

Linguistic diversity and language contacts on Sakhalin Island



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Outline of the presentation

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- The current linguistic situation
- Sources for studying the linguistic diversity and language contacts on Sakhalin
- Perspectives for studying the linguistic diversity and language contacts on Sakhalin

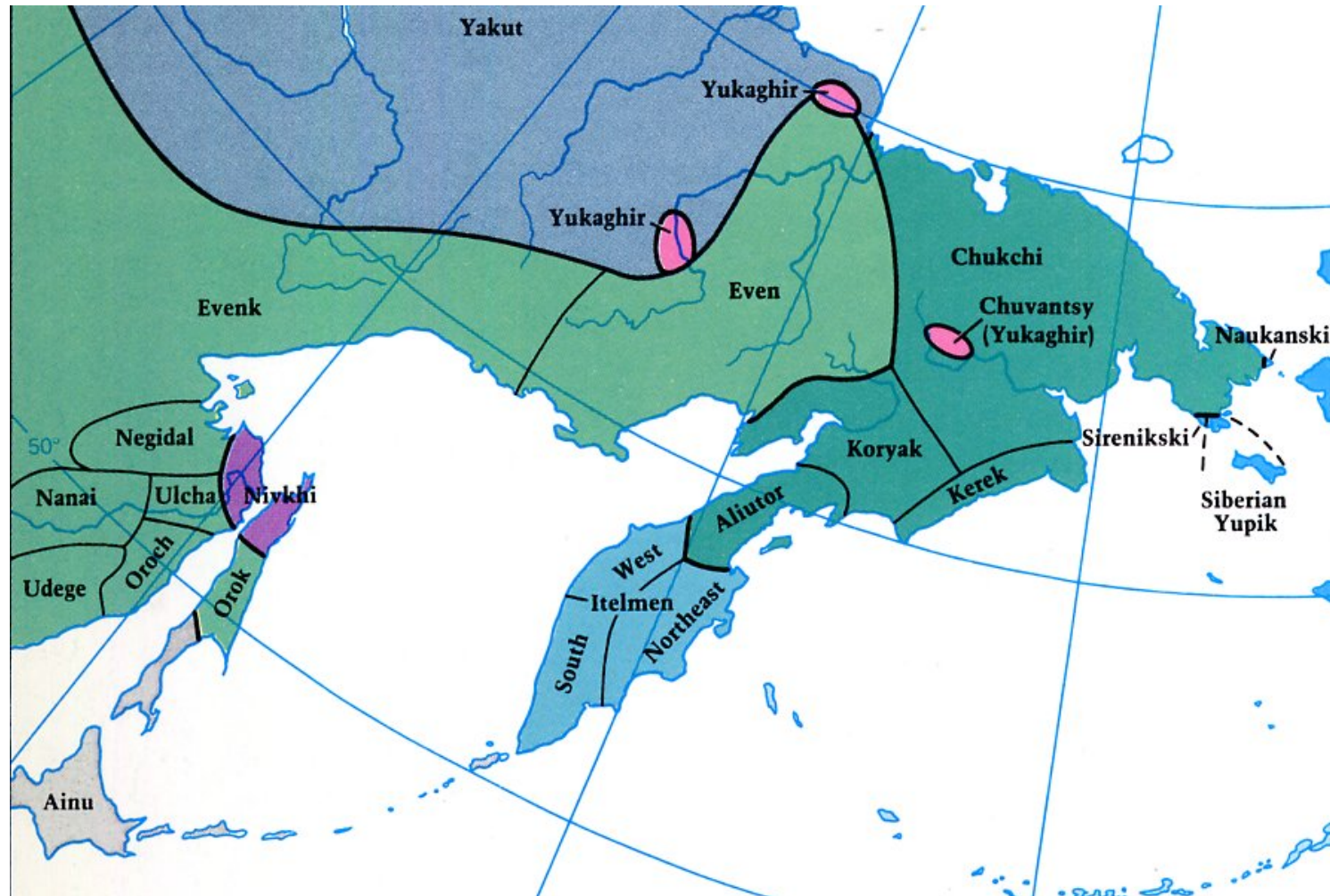
Acknowledgements

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- Co-investigator: Tomomi Sato
- Collaborators: Ekaterina Gruzdeva, John Whitman

The indigenous peoples of Northeast Asia

<http://folkcostume.blogspot.fi/2011/09/costume-of-peoples-of-lower-amur.html>



Sakhalin Island

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- Sakhalin is the largest island in Russia.
- The total population is about 500,000 people.
- Seven municipal districts are officially recognised as places of traditional residence and economic activities of four indigenous peoples:
 - Nivkh, Uilta, Ewenki, Nanai
- The total number of indigenous population is about 4,000, i.e. about 0.7% of the total population of the island.
- Other languages spoken on Sakhalin at different times: language(s) of Okhotsk culture, Manchu (?), Chinese (?), Ainu, Japanese, Russian, Korean, other Tungusic languages, ...

Languages spoken on the Sakhalin Island (19th century, Shrenk 1883)

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The Sakhalin Nivkh (Gilyak)

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- Expansion from the Amur basin in the 11-13th century (?)
- Traditional way of life:
 - sedentary
 - fishing, hunting, gathering
- Number (2010):
 - 2,682 on Sakhalin
 - 4,652 in Russia (also live in the Amur region)
- Language:
 - isolate (Paleosiberian)
- Number of speakers (2010):
 - 118 on Sakhalin
 - 56 in the Amur region



The Sakhalin Ainu

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- Expansion from Hokkaido to in the 14th century
- Traditional way of life:
 - sedentary
 - fishing, hunting, gathering
- Number (2010):
 - no data
 - also live on Hokkaido (Japan)
- Language:
 - isolate (Paleosiberian)
- Number of speakers (2010):
 - extinct



The Uilta (Orok, Orochen)

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- Migrated to Sakhalin in the 16-17th century
- Traditional way of life:
 - semi-nomadic
 - reindeer-husbandry, hunting, fishing
- Number (2010):
 - 362
 - live only on Sakhalin
- Language:
 - southern group of Tungusic languages
- Number of speakers (2010):
 - 9 on Sakhalin



The Ewenki (Tungus)

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- Migrated to Sakhalin in the second half of the 19th century
- Traditional way of life:
 - nomadic
 - reindeer-husbandry, hunting
- Number (2010):
 - 326 on Sakhalin
 - 38,396 in Russia (also live in Siberia, Manchuria and Mongolia)
- Language:
 - northern group of Tungusic languages
- Number of speakers (2010):
 - 17 on Sakhalin
 - 4,310 in Russia



The Nanai (Gold)

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- Migrated to Sakhalin after WWII
- Traditional way of life:
 - sedentary
 - fishing, hunting
- Number (2010):
 - 164 on Sakhalin
 - 12, 003 in Russia (also live in the Amur region of Russia and China)
- Language:
 - southern group of Tungusic languages
- Number of speakers (2010):
 - 11 on Sakhalin
 - 797 in Russia



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Nivkh (Nekrasovka, Nogliki, Chir-Unvd, Poronaisk, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk)



Uilta (Val, Poronaisk)



Ewenki (Val, Viakhtu, Okha)



Nanai (Poronaisk)

The number of Sakhalin indigenous population (2011)

<http://www.libsakh.ru/?div=indigen>

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	Nivkh	Uilta	Evenk	Nanai	Other	<i>All</i>
Okha region	1,312	18	86	6	—	1,422
Nogliki region	842	156	99	7	—	1,104
Tymovsk region	268	—	6	6	9	289
Aleksandrovsk-Sakhalinskij region	79	—	93	—	—	172
Smirnykh region	5	10	4	19	15	53
Poronaisk region	176	178	38	126	7	525
Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk	227	4	21	48	20	320
<i>All</i>	2,909	366	347	212	51	3,885

Sources for studying the linguistic diversity and language contacts on Sakhalin

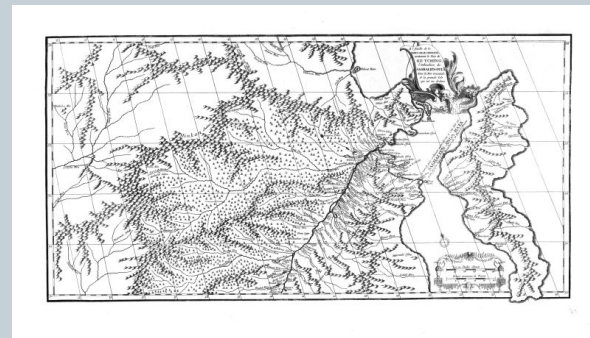
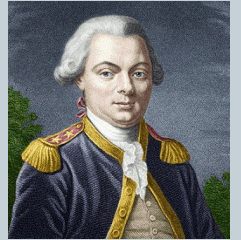
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- Ethnographic, archaeological and linguistic works by European and Japanese scholars
 - Memoirs of European and Japanese travellers
 - Traditional stories and legends
 - Linguistic biographies of contemporary speakers and their descendants
-
- Unfortunately not very much concrete data is available, therefore comparative evidence from other parts of the world (e.g. Africa, Papua New Guinea, etc.) can help to reconstruct the linguistic situation on Sakhalin.

Some explorers of Sakhalin

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- Martin Gerritz de Vries 1643
- Jean-François de la Pérouse 1787
- Adam Johann von Krusenstern 1805
- Mamiya Rinzou 間宮林蔵 1809
- Gennadii Ivanovich Nevelskoi 1849



Perspectives for studying the linguistic diversity and language contacts on Sakhalin

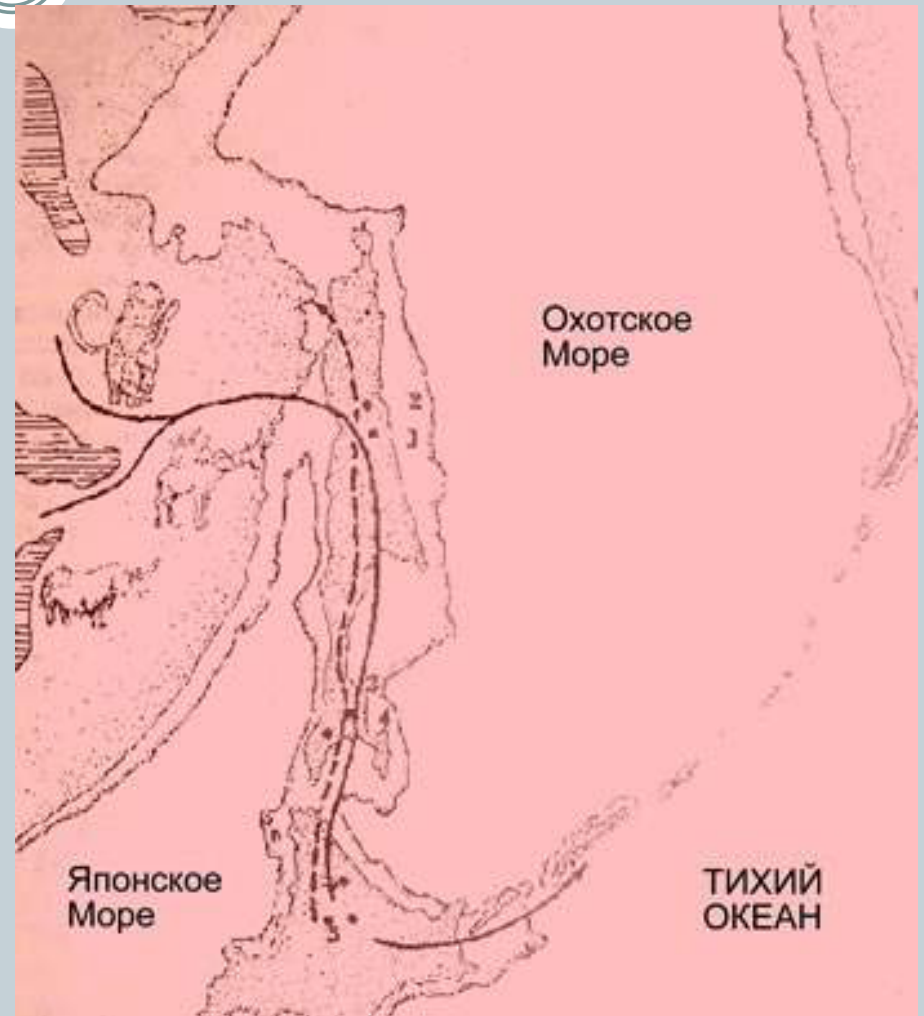
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- Language contacts arise as a result of contacts between peoples that can be studied from different perspectives:
 - historical
 - political
 - geographical
 - social
 - economic
 - linguistic

Historical perspective (1)

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- Several waves of settling Sakhalin starting from Palaeolithic times.
- Various Neolithic cultures:
 - North Sakhalin culture
 - Imchin culture
 - Central Sakhalin culture
 - South Sakhalin culture
 - Aniva culture
- Long period of Okhotsk culture
- Unknown linguistic diversity
- **Possibly active multilingualism between various ethnic groups**



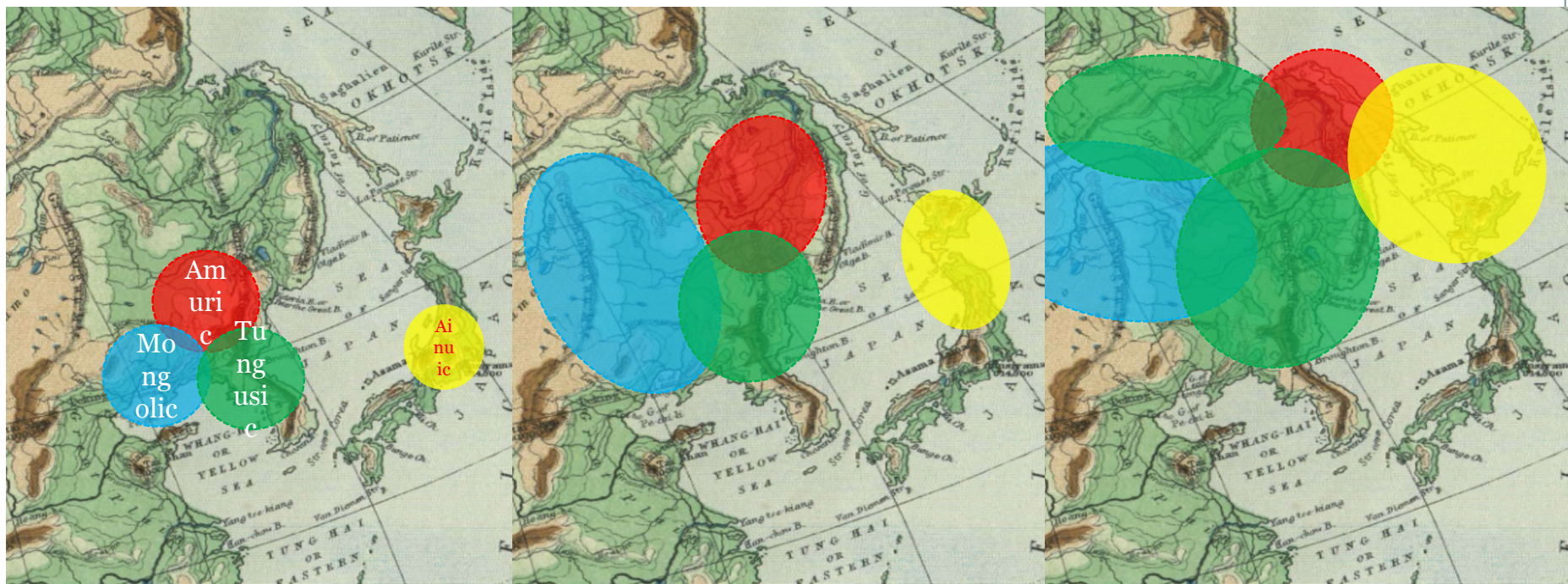
Expansion of Amuric, Tungusic and Ainuic languages to Sakhalin (Janhunen, in progress)

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2000 BP

1000 BP

300 BP



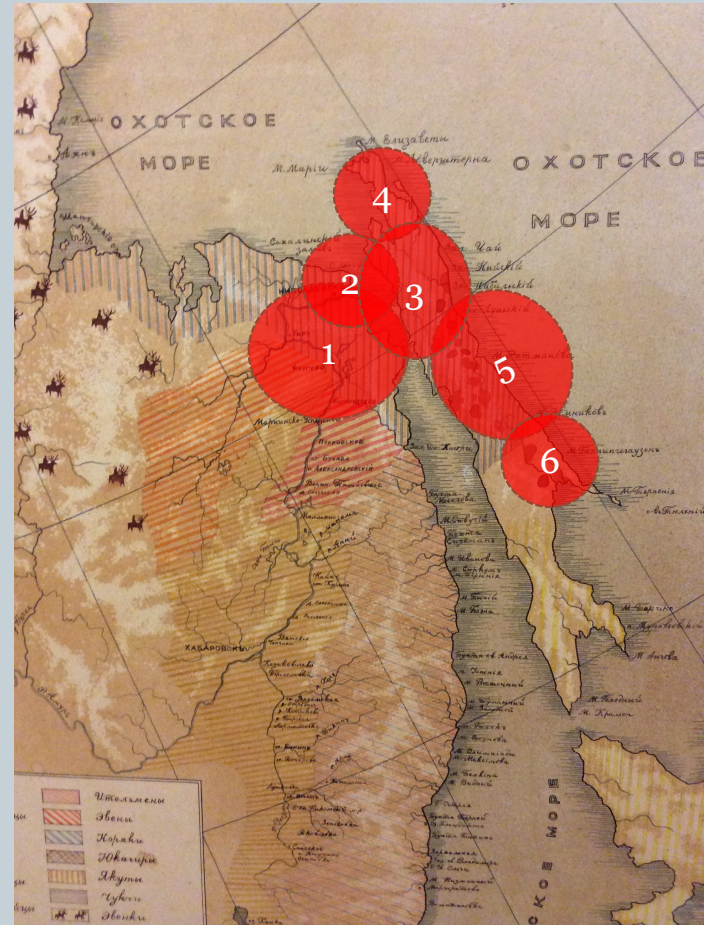
Historical perspective (2)

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- Different relationships between different peoples at different times.
- Wars vs. peaceful coexistence
 - Legends about wars and conflicts between Ainu, Nivkh, and Uilta.
- Expansion of “new” peoples and languages ⇒ absorption of “old” peoples and languages
- Nivkh variation due to substrate influence?
 - “At any rate, one finds considerable divergence in practice from the old traditions, and many differences of custom and thought, not only between them and their Amur brethren, but between the Tim and Tro Gilyaks and their brethren on the west coast of the island.”
(Hawes 1903)
- **Language contacts between expanding peoples: partial multilingualism (?)**

Nivkh varieties

- 1 Low Amur
- 2 Amur Liman
- 3 West Sakhalin
- 4 North Sakhalin
- 5 East Sakhalin
- 6 South Sakhalin



Political perspective (1)

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- Manchuria: Jurchen 1125-1234
- Mongol Empire 1308-1368
- Ming dynasty, China 1368-1616/1644
- Manchu Empire 1616/1644-1860-
- Russian presence 1858/1860-
- Japanese presence 1679- (Ootomari)
- Russo-Japanese war 1905-
- World War 2 1945-

Political perspective (2)

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- **Skills in politically dominant languages:**
 - Manchu (?), Japanese, Russian
- Проводя полевые исследования, ни раз приходилось восхищаться тем, как пожилые представители уйльта, к примеру, живущие на острове Южном (Сачи), свободно понимают, слушают радио и умеют говорить порой сразу на шести языках – русском, японском, корейском, уйльтинском, эвенкийском и нанайском (Missonova 2006: 141)

Geographical perspective (1)

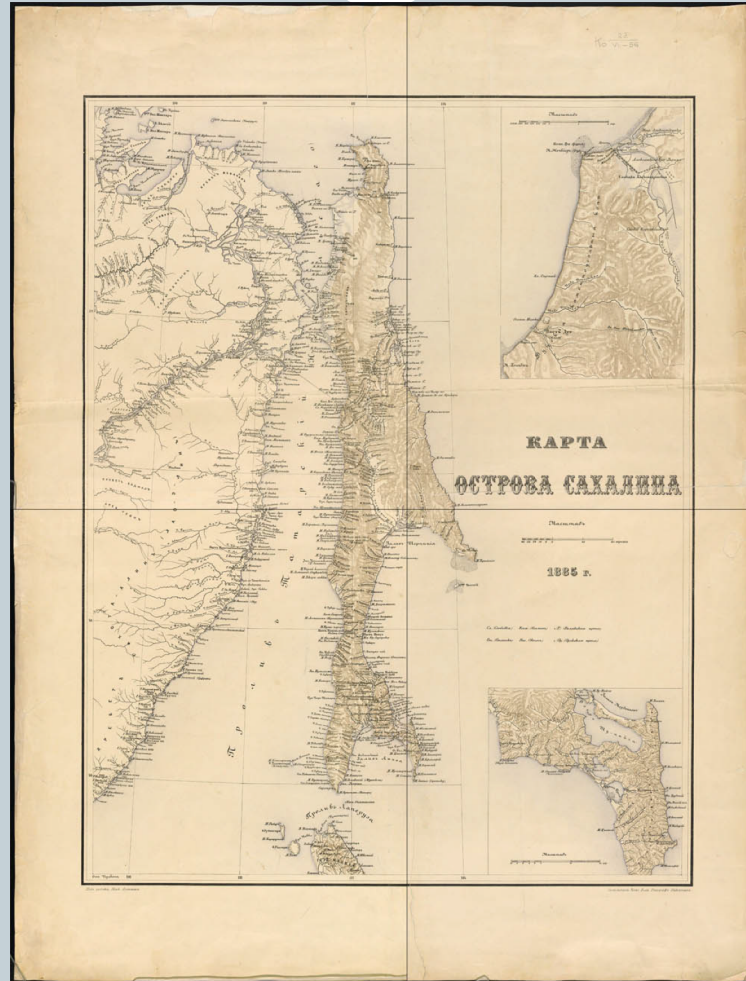
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- Travelling across Tatar Strait between the island and mainland:
 - by boat
 - by dog-sled
 - by reindeer
- Travelling along rivers:
 - Tym
 - Poronai

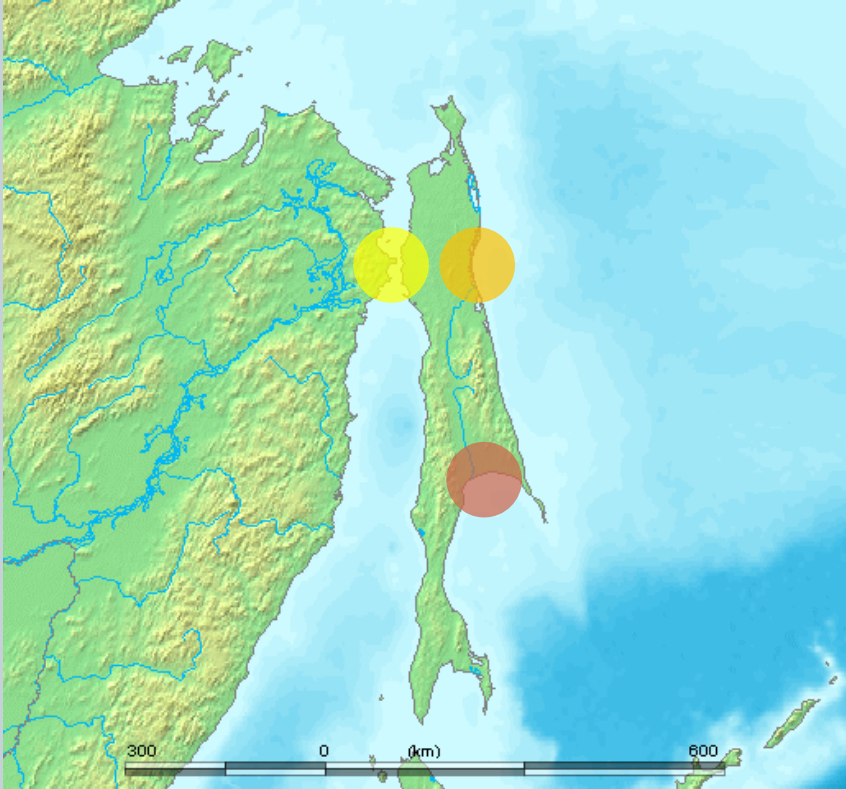
Geographical perspective (2)

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Geographical perspective (3)

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- At least three contact zones:
 - The Nevelskoi Strait between Sakhalin and the mainland
 - Ainu, Nivkh and Uilta settlements around Gulf of Patience on Sakhalin
 - Nivkh and Uilta settlements near the mouth of the Tym on Sakhalin
- **Possible multilingualism in the contact zones**

Social perspective (1)

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- Family and clan structure
 - Especially important for the Nivkh and Uilta
- Marriage patterns, sexual norms
- Exogamy (in some cases achieved through marriage with a person from another ethnic group)
- Intermarriage (for various reasons):
 - Traditionally a lot of intermarriage between the Uilta and Ewenki
- Clans of mixed origins as a result of intermarriages
 - "...многие роды гиляков на самом далеком севере считают своими предками айнов, о которых у них сохранились самые яркие и многочисленные предания, мною тщательно записанные." (Shternberg 1933: 17)
 - mixed clans in other parts of Sakhalin (also on the mainland)
- **Bilingualism of parents and children in mixed families**

Social perspective (2)

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- History of clans on Amur:
 - "На Амуре история многих родов представляет следующую картину. Какой-нибудь род начинает вымирать. Но вот является случайный пришелец, беглец из своего рода; ему дают вдову одного из сородичей, - считается, что этот пришелец становится родоначальником большого потомства, а коренные представители рода вымирают. Теперь спрашивается, будет ли язык выродившегося рода языком первоначальным или языком племени пришельцев? Это зависит от окружающей обстановки, от того, какое население преобладает. Если преобладают гиляки, а пришелец - гольд, то язык будет гиляцким, если, наоборот, преобладают гольды, - язык будет гольдским." (Shternberg 1933: 407-408)
- Probably the same scenario on Sakhalin

Social perspective (3)

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- **Intermarriage:**

- “The Gilyaks are even more difficult to classify racially. Separated in speech, manners and customs from their neighbours, they yet have same affinities in feature. This only adds to the puzzle; while many have scarcely any hair on their faces, others, whose ancestors, perhaps, have intermarried with Ainus, have bushy beards and copious heads of hair....” (Hawes 1903: 116)

- **Language is not a barrier:**

- “Изучая межнациональные браки уйльта и эвенков, можно было много раз слышать (в начале 90х годов) от людей пожилого возраста, что несмотря на языковую разницу (информанты часто подчеркивали, что эвенкийский язык довольно трудно понимаем для уйльта), такие браки считались браками между братскими народами, так как хозяйственный уклад очень схож.” (Missonova 2013: 16)

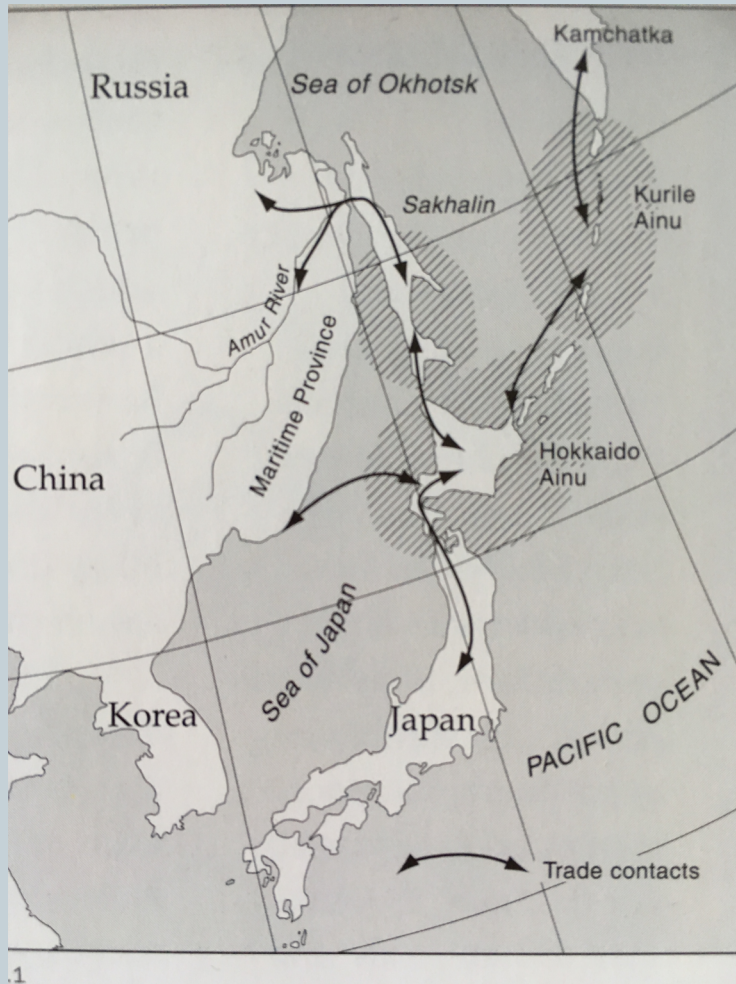
Economic perspective (1)

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- Sedentary vs. nomadic way of life
- Nomadic people are typically more mobile, have more contacts:
 - “the Orochon is generally found to speak both tongues (Orochon and Gilyak)” (Hawes 1903: 208)
- Fur tribute
- Trading, exchanging goods
- Visiting, especially during the seasons of hunting
- Economic dominance: Japan, Russia

Economic perspective (2)

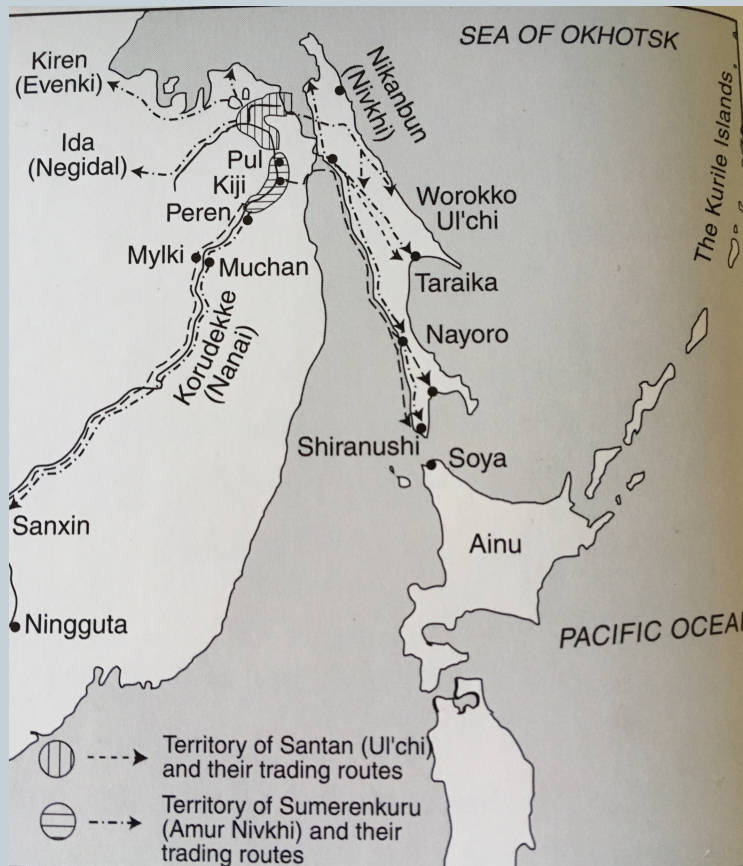
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- Trading (Sasaki 1999)
- Archaeological evidence indicates that the inhabitants of Hokkaido and Sakhalin had contacts with the inhabitants of the continent at least since the late Paleolithic era.
- Fur tribute system starting from the Mongol Empire and until the 18th century
- Trading with Manchuria, China, Japan, Russia

Economic perspective (2)

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- Santan trade: a very active trade network that stretched from Korea and Osaka, along the Sea of Japan coasts of Honshu, Hokkaido and Sakhalin, throughout the lower Amur region, and all the way to Manchuria, involving many peoples (Ohnuki-Tierney 1999).
- The trade was operated by the ancestors of the modern Ulcha, Nivkh and Oroch around Lake Kiji
- **Possibly more multilingualism closer to trading routes and especially trading points**

Economic, geographic and political perspectives

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- Economic, geographic and political perspectives are certainly intertwined:
 - “Japanese schooners, of the adventuring junk class, from the island of Yezo, had been wont to come up here to the mouth of the Tim to barter rice, kettles and cauldrons, rifles, ear-rings, etc., for furs, and to fish and salt salmon during the spawning season. This had been going on here certainly since 1868, when a scramble was made by Japanese and Russians for unoccupied spots, and probably from long before that...”
(Hawes 1903: 188)

Linguistic perspective (1)

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- Level 1: prehistorical

Mongolic \Leftrightarrow Tungusic, Tungusic \Leftrightarrow Amuric

- Level 2: protoethnic

Japonic \Leftrightarrow Ainuic, Amur Tungusic \Leftrightarrow Amuric

- Level 3: interethnic

Nivkh \Leftrightarrow Uilta, Nivkh \Leftrightarrow S Ainu, Uilta \Leftrightarrow S Ainu

- Level 4: colonial

Chinese, Japanese, Russian \Leftrightarrow local languages

Linguistic perspective (2)

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- Different historical levels of contacts are evident from linguistic data.
- The geography, degree and hierarchy of contacts is reflected in the number and direction of borrowings.
 - The northern dialect of Uilta has more lexical borrowings from the Ewenki language, whereas Japanese and Ainu borrowings are found mostly in the southern dialect of Uilta (Missonova 2013: 18).
 - Among them (the Ainu loanwords) there are many surnames, personal names, hydronyms (especially river names), fish names, names of insects and sea mammals. There are also names of sea mammals borrowed from the Nivkh language (Novikova, Sem 1997: 214).

Conclusions

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- The study of linguistic diversity and language contacts on Sakhalin:
 - should be based on all available sources
 - should take into account various perspectives
- Different levels of bi-/multilingualism
- Is it possible to identify other contact zones?