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北冰洋研究

第五辑



Journal of Arctic Studies

上海三联书店



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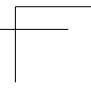
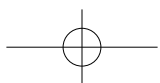
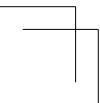
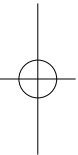
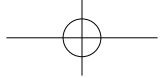
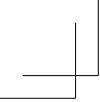
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前沿观察



格陵兰两个狩猎社区中的猎犬联盟

[意大利] 丹妮拉·托马希尼

(周圣涵 译)

摘要：本文旨在探讨狗与人类之间的特殊关系：除了狗作为猎人同伴的传统角色外，本文还探讨了狗在当今（即在旅游业中）扮演的新角色。

在介绍了北极地区人与狗的古老联盟之后，笔者探讨了两个狩猎社区中——即东格陵兰的伊托科尔托尔米特（Ittoqqortoormiit）和格陵兰高地的卡纳克（Qaanaaq）——狗与猎人之间的传统关系。通过在两个狩猎社区的采访和个人观察，笔者对因纽特猎人与他们的猎犬之间的文化和社会关系进行了分析。研究表明，他们都在寻找替代方案以实现收入增长。猎人们对在旅游业中将狗拉雪橇作为一种再创新的娱乐活动持乐观态度，推广狗拉雪橇也被视为保护文化和传统的好机会。

本研究中所用数据是根据笔者在格陵兰岛两个特定区域的实地调查和多年访问得出的。

关键词：因纽特猎人与犬 传统生活 用于游客的狗拉雪橇 两个狩猎社区 格陵兰

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The Dog-Hunter Alliance in two Hunting Communities of Greenland

Daniela Tommasini

Abstract: This paper aims at exploring the special relationship between dogs and humans; besides the dog's traditional role of hunter's companion, the paper looks at the new role nowadays dogs are playing, i.e. in the tourism industry.

After an introduction on the ancient alliance between men and dogs in the Arctic, we approach the traditional relationship, among dogs and hunters in two hunting communities: Ittoqqortoormiit in East Greenland and Qaanaaq in Greenland High North. The cultural and societal relationship between Inuit hunters and their dogs are analysed through interviews and personal observations in the two hunting communities, both seeking for alternatives to implement their incomes. Research shows hunters have a positive attitude regarding tourist dogsledding as a recreational activity, seen as a good opportunity also to preserve culture and tradition.

Data are based on fieldwork, made over several years and repeated visits, in the two specific areas of Greenland.

Keywords: Inuit hunters; dogs; traditional life; tourist dogsledding; two hunting communities; Greenland

狗作为传统的因纽特人（Inuit）社会中唯一的驯养动物，是他们绝佳的狩猎伙伴（Rasmussen 1931），这也形成了时至今日在整个北极地区依然存在的最重要的传统之一（Møhl 1986; Morey and Aaris-Sørensen 2002），并被视为传统生活的组成部分。最新研究表明，大约 9500 年前，北极犬被用于拉雪橇（Sinding 2020）。^①

在因纽特人的神灵世界以及神话中，狗是海洋女神的丈夫。白人和印第安人的祖先是神话中的“嫁给狗的女人”，它是在海底的海洋女神家的守护者，是欧洲人和土著人的祖先（Rasmussen 1931）。据人类学家弗朗兹·博厄斯（Franz Boas）称，“人类现实与神话中的不同种族，被认为是与狗结合的女人的后代。她的许多孩子都保有狗的形象，后来，他们被母亲送往不同的方向，一些成为爱斯基摩人的祖先，另一些成为白人的祖先，还有一些成为印第安人和许多神话中的部落的祖先”（Boas 1900: 359）。法国民族学家保罗·埃米尔·维克多（Paul Emil Victor）在 1936—1937 年，在东格陵兰岛的阿玛萨里克（Ammassalik）观察到一些用于提高狗的效率的神奇仪式。例如，为了养一只好的猎熊犬，小狗在刚出生后就被剪掉耳朵，并将其挂在脖子上作为吊坠，直到狗可以正常行走为止。为了拥有奔跑速度快的狗，并提高其狩猎能力，乌鸦喙下部的羽毛将被缝在（用于训练的）鞭子和雪橇上。

狗经常被列入涉及物质文化的民族志学和人类学报告（例如《第五次图勒（Thule）远征报告》），或被归于因纽特人生活概况中的“交通”一类（Birket-Smith 1945）。除了作为一种交通运输方式，狗的皮毛是一种有价值的商品，可以用于装饰 aaqqat（手套）、aorak（派克大衣）和其他衣物以及用作 kamik（海豹皮靴）的外部装饰边框。狗是因纽特人生命系统的重要组成部分，是旅行时安全的代名词，乔勒·罗伯特-兰布林（Joelle Robert-Lamblin 1986）称，在东格陵兰，猎人即使迅速接受了新技术的引进，狗拉雪橇作为运输方式也并未被雪地摩托所取代。

如今，在非城市的格陵兰大部分地区，狗队还没有被雪地摩托完全取代。在乡村和一些定居点，狗和雪橇仍被大量使用，并且这种交通方式没有任何成本。雪地摩托须购买，而狗则不用；汽油需要购入，而狗则与人类共享猎

① Qimmeq 是丹麦-格陵兰跨学科的研究项目，内容涉及雪橇犬的文化以及雪橇犬的起源和遗传史。参见：<https://uk.uni.gl/>。

The dog was the only domesticated animal in the traditional Inuit society and thus a good hunting partner for them (Rasmussen 1931), forming one of the most important traditions which persist to this day across the Arctic (Møhl 1986; Morey and Aaris-Sørensen 2002) and perceived as an integral part of traditional life. As recent research demonstrates dogs have been used for sledding in the Arctic around 9500 years ago (Sinding M-H. 2020)^①.

In the spiritual world of the Inuit, in the myths, the dog was a husband of the sea goddess and ancestor of whites and Indians in their myth “a woman who married a dog” and it was the guardian of the house of the sea goddess at the bottom of the sea and an ancestor of Europeans and Indigenous (Rasmussen 1931). According to anthropologist Franz Boas “The different races of man, real and fabulous, are considered the descendants of a woman who married a dog, by whom she had many children who had the form of dogs. Later on they were sent in different directions by their mother; and some became the ancestors of the Eskimo, others those of the Whites, while still others became the ancestors of the Indians and of a number of fabulous tribes” (Boas 1900: 359). The French ethnologist Paul Emil Victor, during his journey of 1936—37 in Ammassalik, East Greenland collected some observations about dogs and magical rituals to improve dog’s efficiency. For instance to have a good hunting bear’s dog, just after birth his ears are to be cut and put around the neck as a pendant until the dog walks normally; to have fast running dogs, and improve their hunting ability, a raven hair, taken on the down part of a raven beak, as to be sewed on the whip and on the sledge.

Dogs have often been included in ethnographic and anthropological reports that deal with material culture (The Fifth Thule Expedition Reports), or general descriptions of Inuit life categorized under the topic of “Communication” (Birket-Smith 1945). Hence, dogs are more than a form of transportation; dog fur is a useful commodity, as embellishment border for the *aaqqat* (mitts), the *anorak* (parka) and other clothing, and the outside part of *kamik*, the seal skin boots. Dogs are an essential part of Inuit life system, synonym of safety when travelling, Joelle Robert-Lamblin (1986) reports that in East Greenland the hunters even quick accepting the introduction of new techniques did not change the means of transportation by dogs and sledge in favour of snowmobile.

Today the dog team has not been completely replaced by skidoo in large parts of non-urban Greenland. In the villages and settlements dog and sledge are very much in use, and have no costs. A skidoo has to be purchased, dogs are not; gasoline has to be purchased, dogs eat the prey shared with the humans; the risk of breakdowns does almost not exist in a dog team, if an accident happens, there will be always some of the dogs

① *Qimmeq* is a Danish-Greenlandic interdisciplinary research project about the sled dog culture and the origin and genetic history of the sled dog. See: <https://uk.uni.gl/>.

物；狗队几乎没有突然瓦解的风险，如果事故发生，总有一些狗会幸免于难，如果猎人受伤，狗会知道如何回家。受访者（托马希尼，实地考察于2005年，2007年，2009年，2018年）表示，用于出行的雪地摩托永远也不会如狗队那样可靠，即使狗拉雪橇的速度不是最快的，但这是最可行且最值得信赖的旅行手段。

北极地区的极端气温使注意人身安全变得尤为重要，保暖不仅仅是为了舒适，更重要的是为了安全。使用狗队旅行要温暖得多，因为在雪橇行进时，驾乘者很容易离开雪橇并在旁边跑动，从而提高体温。格陵兰岛东海岸定期受到来自内陆地区的被称为“皮特瑞克（Piteraq）”的冷风吹袭。猎人多次报告称当皮特瑞克风吹来时，如果他们正在旅途中，唯一要做的就是停下来，扭转雪橇并与狗一起躲避。这会使猎人的身体保持温暖并帮助生存下来，直到皮特瑞克风平静下来（Tommasini 2011）。

狗和雪橇通常用于家庭旅行中，“比皮划艇具有更大的作用范围并且容量更大。它可以承受几百公斤的负载，并且还具有不依赖于路况的冰陆混合行驶的优势”（Petersen 2003: 50）。

从历史上看，正是在北极恶劣的环境中旅行和追踪动物的能力，才使得少量的猎人——现代因纽特人中多塞特（Dorset）和图勒（Thule）部族的祖先得以成功生存。因纽特人在季节性迁徙和不断寻找猎物的过程中，有一群结伴及狩猎的同伴，即犬（*Canis lupus familiaris borealis*），它们跟随人类进行狩猎，这对双方都有利（MacRury 1991）。作为因纽特人的运输工具，狗在海豹和大型猎物狩猎中的角色至关重要，例如在图勒地区的极地爱斯基摩人中，每年犬只工作多达10个月（Gilberg 1984）。图勒人是第一个将狗拴在雪橇上从而可以更快地行进并走更长的距离的部族。在冬季旅行中，家庭会带着狗和雪橇一起旅行，并可以同时携带一些设备。在西格陵兰的北部沿海地区，平均每队7只狗拉雪橇是很常见的，在有利的条件下，它们每天可以拉高达75公斤的负重（Kleivan 1984）。在春季，第一次狩猎旅行时将船（umiak）装在雪橇上，当冰破裂时，猎人将狗和雪橇都放在船上，然后返回定居点（Petersen 2003: 51）。狗被用于海豹、麝牛和北极熊狩猎（Balicki 1970）。据拉斯穆森（Rasmussen 1931: 148）称，狗的嗅觉有助于定位海豹在雪层以下的呼吸孔。猎人在海豹狩猎之前不会给狗很多食物，因为他们希望狗可以更好地使用它们的嗅觉。雪橇犬必须有良好的食物，与猎人的食物一样，发现食物也需要优良的狩猎技巧（Petersen 2003: 51）。

team surviving the happening, and if the hunter is injured dogs know how to come back home. Interviewees (Tommasini, fieldwork in 2005, 2007, 2009, 2018) stated that a skidoo (snowmobile) even used for mobility will never be as reliable as a dog team even though they it is not the fastest is a viable, trustworthy mean of travelling.

The Arctic with its extreme temperatures requires attention personal safety, keeping warm is not only a matter of comfort it is a vital issue of safety. Traveling by dog team is much warmer, while on sledge travel it is easy to leave the sled and run alongside hence raising the body temperature. The East Coast of Greenland is periodically ravaged by a katabatic wind coming from the inland, the *Piteraqa*. Many times hunters reported about being on journeys when a *Piteraqa* (katabatic wind) came, and the only thing to do is to stop, reverse the sledge and shelter beyond with the dogs, which keeps the hunter body warm and help surviving until the *Piteraqa* has calmed down (Tommasini 2011).

Used in journeys, often involving the family, the dogs and sledge “have a more radius action than the kayak and has rather more capacity. It could bear a load of several hundred kilos, and further had the advantage that it was not dependent on roads used for a mixture of driving on ice and land” (Petersen 2003: 50).

Historically it was the ability of travelling and following the animals in the harsh environment of the Arctic which made the small population of hunters- gathers of the Dorset and Thule ancestors of the modern Inuit, cultures successful for survival. In their seasonal move from place to place, and in the continuous search for prey, the Inuit had a hunting and pack companion, the dog, *Canis lupus familiaris borealis*, which have followed humans on their hunting journeys, in a hunting partnership beneficial to both (MacRury 1991). The role of the dog was of crucial importance in seal and large game hunting and as a means of transportation for the Inuit, among the Polar Eskimo of the Thule District, for example, up to ten months of the year (Gilberg 1984). The Thule people were the first to harness dogs to sleds making possible to move more rapidly and travel longer distances. For winter journeys families travel together by dogs and sledge and could carry some equipment. In the northern coastal areas of west Greenland, dog sleds averaging perhaps seven animals per team were commonplace, and under favourable conditions they could pull up to 75 kg per day (Kleivan 1984). In the spring, for the first hunting trips with the *umiak* (boat) loaded on the sledge and when the ice broke up hunters put dogs and sledge on the umiak and returned to the settlement (Petersen 2003: 51). Dogs were used in seal, musk-ox and polar bear hunting (Balikci 1970). Dogs’ sense of smell helps to locate the seal breathing holes below the snow surface and as reported by Rasmussen (1931: 148) hunters did not give a lot of food to their dogs before the seal hunting because they wanted their dogs to use their noses. Sledge dogs must have good food, the same kind of food as the humans, and finding the food requires good hunting (Petersen 2003: 51).

作为北极狼的直系后代，这种强壮的动物常年在靠近人类居住区的外围居住（Robert-Lamblin 1986）。对于因纽特人而言，动物是同一环境中的共同居民（Wenzel 1991；Ingold 2000）；同样，雪橇犬不是商品，而是狩猎的助手（Tester 2010）。



格陵兰犬

摄影：丹妮拉·托马希尼（Daniela Tommasini）

狩猎已成为格陵兰世代代的一种生活方式，虽然受季节和许可的限制，仍然是该社会的重要组成部分；即使在今天，狩猎也为乡村和城镇的家庭和非正规经济提供了重要的补充。^① 伊卢利萨特（Ilulissat）（西格陵兰岛，联合国教科文组织世界遗产）地区的大比目鱼捕捞已经超过了陆地和海洋哺乳动物的捕捞量，但是即使到现在，渔民和猎人还是冒险使用它们的狗拉雪橇，这是格陵兰当地传统知识的重要组成部分。

“格陵兰犬”被认为对格陵兰而言具有国家和文化重要性，当地在保护其纯度方面也做出了努力。狗拉雪橇仅在格陵兰的狩猎地区、北极圈的西北部 and 整个格陵兰的东部地区使用，这些地区也被称为“狗拉雪橇区”。西格陵兰的西西缪特（Sisimiut）是冬季最北部的无冰城镇，也是狗拉雪橇的最南部城镇。在“狗拉雪橇区”中，除警犬和辅助犬外，禁止除狩猎犬外其他犬的饲养，以防止混种。根据格陵兰统计局（2018）的数据，格陵兰大约有 15000 只雪橇犬。

① 狩猎和捕鱼许可证被授予专业猎人和业余猎人（格陵兰统计局，Fangst og Jagt, <http://new.stat.gl>）。

As a direct descendant of the Arctic wolves, this strong animal adapted to live outside all the year around, close to the human settlements (Robert-Lamblin 1986). For Inuit, animals are co-residents of the same environment (Wenzel 1991; Ingold 2000). Similarly, sled dogs are not commodities but assistants for hunting (Tester 2010).



Greenlandic dogs (Photo: Daniela Tommasini)

Hunting has been a way of life in Greenland for generations, and is still an important component of the society, regulated by means of seasons and permissions^①; even today hunting provides an important supplement to household and informal economy, in villages and in towns. In the area of Ilulissat (West Greenland, Unesco World Heritage) halibut fishing has overtaken the catch of land and sea mammals, yet even now, fishermen and hunters venture out on their dog sledges, a significant part of the traditional local knowledge of Greenlandic culture.

The “Greenlandic breed” is considered as nationally and culturally important to Greenland and efforts are made to safeguard its purity. The dog sled is only used in the hunting regions of Greenland, western north of the Arctic Circle and entire eastern Greenland, known as “the dog sled districts”. Sisimiut in West Greenland is the most northern ice-free town in the winter and the most southern town for dog sledging. In the “dog district” is not permitted to have other dogs than the hunting dogs, except for police and assistance dogs, to prevent mix-breeding. According to Statistics Greenland (2018) there are roughly 15,000 sled dogs in Greenland.

① Licenses, for hunting and fishing, are issued for professional hunters and for leisure hunters (Statistics Greenland, Fangst og Jagt, <http://new.stat.gl>).



资料来源：格陵兰统计局（<http://bank.stat.gl>）

从生理上讲，狗是强壮、结实、坚强、勤奋、适应性强和灵活的动物，每个猎人都喜欢拥有结实的狗。因此，夏天之后，几乎要度假的动物每隔两天或三天要喂食一次，因而食物营养的重要性日益增加，以养成在冬天工作季节时结实的狗。彼时它们毛色发亮，大部分皮毛下面一层优良的脂肪可以保护它们免受严寒侵袭，并提供拉雪橇所需的能量。狗具有惊人的耐力，可以忍受饥饿和寒冷。1877年，林克（Rink）报告称：“狗以被主人杀死的动物内脏为食，几乎不需要任何额外的照顾。在夏季和冬季，狗通常都在户外睡觉。在最严寒的时刻，他们甚至可能直接睡在冰冷的地面上”（Rink 1877: 99）。“由于禁食时他们跑得容易得多，直到一天的旅程结束时，他们才被喂饱”（Rink 1877: 99）。

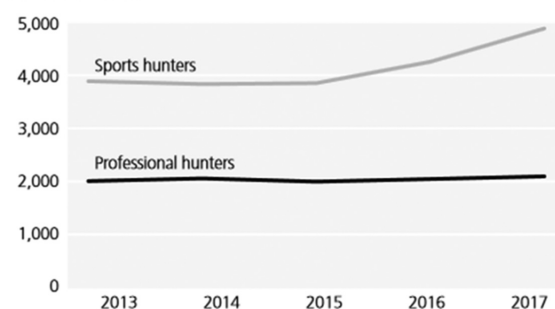
幼犬通常像过去一样被饲养在草皮和石头筑的冬季房屋中（Petersen 2003）。当犬只平均6个月大时训练开始，“训练犬只始于十月，那时湖泊冻结了。一开始，有12—16只狗被控以150公斤的雪橇来训练它们，一月份它们应该可以拉动400公斤”（受访人1，西西缪特〔Sisimiut〕）。狗在8个月大时开始拉动雪橇，雄性变得更大更强壮，雌性则具有更强的耐力。前面的狗是那些“聆听”主人的狗（受访人1，乌玛纳克〔Uummannaq〕地区，乌库西萨特〔Ukkusissat〕）。主人知道哪一只将成为负责团队的狗：它服从主人，其他同伴也跟随它。“我目睹了两只狗都想要做领头犬的争斗，猎人知道如何解决争端以及如何教育将成为领导者的狗。获得狗的尊重是一项长期的训练；猎人必须表现出自己的力量，艰难的姿势命令以及出示大刀也是表明谁是最高指挥的一部分”（伊托科尔托尔米特，田野调查，2009年）。一旦获得尊重，狗就会非常忠诚并保护主人。

Number of sleddogs by district and time

	2018
Sisimiut	1,067
Kangaatsiaq	550
Aasiaat	656
Qasigiannuit	756
Ilulissat	2,933
Qeqertarsuaq	327
Uummannaq	2,633
Upernavik	2,954
Qaanaaq	1,053
Tasiilaq	1,012
Ittoqqortoormiit	189

Hunting licenses

Numbers of license

Source: Statistics Greenland (<http://bank.stat.gl>)

Physiologically dogs are characterised as powerful, heavy-built, strong, hard-working, adaptable, and flexible animals, and every hunter likes to have strong dogs. For this reason after the summer, where animals are almost on holiday and are fed every second or third day, the food nutrition is growing in importance to have well nourished, strong dogs for the winter, their working season, with a shiny fur and most of all under the fur a good layer of fat to protect them from cold and give the energy required for pulling a sledge. Dogs have a surprisingly endurance and can stand hunger and cold. In 1877 Rink reported “Dogs feed upon the offal of the animals killed by the owners, require scarcely any care. Both in summer and winter the dogs generally sleep in the open air; in the severest cold they may even be seen stretched at full length asleep on the icy ground” (Rink 1877: 99). “As they run much easier when fasting, they are not fed until the day’s journey is finished” (Rink 1877: 99).

Puppies are often kept in house, as it traditionally was in the turf and stone winter houses of the past (Petersen 2003). When the dog is average six months the education starts, “training the dogs begins in October, when the lakes are frozen. At the beginning 12–16 dogs are charged with a sledge with 150 kg in order to train them and in January they should be able to pull 400 kg” (Informer 1, Sisimiut). The dogs start to pull when they are 8 months old, males are bigger and stronger, and females have more endurance. The dogs ahead are the ones that “listen” to the master, (Informer 1, Ukkusissat, Uummannaq area). The master knows which one is going to be the leader in the team, he obeys his master and the other mates follow him. I witnessed the hard fights among the two dogs who both wanted the leading position; the hunter knows how to solve the dispute and how to educate the one that is going to be the leader. To gain the respect of the dog is a long training; the hunter has to show his strength, hard guttural orders and the showing of a big knife are also part of asserting who is the high master (Ittoqqortoormiit, fieldwork 2009). Once respect is achieved, dogs are very loyal and protective to the owner.

在组队外出旅行和进食时，狗之间的等级关系尤为明显。领头犬首先被喂食，这是确认它领导者角色的标志；然后喂食那些在狩猎过程中表现良好的，最后是其他犬只。根据在实地调研中的观察，通常猎人有 10 至 16 只狗的队伍，队伍的大小还取决于食物的供应。除了通常用于喂狗的海豹和其他海洋哺乳动物的肉类外，还使用鱼干，比如 ammassat（毛鳞鱼）。在乌夫库西赫沙特村（180 人和 350 条狗），钓鱼是主要活动，而毛鳞鱼在当地工厂烘干以准备作为狗粮出售。



格陵兰东部伊托科尔托尔米特喂狗

摄影：丹妮拉·托马希尼

旅游替代品：狗作为休闲伴侣

狗是狩猎同伴和休闲伙伴，格陵兰有几场猎犬比赛：例如在乌库西萨特村（西格陵兰），比赛于三月举行，从乌库西萨特到阿帕特西阿特（Appatsiaat）和卡西奇萨特（Qasigissat）往返约 20 公里，每年来自每个村庄的 5 名优胜者将在另一个村庄举行下一场比赛。5 月 1 日是儿童竞赛，1 名儿童（0 至 6 岁）和 1 只狗要跑 1.5 公里，这些狗知道如何返回。老年人（60 岁以上）竞赛中则使用 3 只狗的雪橇（受访人 1，乌库西萨特）。

据一个从事旅游业的猎人介绍（受访人 1，西西缪特），他有一支由 15 条狗组成的队伍，他被当地旅游局雇佣从事短途旅行服务，最多提供 2 小时的狗拉雪橇行程。这种雪橇行程使用特殊雪橇，并由 15 条狗拉动。他也提供冰壳探险，“这种跨越冰壳的旅程通常需要一个由一个人（游客）和两架雪橇与其驾驶员组成的团队，从西部的南斯特伦菲尤尔（Kangerlussuaq）到东部的伊索托克（Isortoq），在三周内行驶 730 公里，这是一个巨大的挑战。”（受

Hierarchy among the dogs is evident when forming the team to go out on trip and when feeding. The leader of the pack is the first to be feed as recognition of his role a leader in the social hierarchy and then the ones that have worked well during the hunting journey and then the others. According to observation during fieldwork usually hunters have a 10 to 16 dogs team, the size of the team depends also on food availability. Besides the usual menu for dogs, seal and other marine mammals' meat also dried fish, ammassat (capelin) is used. In the village of Ukkusissat (180 people and 350 dogs) fishing is the main activity and ammassat (capelin) is dried at the local factory to prepare food to be sold for the dogs.



Feeding the dogs, Ittoqqortoormiit, East Greenland
(Photo: Daniela Tommasini)

The tourism alternative: dogs as leisure companions

Dogs are hunting partners and leisure mates, there are several dogs' races in Greenland, for instance in the village of Ukkusissat (West Greenland) the race takes place in March, the stretch is about 20 km, from Ukkusissat to Appatsiaat and Qasigissat and back. Five winners from each village meet every year in another village for the next race. May 1st is the children race, one child and one dog for 1.5 km from zero to six years old, the dogs knows how to go back. Old people race (from 60 years onwards); the sledge has three dogs (Informer 1, Ukkusissat).

According to a hunter with a 15 dogs team (Informer 1, Sisimiut) involved in tourism through the Tourist Office, he is hired for short tours, of approx. 2 hours, with tourists on dog sledge tours. Special sledges are used, with 15 dogs. He offers also an ice cap expedition." Crossing the ice cap requires a team made of one person (the tourist) and two sledges with two drivers, going from Kangerlussuaq in the west to Isortoq on the east,

访人 1，西西缪特）

使用狗拉雪橇的狩猎从二月底开始直到五月初，同时，旅游旺季开始，最畅销的旅游产品即狗拉雪橇行程届时将被提供。

研究区 1

东格陵兰伊托科尔托尔米特

格陵兰岛东海岸的伊托科尔托尔米特区域（北纬 $70^{\circ} 31'$ ，西经 $22^{\circ} 00'$ ）位于斯科斯比湾（Kangerittivaq/Scoresby Sound）的入海口附近，占地面积 235000 平方公里（91000 平方英里），东临丹麦海峡（Denmark Strait）和格陵兰海（Greenland Sea），北部与世界上最大的格陵兰国家公园接壤，西南部则与安玛沙利克（Ammassalik）地区接壤。伊托科尔托尔米特的地理位置非常偏远，是格陵兰最偏远的地区之一。此地区有 345 位居民（参见格陵兰统计局，2019 年）。“伊托科尔托尔米特”意为“住在大房子里的人”，该镇有一家宾馆，一间博物馆，一家超级市场，一些社区房屋和一家设备齐全的小医院。自 2006 年以来，这两个定居点被废弃，但猎人会带着游客乘坐狗拉雪橇去那里，并在夏季住在他们的房屋中。

当地的猎人世代以来一直以捕鲸和北极熊为生，这仍然是该地区重要的文化经济因素。肉、脂和副产品直接影响狩猎家庭的经济，通过交易这些产品可以获得收入，但是这些选择是季节性的并且是可变的。最近 10 年来，风向已经改变。据受访人 1 称，“风通常来自北部和东北部。现在，来自南方和西南的风，代替了来自北方的风将峡湾内的浮冰推开。夏天由于缺少冰而有更多的雨天和更多的海浪。浮冰使天气稳定，冰来后，通常十月的第一周开始在新的冰面上狩猎，从十月中旬开始猎犬将被使用，现在有时冰冻结后再次破裂。峡湾通常从十一月中旬开始冻结，但五年前，猎人进入峡湾，乘船狩猎麝牛，那是十一月中旬，应该用狗和雪橇的时节。低温能确保峡湾冻结，有时有冰但不足以使用雪橇，但冰的厚度足以阻止航行。”

参加狗拉雪橇活动的游客人数（不包括游轮游客）^① 约为 150 人。目前，伊托科尔托尔米特作为一个相当小的城镇，基础设施和接待能力都有限。

受访人 1

猎人，前市长

平均而言，社区中有 400 只狗，通常它们会被交换但很少出售。一个人

① 游轮航线在夏末到来，而秋季没有降雪，因此没有狗拉雪橇活动。

covering the 730 km in three weeks. It is a big challenge". (Informant 1, Sisimiut).

Hunting starts at the end of February with dog sledge and goes until the beginning of May. At this same time the tourist season starts, offering the bestseller product, dog sledge trips.

Research area 1

Ittoqqortoormiit, East Greenland

The region of Ittoqqortoormiit, in the East Coast of Greenland, is located at approximately 70° 31' N, 22° 00' W near the mouth of the Kangerittivaq/Scoresby Sound, and covers an area of 235,000 km² (91,000 sq mi) along the Denmark Strait and the Greenland Sea. In the north, it borders on the Greenland National Park, the largest in the world, and to the south west it borders with the Ammassalik region. Ittoqqortoormiit has a very remote geographical situation, one of the most remotes in Greenland. Ittoqqortoormiit has 345 inhabitants (Cf. Statistics Greenland 2019). The name Ittoqqortoormiit means "those who live in the large houses" The town has a guest house, a museum, a supermarket, a community house, and a well-equipped little hospital. The two settlements are abandoned since 2006 but hunters go there on dog sledge also with tourists, and during summer live in their houses.

Local hunters have for generations lived from whale and polar bear hunting, still a significant cultural-economical factor in the area. Meat, blubber and by-products play a direct part in the economy of the hunting families. Income is gained by trading these products, but these options are seasonal and variable. The last 10 years the wind direction has changed. As reported by Informant 1 "Winds usually come from North and North East. Now the wind comes from South and South West pushing the ice away, instead winds from the North push the pack ice inside the fjord. Now there are more rainy days in summer and more waves because of lack of ice. Pack ice gives stable weather. Ice comes later; usually the first week in October was hunting in the new ice, using dogs from mid-October. Now sometimes the ice freeze and break again. The fjord usually freezes from mid-November but five years ago, the hunters went inside the fjord to hunt musk ox by boat and it was mid-November, it should have been by dogs and sledge. For the fjord to freeze cold temperatures are needed. It happens to have ice not good enough to use the sledge but enough thick to impede sailing".

The number of visitors, excluding the cruise ship tourists^①, is around 150 for dog sledding. At present Ittoqqortoormiit, a rather small town has limited infrastructure and limited capacity.

Informant 1

Hunter, former mayor

On average there are 400 dogs in the community they are usually exchanged, rarely

① Cruise ships come in late summer, autumn where there are no snow hence no dogsledding.

需要一支 10—12 条狗的团队，冬季狩猎麝牛至少需要 10 条狗。（社区内）有 15 到 18 个专业猎人，其他 60 至 80 人则从事服务工作做周末猎人。“养狗是很昂贵的；有时必须在商店购买食物，例如夏天冰块消融时，海浪太大，因此很难航行；此外，海豹停留在有冰的地方，因此一年内两到三个月没有冰，则没有海豹，有必要购买从丹麦进口的食品，每周需要 30 至 40 公斤食品。一些猎人最多有 15 或 20 条狗。在六月的狩猎季节，当海豹出现在浮冰上，雪橇狩猎在哈瑞（Hurry）湾内的城镇外进行，五月和六月则坐狗拉雪橇在两个湖中钓鱼。从伊托科尔托尔米特到霍普角（Kap Hope）和北上需要 7 至 8 个小时的雪橇行程；猎人也会在沿途狩猎。

受访人 2

一支由 20 只狗和专业猎人组成的团队可以为整个家庭及犬只提供补给。他还狩猎北极熊，并在格陵兰出售皮毛。他与游客一起乘坐雪橇：“我喜欢与游客的接触；和他们一起出去并有额外的收入是一件好事。许多游客喜欢帮我驾驶雪橇”。

受访人 3

专业的猎人和向导带队的需求很高，因此几乎没有时间进行狩猎，但到目前为止，他可以提供 16 只包括幼犬的雪橇猎犬。从一月到六月，如果结冰良好，我们可以为游客提供约 50 至 60 天的每次为期 10 日的雪橇行程。每两位游客乘坐一架雪橇，再加上所有设备如帐篷和食物，均由向导（猎人）准备。驾驶雪橇到利物浦地（Liverpool Land）需要 3、5 或 7 天。到埃拉（Ella Ø）为止，要花两到三周的时间，还有一个为期 5 天的雪橇之旅，沿途风景很美，在前往伊托科尔托尔米特的途中，哈瑞峡湾（Hurry Fjord）和霍尔森斯峡湾（Horsens fjord）都有温泉水池。

受访人 4

来自英格兰的向导，他现在住在伊托科尔托尔米特，在此之前他在育空地区（Yukon），美国西北领土和阿拉斯加居住了很多年，“在这些地方，与狗、雪橇和传统的联系消失了，当我来到这里时，我买了狗并了解了狩猎的知识；我和一位老猎人一起出去，交谈不多，却观察很多，这是一个很好的经验。猎人应该为自己的技能感到骄傲，孩子们和年轻人都在离开，狗在减少，超市里的狗粮非常昂贵”（受访人 4）。他为游客提供从一天到三个星期的狗拉雪橇行程。客人多是有孩子的家庭或富裕的老年人，他们喜欢这种经历。

sold. One needs a team of 10—12 dogs. Hunting in winter for musk ox needs a minimum of 10 dogs. There are 15 to 18 professional hunters; the other 60 to 80 who have service jobs are week end hunters. “It is expensive to have dogs; sometimes it is necessary to buy the food at the shop for instance when the ice goes out in summer, and there are too much waves so it is difficult to sail, in addition the seal stays where there is ice, so no ice, no seals and for 2 to 3 months a year it is necessary to buy food imported from Denmark, and 30 to 40 kg of food a week is needed. Some hunters have up to 15 or 20 dogs.

Hunting seasons in June hunting is with sledge outside town, inside the Hurry fjord, when the seals come up in the pack ice. In May and June is fishing in the two lakes, going there by dogs and sledge. It takes five to seven hours by sledge from Ittoqqortoormiit to Kap Hope and up North; hunters also hunt during the way.

Informant 2

Professional hunter with a team of 20 dogs can supply the family and the dogs with hunting. He hunts also polar bear and sells the skin in Greenland. He goes on tours with tourists by sledge “I like the contact with the tourists; it is good to go out with them and have an extra income. Many of the tourists like to help me with the sledge”.

Informant 3

Professional hunter and guide “Guiding is demanding and little time for hunting is left, but so far he can supply his dogs, 16 plus puppies. From January to June, if the ice is good we can have about 50 to 60 days by sledge with tourists. A 10 days’ trip with two passengers per sledge plus a sledge with all the equipment like tents and food, all is prepared by the guide (hunter). Expeditions by sledge to Liverpool Land take three, five or seven days. Up to Ella Ø it is two to three weeks, the landscape is beautiful, and there are hot water pools in Hurry fjord and Horsens fjord on the way down to Ittoqqortoormiit. It is a five days sledge tour”.

Informant 4

Guide from England who lives now in Ittoqqortoormiit, before he was for many years in Yukon, North West Territories, and Alaska “In these places the connection with dogs, sledge and tradition is lost, when I came here I bought dogs and learn about hunting I go out with an old hunter, without much speaking but a lot of observing, and this is a good experience. Hunters should be proud to their skills, kids and people are leaving, dogs are decreasing, the dog food at the supermarket is very expensive” (informant 4). He goes out by sledge with tourists from one day up to three weeks. Clients are families with kids or old affluent people that like to have this experience.

受访人 5

旅馆老板称，考虑到城镇的大小，确实有很多人在从事旅游活动。他们都表现出了兴趣，并希望扩大自己的业务。3月1日至6月1日是最热门和最畅销的狗拉雪橇旅行季节。通常，游客在宾馆呆一个星期。旅游业可以为能提供雪橇之旅的猎人带来收益，“旅游业应该为这个社会造福，因为猎人除此之外没有办法赚取额外的钱”。

研究区 2

格陵兰北部高地卡纳克（Qaanaaq）

卡纳克市拥有 631 名居民^①（参见 Stat Greenland，2019 年），是格陵兰岛“阿凡纳尔苏克（Avanersuaq〔意为最北部最遥远的地方〕）”最北端的地区，坐落于北纬 70 至 80 度之间，从南部梅尔维尔湾（Melville Bay）向北延伸至史密斯海峡（Smith Sound）。

考古证据表明，阿凡纳尔苏克的第一批定居者是在大约 5000 年前从加拿大越过史密斯海峡到达的。今日因纽特人的直系祖先隶属于“图勒”文化，他们则在公元 1000 年左右到达。卡纳克是由丹麦当局于 1952 年为迁移当地居民“因纽特人（Inughuit 即伟大的人民）”建立的。迁移的原因是相比他们的家乡乌马纳克（Uummannaq，或称 Dundas），这里更靠近美国图勒空军基地。

格陵兰岛最北部的城镇拥有许多基础设施^②，还有一个博物馆，该博物馆位于著名的北极探险家克努德·拉斯穆森（Knud Rasmussen）^③的故居内。

在此地区狩猎活动占主导地位，是非正规经济和生计部门的重要组成部分。在人口稀少的地区及其周边，通过多样化活动获得额外收入的可能性相当有限。除了一些行政单位外，这里还有一家手工艺品中心，名为“最远的图勒（Ultima Thule）”，属于合作经营，由市政当局管理并提供财政支持，此外还设有一些制作手工艺品的设施和一家展示及销售产品的商店。

① 包括永久居住的 Siorapaluk, Savissivik 和 Qeqertat 的定居点，总人口为 751。（参见 Stat Greenland，2019）

② 这些是旅馆、超级市场、面包店、邮局、旅游局和一间设备齐全的小医院。

③ 克努德·拉斯穆森（Knud Rasmussen）在 1910 年建立了该地区的第一个贸易站，以拉丁名称 Ultima Thule（意为最远的图勒）命名为“图勒（Thule）”。该地区广为人知，也因为它是许多著名的由克努德·拉斯穆森（Knud Rasmussen）与皮特·弗瑞肯（Peter Freuchen），瑟科尔·玛蒂亚森（Therkel Mathiasen）、凯·波凯特-史密斯（Kaj Birket-Smith）和海尔格·班斯特德（Helge Bansted）一起发起的“图勒远征（Thule Expeditions）”的起点。

Informant 5

Owner of the guest house, reports that quite a lot of people, considering the size of the town, are in somehow engaged with tourism activities. They all show interest and wish to expand their business. Dog sledge tours, the hit and best seller, go from March 1 to June 1. Usually tourists stay at the guest house for a week. Tourism can generate good money for the hunters offering dog sledge tour “Tourism should be for the good of this society, there is no way for the hunters to earn extra money”.

Research area 2

Qaanaaq, Greenland High North

The city of Qaanaaq has a population of 631 inhabitants^① (Cf. Stat Greenland 2019) and is the most northerly district in Greenland “*Avanersuaq*”, which means the place of the farthest north, and stretches between 70 and 80 degrees north, from Melville Bay in the south up to Smith Sound.

Archaeological evidence, suggests that the first settlers of Avanersuaq arrived some 5000 years ago after crossing Smith Sound from Canada. The direct ancestors of today’s Inuit belonged to the “Thule” culture and reached Avanersuaq soon after 1000 A.D. Qaanaaq was established in 1952 following the Danish authorities’ decision to move the local population, “*Inughuit*” the great people, from their home village Uummannaq (Dundas) because of its close proximity to the American Thule Air Base.

Greenland’s most northern town has a number of facilities^②, and a museum, which is housed in the former home of the famous arctic explorer Knud Rasmussen^③.

Hunting activities are predominant and are substantial components of the informal economy, and of the subsistence sector. The possibilities to diversify the activities, and thus, having an extra income, are rather limited in this peripheral and scarcely populated area. Beside some administrative jobs, there is a Handicrafts Centre, *The Ultima Thule*, managed on a cooperative basis but administratively and financially supported by municipal authorities, with facilities for making handicrafts and a shop for displaying and selling.

① Total population is 751 when including the permanently inhabited, settlements of Siorapaluk, Savissivik, and Qeqertat. (Cf. Stat Greenland, 2019)

② These are the hotel, the supermarket, the bakery, the post office, the tourist office, and a little, well-equipped hospital.

③ Knud Rasmussen in 1910 established the district’s first trading post, called “*Thule*” after the Latin name of *Ultima Thule*. The area is well known also because it has been the starting point of many of the famous “*Thule Expeditions*”, which Knud Rasmussen did together with Peter Freuchen, Therkel Mathiasen, Kaj Birket-Smith, and Helge Bansted.

从游客的角度来看，这是一个人烟稀少，风景秀丽，但经济萧条且十分偏僻的地方。在游客的眼中，该地区具有巨大的开发潜力，因为它是遥远且未被触及的目的地，代表了“最远的图勒”的神话。该地区正在开展一些旅游活动，平均每年有 100 名游客^①和 60 条狗进行拉雪橇活动，这无疑是最畅销的。旅游旺季是在春季，在这里游客可以驾驶狗拉雪橇陪猎人去狩猎，或乘狗拉雪橇去废弃的定居点。

受访人 1

专业的猎人和向导大概在 15 年前开始参与旅游活动，他们主要用狗拉雪橇接待游客，有时也会使用船只，并与游客一起进行长达两到四个星期的狗拉雪橇旅行。“导游的收入颇丰，如果有更多的游客来，那就更好了。成为职业猎人已经变得困难，收入减少了，但旅游活动可以带来丰厚的收入。”

受访人 2

职业猎人在 90 年代开始用狗拉雪橇接待游客，因为狩猎不是很好，所以决定以此增加收入。“游客可以了解狩猎生活。大多数游客对风景感兴趣，而不是我们在这里的生活。他们想坐雪橇欣赏风景，但展示我们的文化将是一件好事。游客不知道黑暗时期（极夜）的生活，应该去看看。”根据受访人 2 的介绍，应该让游客更多地了解狗和狩猎的生活，“从十月到次年三月，要做很多事情来应对极地黑暗中的生活，比如准备狩猎所需的衣服。有时候，游客不相信传统的衣服，而是穿自己的衣服乘坐狗拉雪橇，因此被冻僵了，所有这些都有必要告知游客。”这可能是将来增加到狗拉雪橇活动计划中的一部分。“我们将展示如何养狗，以及如何喂狗。我们将解释狩猎和拥有食物储备的必要性。我想展示如何狩猎北极熊，如何训练狗以了解北极熊狩猎，如何用棍子在北极熊身下解救一个人，并教狗一定不要太靠近北极熊”。

受访人 3

他是专业的猎人和向导，认为游客越多越好因为这样可以增加收入。他只在春天用雪橇工作，他希望有更长的狗拉雪橇季节，因为“游轮游客不给猎人或向导钱，只给纪念品店钱”。

受访人 4

使用狗拉雪橇做向导的专业猎人始于 1994 年。“这里发生了许多变化。狩猎（机会）没有那么多。现在要把游客从冰面上带到萨维西维克

^① 不包括在岸上停留数小时并进行其他活动（例如参观博物馆和城镇）的游轮游客。

A sparsely populated, scenic, but economically depressed and quite isolated the place has a great potential from a touristic point of view being perceived in the eyes of the visitors, as a far away and untouched destination representing the myth of the “*Ultima Thule*”. Some tourism activities are taking place in the area, in average 100 tourists^① and 60 dog sledge tours a year which is undoubtedly the best seller. The peak season for it is during springtime when tourists is offered the opportunity to accompany the hunters to the hunt by dog sledge or go on dog sledge trips to the abandoned settlements.

Informant 1

Professional hunter and guide, started to be involved with tourism activities average 15 years ago, bringing tourists along mainly with dog sledge and sometimes by boat. With the tourists he goes also for longer dog sledge trips, two to four weeks. “The income from guiding is good, if more tourists come then is better. To be a professional hunter has become difficult, the income has decreased so tourism activities can bring good money”.

Informant 2

Professional hunter, started to work with tourists in the 90ies with dog sledge, the decision was taken for having an extra income because the hunting was not so good. “Tourists can learn about hunting life. Most of the tourists look for the landscape and not for the way we live here. They want to go by sledge and enjoy the landscape, but it will be good to show our culture. Tourists do not know how life here is during the dark period, they should come and see”. According to informant 2, tourists should be more informed about dogs and hunting life, “from October to March there is a lot to show on how is life under the polar darkness, the hunting, the clothes needed. Sometimes tourists do not trust the traditional clothes and go on dog sledge using the rown clothes and so freezing. All these are important to tell to tourists”. This can be part of future plans to accrue dog sledge activities “we will show how to feed the dogs, what they eat and how. We will explain the need to hunt and to have food reserves. I would like to show how a polar bear is hunted, and how the dogs are trained to learn about polar bear hunting, whit a man under the polar bear skin using a stick and teaching the dog which must not go too close to the polar bear”.

Informant 3

Professional hunter and guide, he thinks it is okay to have more tourists because it is better income. He works only in the springtime with the sledge, would like to have a longer dog sledge season to go out with the tourists because “cruise ships tourists leave no money to hunters or to people, only to the souvenir shop”.

Informant 4

Professional hunter started in 1994 and has been guiding with dogs and sledge “there have been many changes here. There is not so much hunting. To take tourists to Savissivik

① Excluding the cruise ship tourists who stay ashore few hours and have other kind of activities i.e. museum and town visit.

（Savissivik）几乎是不可能的，他们必须从内陆走，那里没有狩猎的可能。外面曾有很多冰，现在只在峡湾内有。以前有很多可以狩猎的地方，也有驯鹿和麝牛，但那是过去的事，从 90 年代后期开始就发生了变化了。采取内陆行进方式时，狗必须非常结实，因为这更具挑战性，由于没有狩猎活动，也就没有食物补充。为了增加收入，旅游业可能是一个很好的选择。”

每一位受访者都认为，体验狗拉雪橇的游客并不多，但利润仍留在社区中。

受访者 5

专业猎人，不知道如何从狗拉雪橇活动中获利。“也许可以选择（吸引）游轮游客，通常游轮游客去 Ultima Thule 购买纪念品，然后去博物馆和镇上各处，但是他们可以被带到不远处的某些地方去看看在克克尔塔尔苏阿克（Qeqertarsuaq）废弃的定居点”。



猎人在从西奥拉帕鲁克（Siorapaluk）到格陵兰北部高地卡纳克的途中

摄影：丹妮拉·托马希尼

结 论

本文旨在强调人与雪橇猎犬之间的联系以及将犬只作为狩猎活动和休闲活动的资源的可能性。狗不仅在格陵兰的雪橇犬地区具有重要的文化意义，而且人与动物之间的亲密关系也在创造并不断重现在整个格陵兰岛所能感知的文化和精神景观。在几年的实地调研中，笔者反复观察到狗、猎人、猎人家庭和儿童之间的特殊联系。在库米尤（Kummiut）村（东格陵兰，2005 年），孩子们边玩耍边学习，用小骨头组建并训练一支狗队。在库鲁苏克（Kulusuk），孩子们与一支由 3 条狗组成的团队一起玩雪橇（东格陵兰，2018 年），练习如何成为狗拉雪橇驾驶员。猎人总是对他们的狗有积极的情感，听

using the ice it is now almost impossible, they have to take the inland and there are no hunting possibilities there. It used to be a lot of ice outside, now only in the fjords. Before there was a lot to see and hunt, also reindeer and musk-ox, this was in the past, now from the late 90ies is not feasible anymore. To take the inland way dogs need to be very strong because it is more challenging and there is no hunting, so no supplementary food. Tourism can be a very good beside income”.

Every one of the interviewees agrees that dog sledge tourists are not so many but the profit stays in the community.

Informant 5

Professional hunter, does not know exactly how to profit from tourism outer the dog sledge tours “maybe the cruise ship tourism can be an option, usually the cruise tourists go to Ultima Thule to buy souvenirs, then to the museum and around in town, but they could be taken to some places, not far away, to see abandoned settlements or in Qeqertarsuaq”.



Hunter on the way from Siorapaluk to Qaanaaq, Greenland High North
(Photo: Daniela Tommasini)

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to highlight the connection human-dog and the possibilities to use the resource dog not only for hunting activities but also for leisure activities. Dogs are culturally important not only in the dog's area of Greenland, the intimate human-animal relationship creates and constantly recreates a cultural and spiritual landscape which is perceived in the entire Greenland. During several years of fieldwork I have repeatedly observed the special connection between dogs, hunters, hunter families and children. In the village of Kummiut (East Greenland 2005) children were playing, thus learning, with small bones reproducing a dog team; in Kulusuk, kids had a little sledge with a three dog's team (East Greenland 2018) to practise in how to become dog sledge drivers. Hunters have always positive feelings towards their dogs.

他们谈论他们的狗时笔者会感觉到这种情感；并且十分享受狗拉雪橇带来的平和与快乐，在此过程中还可以感受北极景观的广阔无垠。

诚然，狗拉雪橇已经成为一种旅游景观，乘狗拉雪橇出游对游客来说似乎很有吸引力，这对提高这一人烟稀少地区的经济很有助益。

两个实地调研区域有一些相似之处，比如两个区域的景观都很吸引人，并且地理位置偏远，因此更具有吸引力。这两个地区都有着丰富的文化遗产和传统的生活方式。同时，伊托科尔托尔米特和卡纳克的失业率高，人口下降，并且没有太多机会使主要活动（狩猎）多样化，无法提高他们的收入。尽管如此，在游客眼中，这两个地区都具有“旅游开发潜力”。

狗拉雪橇活动似乎有助于增加收入，作为向导的猎人对从事旅游活动中获得的收入感到满意。他们称，在旅游旺季到来之际，他们有机会用狗拉雪橇接待游客，他们很乐意放慢一点狩猎的步伐，并与带来收益的“游客”一起出游。但是，目前的实际利益仅限于一小部分人，而且旅游季节有限，高峰期被认为是狗拉雪橇旅行的季节。许多人称他们会在很多天不能外出打猎和钓鱼，但带狗拉雪橇的游客出游可能是不错的选择。

受访人名单：

伊托科尔托尔米特

受访人 1，猎人，前市长

受访人 2，职业猎人

受访人 3，专业猎人和向导

受访人 4，来自英国的生活在伊托科尔托尔米特的向导

受访人 5，旅馆老板

卡纳克

受访人 1，专业猎人和向导

受访人 2，职业猎人

受访人 3，专业猎人和向导

受访人 4，职业猎人

受访人 5，职业猎人

西西缪特

受访人 1，专业猎人和向导

乌玛纳克地区乌库西萨特

受访人 1，职业猎人

Listening to their reports I could sense the emotion when talking about their dogs, and on how peaceful and joyful is to go out on dog sledge the silence is much appreciated, and allows to enjoy the vastness of the arctic landscape.

Indeed dogsledding has become a tourist attraction and dog sledge tours with tourists seems promising in lifting up the local economy of this peripheral and sparsely populated areas object of fieldwork.

Similarities can be found, both areas have a very attractive landscape and are geographically remote thus appealing. Both regions have a rich cultural patrimony and an important presence of traditional subsistence activities. Equally Ittoqqortoormiit and Qaanaaq have high unemployment rates, population declining and not many opportunities to diversify the main activity, hunting, and by so doing improve their incomes. Nonetheless both areas possess the “tourism potential”, and in the eyes of the tourists the appeal is also due to their remoteness and the being far away.

Dog sledge activities seems to help the income, hunters involved as guides declared to be satisfied about the money earned from the tours. They declared that when the tourist season arrives and they have the opportunity to go out with tourists by sledge they are glad to slow down a little bit the hunting and go out with tourists being the money gained “good money”. However the tangible benefits are presently limited to a small fraction of the population, and the tourist season is limited, peak is considered the dog sledge tour season. Although as many have declared when for many days they cannot go out hunting and fishing, dog sledge with tourists can be a good alternative.

List of Informers

Ittoqqortoormiit

Informant 1, Hunter, former Mayor

Informant 2, Professional hunter

Informant 3, Professional hunter and guide

Informant 4, Guide from England lives in Ittoqqortoormiit

Informant 5, Owner of the guest house

Qaanaaq

Informant 1, Professional hunter and guide

Informant 2, Professional hunter

Informant 3, Professional hunter and guide

Informant 4, professional hunter

Informant 5, Professional hunter

Sisimiut

Informant 1, Professional hunter and guide

Ukkusissat, Uummannaq area

Informant 1, Professional hunter

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