos'va dialect. There was one newspaper published in this language in 1994.

Mari, High

Also known as Mountain Mari, it belongs to the Volga subgroup of the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic family. It is spoken by about 66,000 people.

Kozymodemyan and Yaran are the two main dialects, and it does have a literary status. There was one newspaper in 1994 in this language.

Mari, Low

Known as Lowland Mari or Meadow Mari, this is another Uralic language, belonging to the Volga subgroup of the Finno-Ugric group. There are about 5,25,000 mother tongue speakers of this language, out of an ethnic population of about 6,00,000.

Sernur-Morkin, Yoshkar-Olin and Volga are the main dialects of the Lowland Mari. It has a literary status and is being taught in the schools. There were as many as 17 newspapers published in this language in the year 1994.

---

74 There are lexical as well as phonological and morphological differences between the two Maris, Low and High.
75 About 9,000 people use this language in Kazakhstan.


**Mator**

This belongs to the Samoyedic group of the Uralic family of languages. It was spoken in the Sayan mountains region, which became extinct by the beginning of the 19th century. There were three main dialects, which were in use: Mator, Taigi, and Karagas.

**Moksha**

Also known as Mordovian Moksha, it belongs to the Volga subgroup of the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic family of languages. It is spoken by about 4,280,000 people.

It has a literary language and there was one newspaper published in this language in 1994.

**Mongolian, Halh**

Belonging to the Altaic family of languages, it is also known as Central Mongolian or Khalkha. There are about 1700 speakers of this language in the Russian Federation.

Khalkha (Halh), Dariganga, Urat and Ujumuchin are the main dialects. Halh is the basis of the modern literary Mongolian.

**Nanai**

This belongs to the Tungus-Manchu family of the Altaic languages. There are about 6,600 mother tongue speakers of Nanai, out of an ethnic population of about 12,000 in the Russian Federation.

---

76 Over two million people use this language in Mongolia.
Sunggari, Torgon, Kuro-Urmi, Ussuri, Akani, Birar, Kila, and Samagir are the main and quite distinct dialects. Torgon dialect is the basis of the literary language.

**Negidal**

As another language of the Tungus-Manchu group, Negidal belongs to the Altaic family of languages. There are only 200 elderly speakers of this language, out of about 500 in the ethnic group.

Nizovsk and Verkhovsk are the two dialects. This is an endangered language.

**Nenets**

This is the most widely used of the Samoyedic languages of the Uralic family of languages. There are about 34,000 Nenets, out of which about 27,000 speak it as their mother tongue. Most of the speakers are nomadic, on account of snow and freezing temperatures in the Tundra area, 260 days of the year.

Two main dialects are Forest Yurak and Tundra Yurak. The Nenets language acquired a written form only in 1932, when it was based on the Latin script. Since 1937, the Russian script is being used. There is a newspaper too published in this language. Tundra Nenets used to have a very strong position in the heartland in the Yamal Peninsula but this has drastically changed in recent times when gas excavations have led to an unprecedented destruction of pasture lands.
Nganasan

Also called as Tavgi Samoyed, Nganasan is another Samoyedic language of the Uralic family. There are about a thousand mother tongue speakers, out of an ethnic population of about 1300.

Avam and Khatang are the two dialects. Nganasan is taught in school to ethnic Nganasan who do not use it as mother tongue. This may be an effort to save the language, which does not have a separate written form.

Nogai

This is a Turkic language of the Altaic family of languages. Out of an ethnic population of 75,000, about 67,500 speak Nogai as mother tongue.

White Nogai (Ak), Black Nogai (Kara), and Central Nogai are the mutually close dialects. The literary language is based on all the three dialects. Cyrillic script is used in writing. There were two newspapers published in this language in 1994.

Oroch

This is another language of the Tungus-Manchu group of the Altaic family of languages. There are only about 490 mother tongue speakers, out of an ethnic group of about 1200⁷⁷.

Kjakela (Kjakar, Kekar), Namunka, Orichen, and Tez are the main dialects. The writing system used is the same as for the Udihe. Oroch is not taught in the schools as well.

⁷⁷ Only the older and middle aged people speak the language.
Orok

This is another Tungus-Manchu language of the Altaic family of languages. Orok is spoken by only about 300 people, and is rightly considered as an endangered language.

Poronaisk (Southern Orok), and Val-Nogliki (Northern Orok) are the two significantly distinct dialects. The children and adolescents have no linguistic ability in Orok. For long, Orok was officially considered as part of Nanai.

Ossetian

Ossetian or Osetin belongs to the Iranian group of the Indo-European family of languages. It is spoken by about 4,000,000 people in the Russian Federation\(^78\).

Digor, Tagaur, Kurtat, Allagir, Tual, and Iron are the main dialects. The Ossetians apparently possessed a written language in ancient times, when they were called Alans. But the modern day Ossetian has a Russian-based script, which was developed by a prominent Russian academician, Andrei Shogren.\(^79\)

Polish\(^80\)

Belonging to the West Slavic subgroup, Polish is a Slavic language of the Indo-European family. There are about 94,000 Polish speakers in Russia.

---

\(^78\) It is spoken by about 1,64,000 people in the Republic of Georgia.

\(^79\) Isayev, M.I., *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

\(^80\) There are about 43 million speakers of Polish worldwide, out of which about 36.5 million are in Poland, where it is the official language.
Wielpolska and Malopolska are the two main regional dialects (mainly prevalent in Poland). Polish uses Latin based alphabet, which is in use since the tenth century AD. It has a rich literary tradition. Although the word order of the sentence is grammatically free, quite often it follows the SVO pattern.

**Romani, Vlach**

It is a Gypsy language of the Iranian group of Indo-European family of languages. There are about 10,000 speakers of this language in Russia, Ukraine and Moldova. Central Vlach Romani and Kalderash are the two main dialects. It does not have a literary language.

**Rumanian**

This is an Indo-European language of Italic or East Romance group, spoken by about 1,780,000 people in the Russian Federation. Moldavian, Muntenian (Walachian), Transylvanian, Banat, and Bayash are the main dialects. It has about 77% lexical similarity with Italian and about 75% with French. Sentence word order is SVO.

**Russian**

Russian is an East Slavic language of the Indo-European family of languages. It is spoken as mother tongue by about 83% of the total resident population of 14,481,100 of the Russian Federation.

---

81 There are about 1.5 million speakers in all countries.
There are two main dialects: North Russian and South Russian. This is the national language of the Russian Federation and is in widespread use in other CIS countries as well. The language typology is SVO.

**Rutul**

Rutul belongs to the Daghestan group of the Iberian-Caucasic languages. About 99% of 20,000 ethnic population speak this language as their mother tongue.

Shina, Borch, and Ixreko-Muxrek are the main dialects, which are not well defined. In absence of its own literary language, Lezgin is used as the literary language.

**Saami, Kildin**

Also called as Kildin Lappish, it is a Finno-Ugric language of the Saamic subgroup of the Uralic language family. There are about 1,000 speakers of this language.

It has its own writing system, and is an officially recognized literary language.

**Saami, Skolt**

Another Finno-Ugric language of the Saamic subgroup, it is also an Uralic language. It is spoken by about 500 people in Russia.\(^\text{83}\)

Notozer and Yokan are the two main dialects. The name “Lapp” is considered derogatory for this language as well as for Saami, Kildin.

---

\(^{83}\) Another 500 speakers are in Finland.
Saami, Ter

Another Saamic subgroup language, it belongs to the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic family. It is also spoken by about 500 people in the Russian Federation.

It does not have a literary language and most of its speakers are bilingual in Russian, as is the case with most of the non-Russian languages.

Selkup

Belonging to the Uralic family, Selkup is a Samoyedic language, and is also known as Ostyak Samoyed. There are 1700 mother tongue speakers of this language, out of an ethnic population of about 4500.

Taz (Tazov-Baishyan), Tym (Kety), Narym and Srednyaya Ob-Ket are the main dialects. The first written form for the Selkup language was worked out by N. G. Grigorovsky, which was full of shortcomings. Today the writing system is based on the Russian script. The language is taught in the schools up to the fourth grade.

Serbo-Croatian

Also known as Serbian and Montenegrin, this language belongs to the Slavic group of the Indo-European family. There are about 5000 speakers of this language in the Russian Federation.

---

84 Selkup was formerly used as *lingua franca* by the Ket, Evenki, Nenets, and Khanty.
85 Isayev, M.I., *op. cit.*, p. 156.
86 Serbo-Croatian is spoken by about 10, 200, 000 people in Yugoslavia and Macedonia, about 4, 800, 000 in Croatia, and about 4, 000, 000 in Bosnia Herzegovina.
Chakavian, Kajkavian, Stokavian, and Torlakian are the main dialects. It has a strong literary tradition. Cyrillic script is used in Russia. Sentence word order is SVO.

**Shor**

Shor is a Turkic language belonging to the Indo-European family of languages. There are about 9,700 mother tongue speakers (61%), out of an ethnic population of about 1600.

Mrassa and Kondoma are the two main dialects. The literary language is based on the Mrassa dialect.

**Slavonic, Old Church**

It belongs to the Slavic group of the Indo-European family of languages. This was only used as liturgical language of various Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic churches. Now it has become extinct.

**Tabassaran**

This belongs to the Daghestan group of the Iberian-Caucasic language family. Out of an ethnic population of 98,000, it is spoken as mother tongue by about 95,000 people in the Russian Federation.

North Tabassaran (Khanag) and South Tabassaran are the two dialects. The literary language is based on the South Tabassaran dialect. Cyrillic alphabet is used for writing. There were two newspapers published in the language till 1990, which is now discontinued.

---

87 Croats use the Roman script, whereas the Roman as well as Cyrillic script is used by the Serbs and the Montenegrins.

88 This is distinct from the Shor dialect of Khakas language.
Tadjik

Tadjik or Tajiki as it is also known belongs to the Iranian group of the Indo-European family of languages. It has about 38,000 speakers in Russia.\(^89\)

There are four small groups of dialects, which are not very distinct. The founder of the modern Tadjik literary language is the outstanding Tadjik and Uzbek writer and scholar Sadreddin Aini (1878-1954).\(^90\) The written form of the Tadjik language had since long been based on the Arabic script, till it was Latinized in 1930. In 1940, it was changed into Cyrillic based script.

Tatar

Tatar is a Turkic language belonging to the Altaic family of languages. Tatar is used by about 4.5 million people as a native language in the Russian Federation, which is about 3.1% of the total population of the country.

Middle Tatar (Kazan), Western Tatar (Misher), and Eastern Tatar (Siberian Tatar) are the three main dialects. The literary language is based on the Kazan dialect, which is considered the most prestigious of the dialects. There are many sub-dialects used across the country. The written form of the Tatar language was initially based the Arabic script, and later on the Latin, and then on the Cyrillic.\(^91\)

---

\(^89\) There are 3,344,720 speakers of Tajik in the Republic of Tajikistan; 98% use it as their mother tongue. This is the official state language of the Republic.

\(^90\) Isayev, M.I., *op. cit.*, p. 64.

But recently, the State Council of Tataria has passed a law “On Restoring The Tatar Alphabet Based on Latin Orthography”.\textsuperscript{92} The group has a high literacy rate. There were as many as 99 newspapers published in Tatar in 1994.

**Tindi**

It belongs to the Daghestan group of the Iberian-Caucasic language family, spoken by about 5000 people.

It does not have a written language, and Avar is used as the literary language. Bagvalal is closely related, but is not inherently intelligible.

**Tsakhur**

Another Daghestan group language, Tsakhur belongs to the Iberian-Caucasic language family. There are about 7,000 speakers of the language in the Russian Federation\textsuperscript{93}.

Kirmico-Lek, Mikik, and Misles are the dialects and the language does have a written form.

**Turkmen**

This belongs to the Turkic family of the Altaic languages. There may be about 4000 speakers of this language in the Russian Federation\textsuperscript{94}.


\textsuperscript{93} About 13,000 people speak Tsakhur in Azerbaijan.

\textsuperscript{94} There are about 3.1 million speakers of Turkmen in all the countries, of which over 2 million are in the Republic of Turkmenistan, where it is the official language.
Yomut, Teke, Salir, Sarik, Goklen, Arsari, and Chowdur are the major dialects. But the standard language is based on Yomut and Teke dialects. Turkmen has an old literary tradition. The written form was originally based on the Arabic script, which was later Latinized (1924), and subsequently replaced by a new script based on the Cyrillic alphabet (1940)\(^5\). Grammar is Agglutinative and the sentence word order is SOV.

**Tuvin**

Also known as Tuvinian or Tuva, it belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic family of languages. There are about 2,000,000 speakers of Tuvin in Russia, 99% of which speak it as their mother tongue.

Central Tuvin, Western Tuvin, North-Eastern Tuvin (Todzhin), South-Eastern Tuvin, and Tuba-Kizhi are the main dialects, which are mutually quite distinct. It has a literary status. Written language is based on the Cyrillic alphabet. There were no less than eight newspapers published in Tuvin in 1994. The one and only Siberian language that certainly need not be regarded as endangered is Tuvan.

**Udi**

Belonging to the Daghestan group, it is an Iberian-Caucasic language. There may only be about less than a thousand speakers of Udi in the Russian Federation\(^6\).

\(^5\) Isayev, M.I., *op. cit.*, p. 90.
\(^6\) 4,200 Udi speakers are in Azerbaijan, and about 8,800 in all the countries.
Oghuz (Vartashen), Nidzh, and Oktomberi are the main dialects, which are considered inherently intelligible. Udi is officially not a written language. Russian as well as Azerbaijani are used as the literary language by the group. It is potentially an endangered language.

**Udihe**

This is a Tungus-Manchu language belonging to the Altaic family of languages, and is also known as Udege. There are only 100 over 50 years old speakers, out of 1600 in the ethnic group.

Khungari, Khor, Anjuski, Samargin, Bikin, Iman, and Sikhota Alin are the mutually close dialects. Khor dialect is the basis for the literary language and it has the same writing system as Orok. This is nearly an extinct language.

**Udmurt**

Udmurt belongs to the Perm subgroup of the Finno-Ugric languages of the Uralic family. It has about 5,000,000 mother tongue speakers, out of an ethnic population of about 7,000,000.

North Udmurt (Vesermyan) and South Udmurt are the main dialects. It does have a literary status and the writing system is based on the Cyrillic alphabet. There were ten newspapers published in the language in 1994.

**Ukrainian**

This is an East Slavic language of the Indo-European family of languages. There are about 3 million native speakers of Ukrainian in the Russian Federation.
The written form of the Ukrainian language has been based on the Cyrillic alphabet both in the past and currently. It also has a long and rich literary tradition.

**Ulch**

Also called as Ulcha, it belongs to the Tungus-Manchu group of the Altaic family of languages. It is spoken by about 2700 people as a native language, out of 3200 population of the ethnic group.

Its written form is based on the Cyrillic script, and is taught in the first grade. But the lingua franca of the group is by and large Russian, as those under 20 years of age do not speak the language.

**Uzbek**

This is a Turkic language of the Altaic family. There are about 60,000 speakers of the language in the Russian Federation.

It was written in the Arabic script till 1927, when Roman alphabet was incorporated. After 1940, the Cyrillic alphabet is in use. It has a long literary tradition.

**Veps**

Also known as Vepsian, this language belongs to the Baltic subgroup of the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic family of languages. About 10,200 people speak it as a native language, out of an ethnic population of about 12,000.

---

97 Uzbek is spoken by about 16 million people in Uzbekistan, where it is the official language.
Southern Veps, Central Veps, and Northern Veps (Prionezh) are the main dialects. Cyrillic alphabet is used and is taught in some primary schools. There are radio and television broadcasts, and newspaper available in this language.

**Vod**

This is another Baltic language of the Finno-Ugric group of the Altaic family of languages and is also known as Vodian. There are only 25 speakers left, and the language is nearly extinct.

East Vod and West Vod are the two dialects. Vod is intelligible with the Estonian language.

**Yakut**

Belonging to the Turkic family, this is an Altaic language. There are about 374,000 mother tongue speakers, out of an ethnic population of about 441,000.

Yakut has a literary status, and in writing Cyrillic script is used. There were as many as 27 newspapers published in this language in 1994. Among the languages belonging to the Siberian region, the second best situation is that of Yakut after Tuva, though urbanization and consequent Russianization have affected a notable part of the younger generation. Yakut can therefore be characterized as a potentially endangered language.
**Yiddish**

Belonging to the Germanic group of the Indo-European family of languages, it is spoken as mother tongue by about 47,700 Jews, out of a total Jewish population of about 536,000 in the Russian Federation.

Yiddish uses the traditional Hebrew script, which has been adapted to its phonetic system.

**Yugh**

This belongs to the Yenisei Ostyak group of languages. There are only two or three semi-speakers of the language, out of an ethnic group of about ten to fifteen people.

There is no published description of the language available and the language is almost extinct.

**Yukaghir, Northern**[^98]

This is considered as distantly related to the Altaic or the Uralic family of languages. Though, it is classified as an Isolated language. There are 30 to 150 speakers of the language, out of an ethnic group of 230 to 1100[^99].

Even is used as the literary language. Yukaghir is taught in the primary schools. Almost all in the group can speak Yakut. The sentence word order is SOV. This is also one of the many endangered languages of the Russian Federation.

[^98]: It is not inherently intelligible with Southern Yukaghir (Kolyma).
[^99]: "Odul" is their name for themselves.
**Yukaghir, Southern**

As its northern counterpart, it falls into the Isolated language category. There are only 10 to 50 speakers, all over the age of 40, of this language in an ethnic group of about 130.

Russian serves as the literary language for the group. Sentence word order is SOV. This is also an endangered language.

**Yupik, Central Siberian**

This belongs to the Eskimo-Aleut group of the Paleo-Asiatic family of languages. It is spoken by about 300, out of an ethnic population of about 1200 to 1500 people.

Aiwanat, Noohalit (Peekit), Wooteelit, and Chaplino are the main dialects. It has a literary status and is taught in the schools through fourth grade. Like many other languages in the Russian Federation, resettlement of the ethnic group has weakened the language use amongst them.

**Yupik, Naukan**

Belonging to the Eskimo-Aleut group, Naukan is a Paleo-Asiatic language. It is spoken by about 75 to 100 people out of an ethnic population of about 300.

There exits about 60% to 70% intelligibility between Naukan and the Chaplino dialect of the Central Siberian Yupik. Relocation of the ethnic group has rendered the language to the brink of extinction.
**Yupik, Sirenik**

This Eskimo-Aleut language is a member of the Paleo-Asiatic family, which was primarily spoken in the Sirenik village. There are only two elderly fluent speakers of this language. This is also nearly extinct.

Here, We have catalogued analytically some 119 languages, which are either spoken in Russia or belong to. It is rather interesting to note here that about 25 of these languages have less than 500 native or mother tongue speakers. Many of them, however, are either on the brink of extinction or have already disappeared. There are instances of languages, such as Mator, which were spoken last about 200 years ago. Our effort here has primarily been to look into the present sociolinguistic details of each one of them, without any bias in favour of the established prestige which go with so many of them. For example, there has been no intention to focus more on languages with greater social function or status than those without. Hence, Russian language gets as much attention as Mator or Kamas.

Publication in any language is as much an indication of the existing social standing of that language as perhaps important for language maintenance in future. There are only about forty languages in which Newspapers are published in the Russian Federation, as shown in Appendix II. Among the minority languages, only Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, Yakut, Avar, Mari (Meadow) and Udmurt had ten or more Newspapers published in the year 1994. Increase or decrease in the number of Newspapers published in 1994 in
different languages, as compared to their numbers in 1970, 1980 and 1990, is indeed a good indicator of the changes that have occurred in the social and functional status of the languages concerned.

Besides, publication of Newspapers, or for that matter, even of books and journals, in some way or the other, also reflects the existing sociopolitical condition of the related linguistic group, i.e., the readers of the publication. It is best exemplified in the instance of the Chechen lanaguage. There were nine Newspapers published in this language in 1970, as well as in 1980, which grew up to eleven in the year 1990. Rather awfully, this number was reduced to just one in the year 1994. This is a glaring example of language loss/ shift due to sociopolitical and socioeconomic instability.

What is very satisfying, however, is the fact that most of the other Minority languages in the Russian Federation have been able to hold onto their social and functional standing, as far as publication in these languages is concerned. There is no significant change in the number of Newspapers published in most of the titular languages over the last three decades, i.e., since 1970. This may very well serve the purpose of the forty languages, we have mentioned here. But the question of the remaining 80 odd languages, which have no publication whatsoever, remains to be critical. Because publication, in modern society, may be considered as a lifeline of a language.

It may be noted here that there is an inherent political division between the titular peoples of the republics and the autonomous provinces.

---

100 See *Appendix II.*
(Southern Altai, Buryat, Khakas, Tuvan, and Yakut), and the so-called Peoples of the Far North (all others). The obvious fact that the languages of the peoples of the first group are much less endangered than the others is not in itself a consequence of this division but both facts follow from the differences in numeric strength and relative political power between the two groups. This has adversely affected the overall social standing of these minority languages. Increasing linguistic interference on account of growing social mobility, and expanding commerce has also affected language maintenance in these languages quite adversely.

The one and only Siberian language that certainly need not be regarded as endangered is Tuvan, with 200,000 speakers including all generations. The second best situation is that of Yakut, with as many as 350,000 speakers, though urbanization and consequent Russianization have affected a notable part of younger generations. Yakut can therefore be characterized as a “potentially endangered” language.

All other languages belonging to the Far East, besides the above two, can easily be categorized as “endangered”. Factors responsible for this endangerment of languages are not necessarily linguistic in nature; there are other variables, such as demography, geography and economy, affecting the language maintenance. The very existence of languages with less than even a hundred speakers, on one hand, and a score of languages with speakers in

hundreds of thousands, on the other, reflects truly the great linguistic diversity of the Russian Federation.

This great linguistic diversity spread over 17,000 sq. kms. presents a unique case for linguists and social scientists for the magnitude of multiplicity and complexity this whole combination generates. We shall examine various problems emanating from this combination of linguistic coexistence, cooperation and conflict, in the following chapter. We also discuss prospective strategies for the management of this linguistic diversity in the Russian Federation.
## Appendix II

**Newspapers Published in Various Languages of the Russian Federation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number of Newspapers</th>
<th>Yearly Print (number of copies in thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>4160</td>
<td>4109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abaza</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adyge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altai</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bashkir</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buryat</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avar</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dargi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumyk</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lak</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lezgi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabassaran</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingush</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabardian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalmyk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachai</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karelia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mari (Meadow)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mari (Hill)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mordovian (Moksha)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mordovian (Erzya)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nogai</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ossetian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nenets</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanty</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chukchi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuva</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udmurt</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

171
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khakas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circassian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chechen</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5342</td>
<td>6116</td>
<td>5897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuvash</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>41669</td>
<td>43297</td>
<td>43620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakut</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23187</td>
<td>27044</td>
<td>32707</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Information of the Russian Statistics Committee, as on Esa.Anttikoski@joensuu.fi, created on 28 December 1999, as available on the website – http://www.peoples.org.ru/eng_gazety.html

---

**Appendix III**

**Classification of Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indo-European Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slavic Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Slavic Subgroup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belorussian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shugni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rushani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pamir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subgroup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shugni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rushani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarikuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oroshori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khufi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

172
### Altaic Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkic Group</th>
<th>Mongolic Group</th>
<th>Tungus-Manchu Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uzbek</td>
<td>Buryat</td>
<td>Evenki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakh</td>
<td>Kalmyk</td>
<td>Even</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijani</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nanai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkmen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Negidal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirghiz</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ulcha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Orok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuvash</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oroch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bashkir</td>
<td></td>
<td>Udege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakut (Sakha)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karakalpak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumyk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachai-Balkar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nogai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuvinian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uigur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khakas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gagauz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karaim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trukhmen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chulym</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karagas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamasin (Tofa)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Uralic Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Baltic Subgroup</th>
<th>Volga Subgroup</th>
<th>Perm Subgroup</th>
<th>Ob-Ugric Subgroup</th>
<th>Saamic Subgroup</th>
<th>Samoyedic Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonian</td>
<td>Mordovian</td>
<td>Udmurt</td>
<td>Khanty</td>
<td>Saam</td>
<td>Nenets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karelian</td>
<td>Moksha</td>
<td>Komi Zyryan</td>
<td>Mansi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Enets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vepsian</td>
<td>Mordovian Erzya</td>
<td>Komi Permyak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nenets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izurian</td>
<td>Mari, Meadow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nenets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vodian</td>
<td>Mari, Hill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nenets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livonian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nenets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

173
| **Iberian-Caucasian Languages** | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Kartvelian | Abkhaz-Adyghian Group | Nakh Group | Daghestanian Group |
| **Group** | **Abkhaz Group** | **Chechen** | **Avar** |
| **Georgian** | **Abkhaz** | **Ingush** | **Lezgin** |
| | **Abaza** | **Bats** | **Dargin** |
| | Kabardian-Circassian | | **Lak** |
| | Adygei | | Tabassaran |
| | | | Andi |
| | | | Karata |
| | | | Akhvakh |
| | | | Tindi |
| | | | Bagvalal |
| | | | Chamalal |
| | | | Botlikh |
| | | | Tsez (Dido) |
| | | | Bezhta (Kapucha) |
| | | | Godoberi |
| | | | Khvarshi |
| | | | Ginzib |
| | | | Ginukh |
| | | | Tsakhar |
| | | | Rutul |
| | | | Agul |
| | | | Kryz |
| | | | Udi |
| | | | Budukh |
| | | | Khinalug |
| | | | Archi |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Paleo-Asiatic Languages</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chukchi-Kamchadal Group</td>
<td>Eskimo (Eskimo-Aleut) Group</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chukchi (Chukot)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Eskimo</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Koryak</strong></td>
<td><strong>Aleut</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Itelmen (Kamchadal)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kerek</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alutor</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Isolated Languages** | **Other Languages** |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Nivkh (Gilyak)** | **New-Syrian (Aisor)** |
| **Ket** | **Dungan** |
| **Yukagir** | | |
| ** Ainu** | | |