

# Ainu ethnogenesis

## アイヌ民族起源

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# What makes an Ainu?

- Linguistic heritage: Language
- Cultural heritage: Culture
- Biological heritage: “Race” and genes
  
- Geographical environment: Territory
- Neighbours: Negative identity

# Components of ethnicity

- **Language**
  - Contains a unique socially transmitted lineage
  - Contains also features transitional towards neighbours
  - Creates a speech community
  - But allows parallel memberships (multilingualism)
- **Genes and culture**
  - Do not contain a unique inherited lineage
  - Always transitional towards neighbours
  - Statistically relevant at the community level
  - Can create boundaries also at the individual level

# Territory and neighbours

- NE Honshu: Sisam = Wajin 和人
- Hokkaido: historically Repun kur = Okhotsk
- C Sakhalin: Orok = Urakata = Uryangkhai
- N Sakhalin: Nivkh = Ghilyak
- Amur basin: Ulcha + Ghilyak + Neghidal
- Sikhote Alin coast: Oroch-Udeghe
- Kurile Islands: none known
- Kamchatka: Southern Kamchadal

# Ainu culture

- Northern features
  - Bear cult
  - Shamanism?
  - Cult of inau?
- Southern features
  - Types of dwelling
  - Methods of subsistence?
  - Technology?

# Ainu genes

- **Palaeo-Japanese heritage**
  - **Concentration on Hokkaido**
  - **Shared with Ryukyans**
  - **Inherited from Jomon population**
- **Transitions towards neighbours**
  - **Jomon heritage in the ethnic Japanese**
  - **Receding towards the N and NW**

# Ainu language

- **Unique features: inherited lineage**
  - Unique basic vocabulary
  - Structural idiosyncracies
- **“Oceanic” parallels: substrata**
  - Simple segmental structure
- **Southern parallels: adstrata**
  - Early contacts with Old Japanese
- **Northern parallels: adstrata**
  - Late contacts with Orok, Ghilyak

# Trial and error

- “Paleo-Asiatic”, “Paleo-Siberian”
- “North-Asiatic” (Street, Patrie) - error!
- “Eurasianic” (Greenberg) - error!
- “Austric” (Bengtson, Blažek) - error!
- Indo-European (Naert) - error!
- Austro-Asiatic (Shafer, Vovin) - error!
- Austronesian (Murayama) - error!



# Chronology

- **When was the Ainu ethnic combination of language, culture and genes formed?**
  - **Language = Jomon heritage**
  - **Genes = Jomon heritage**
  - **Culture = mixture of Jomon, Epi-Jomon, Satsumon and Okhotsk heritage**

# Ethnonymy

- Ainu – recent secondary endonym
- Enciw < \*emisi/u- = 蝦夷 emishi, ebisu, ezo?
- Kuril = Tungusic plural kuri-l < Ewenic?
  - Ghilyak kughi [k<sup>h</sup>uyi]
  - Neghidal kuyi < \*kuri
  - Oroch-Udeghe kuyi < \*kuri
  - Nanai-Ulcha-Orok kuyi < Oroch?
  - Mandarin kuye 庫頁
  - Cf. Ainu kur ‘person’

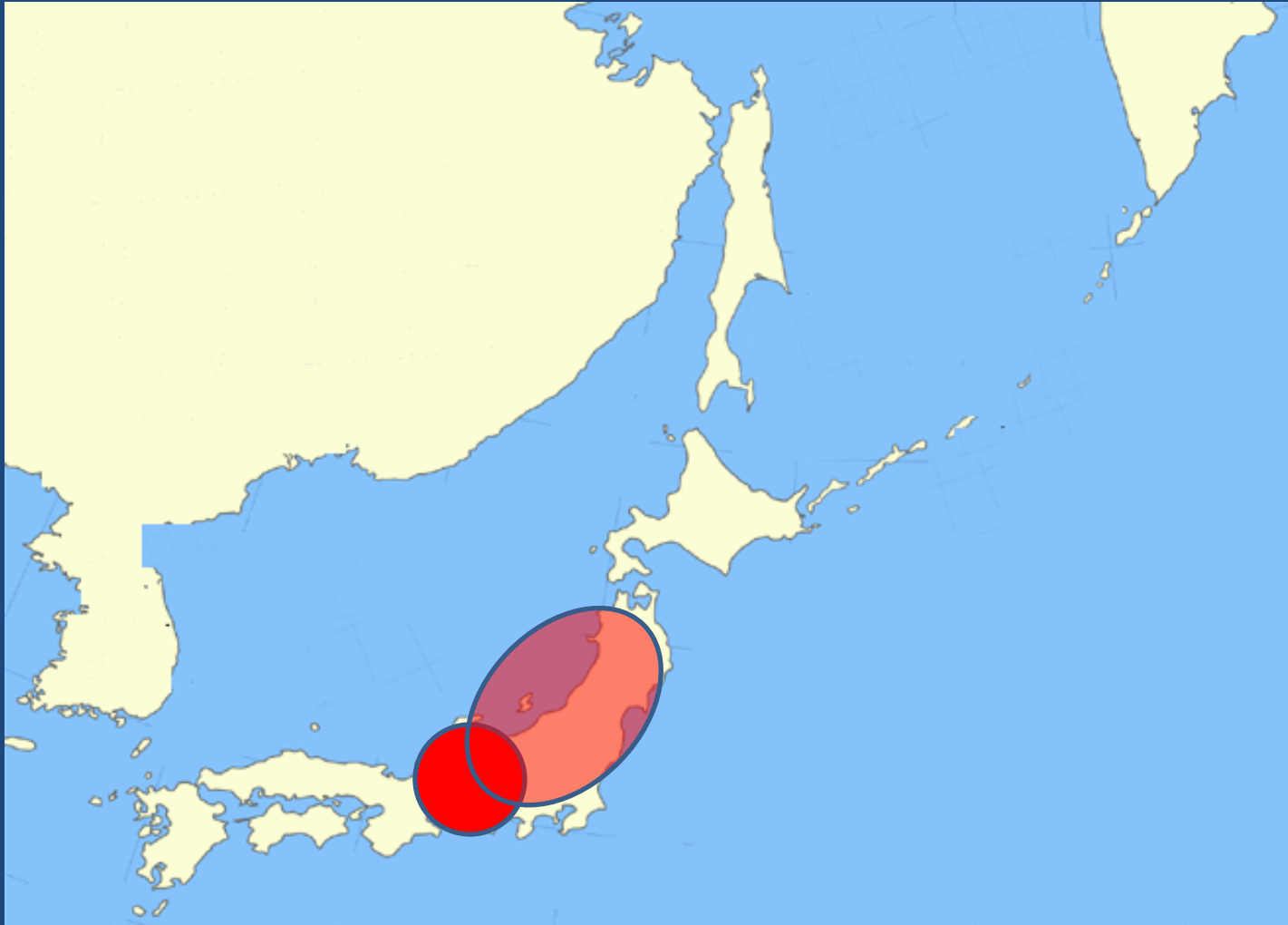
# Geography

- **Where was the AINU ethnic combination of language, culture and genes formed?**
  - **Language = once spoken in the neighbourhood of Old Japanese**
  - **Genes = Jomon genes from Honshu incorporated in local Hokkaido and Sakhalin populations**
  - **Culture = formed as a full complex on Hokkaido**

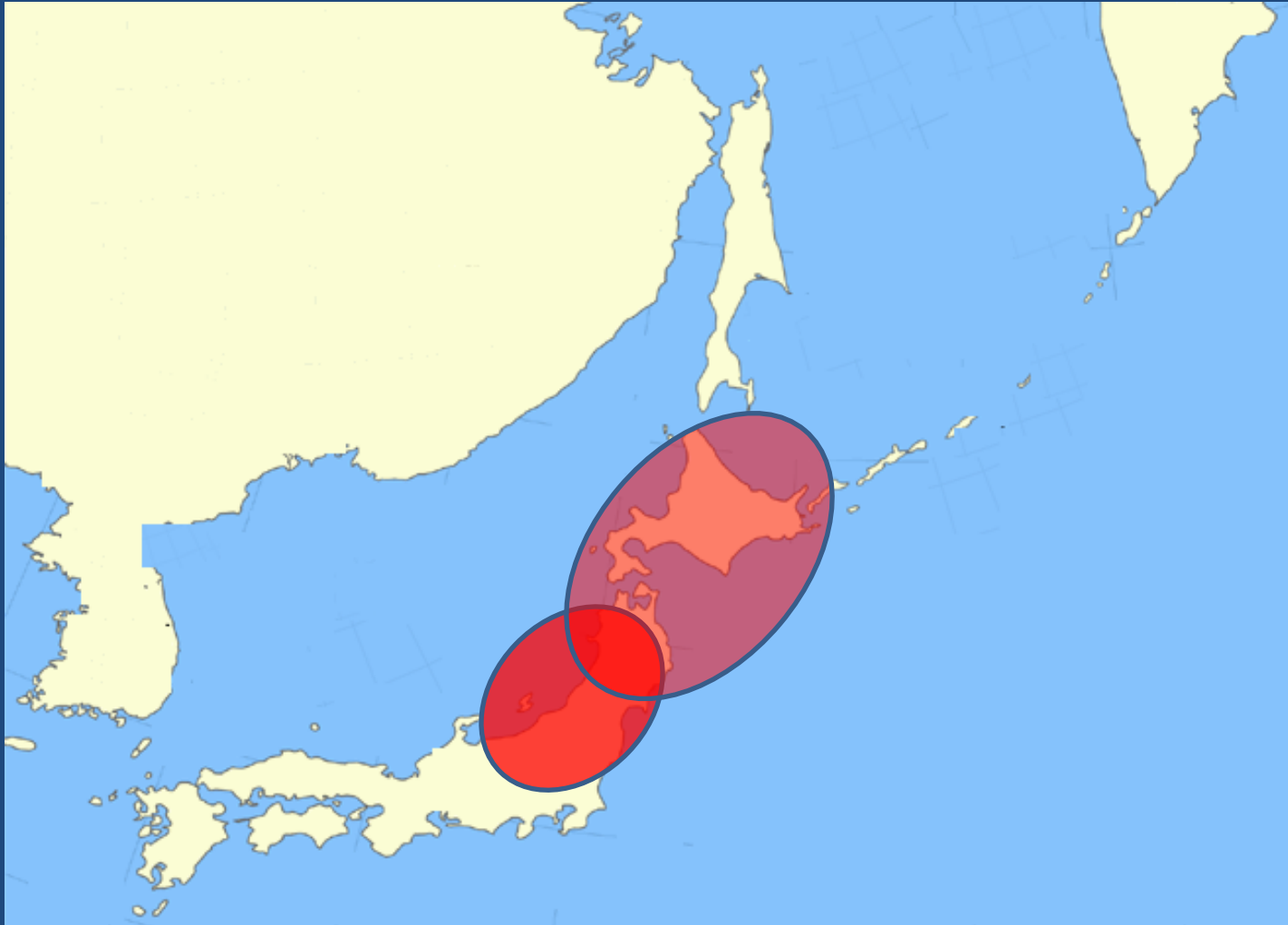
# Language movements

- **Pre-Proto-Ainu homeland in Central Honshu**
  - 1st expansion on Honshu 500-1000 AZ
  - 2nd expansion to Hokkaido 1000-1600
- **Proto-Ainu homeland on Hokkaido**
  - 3rd expansion to Sakhalin 1300-1600?
  - 4th expansion to the Kuriles 1500-1700?
  - 5th expansion to the Amur basin 1600-1800?
  - + subsequent division of N and S Kurile Ainu

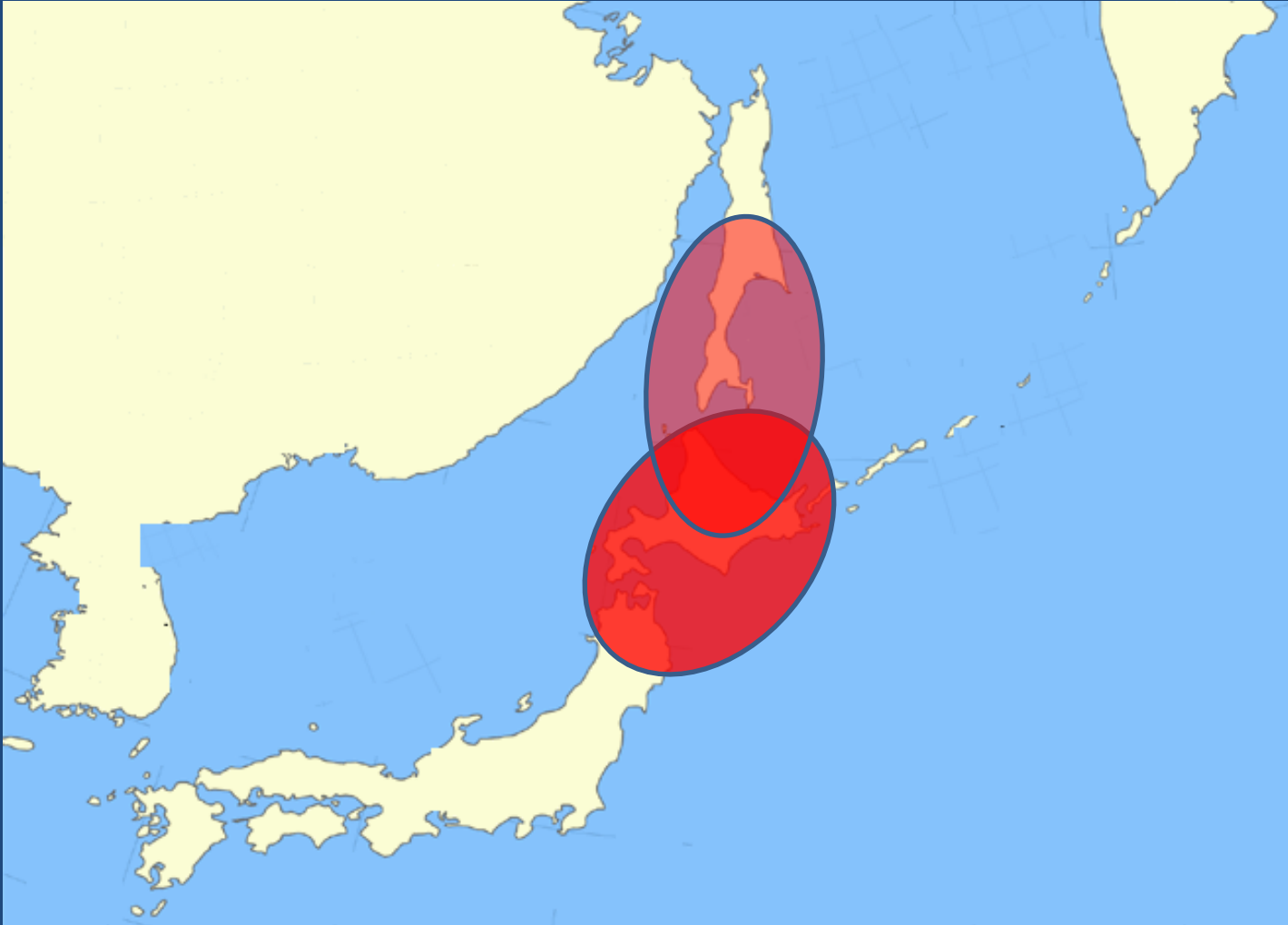
# 1st expansion



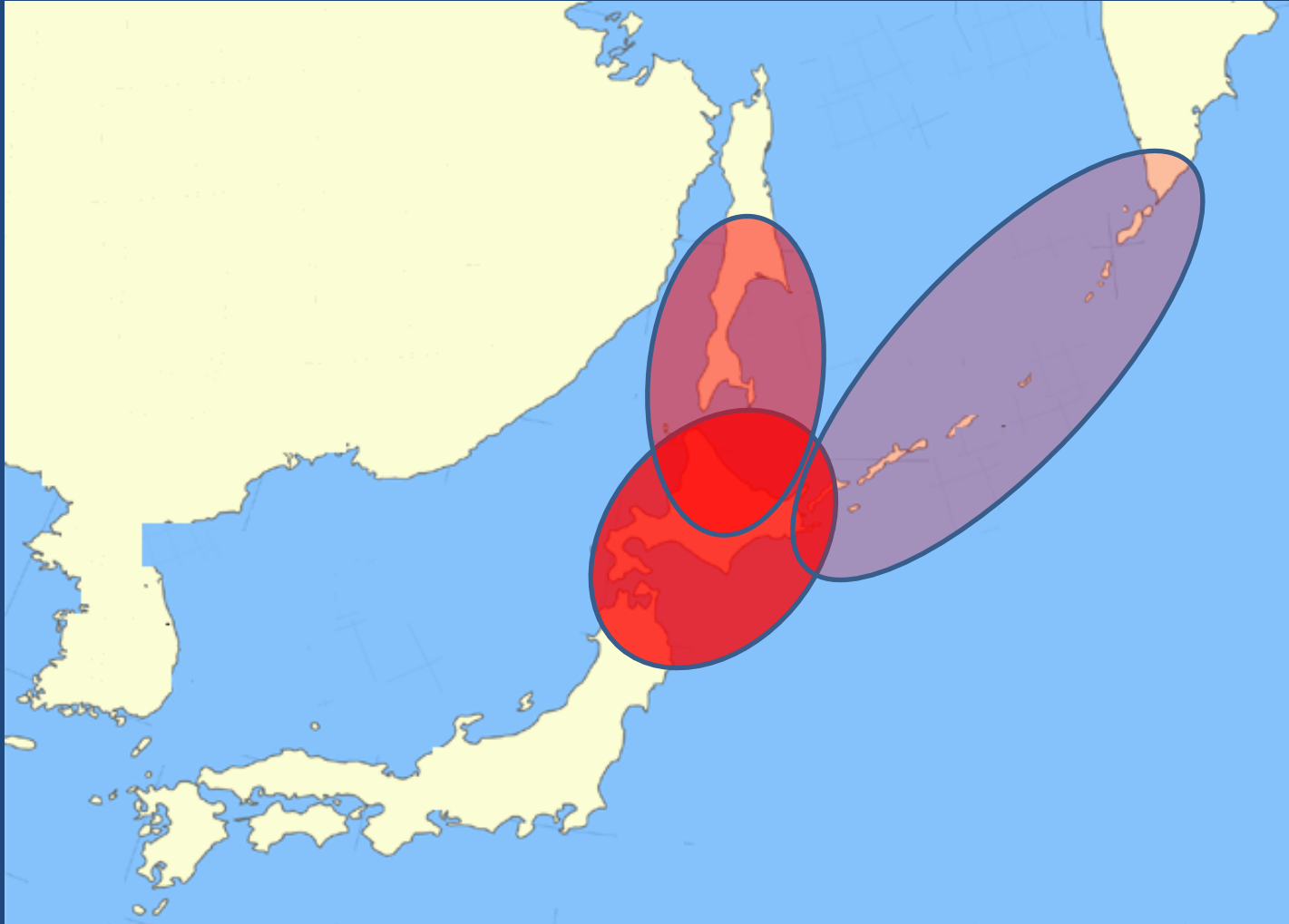
# 2nd expansion



# 3rd expansion

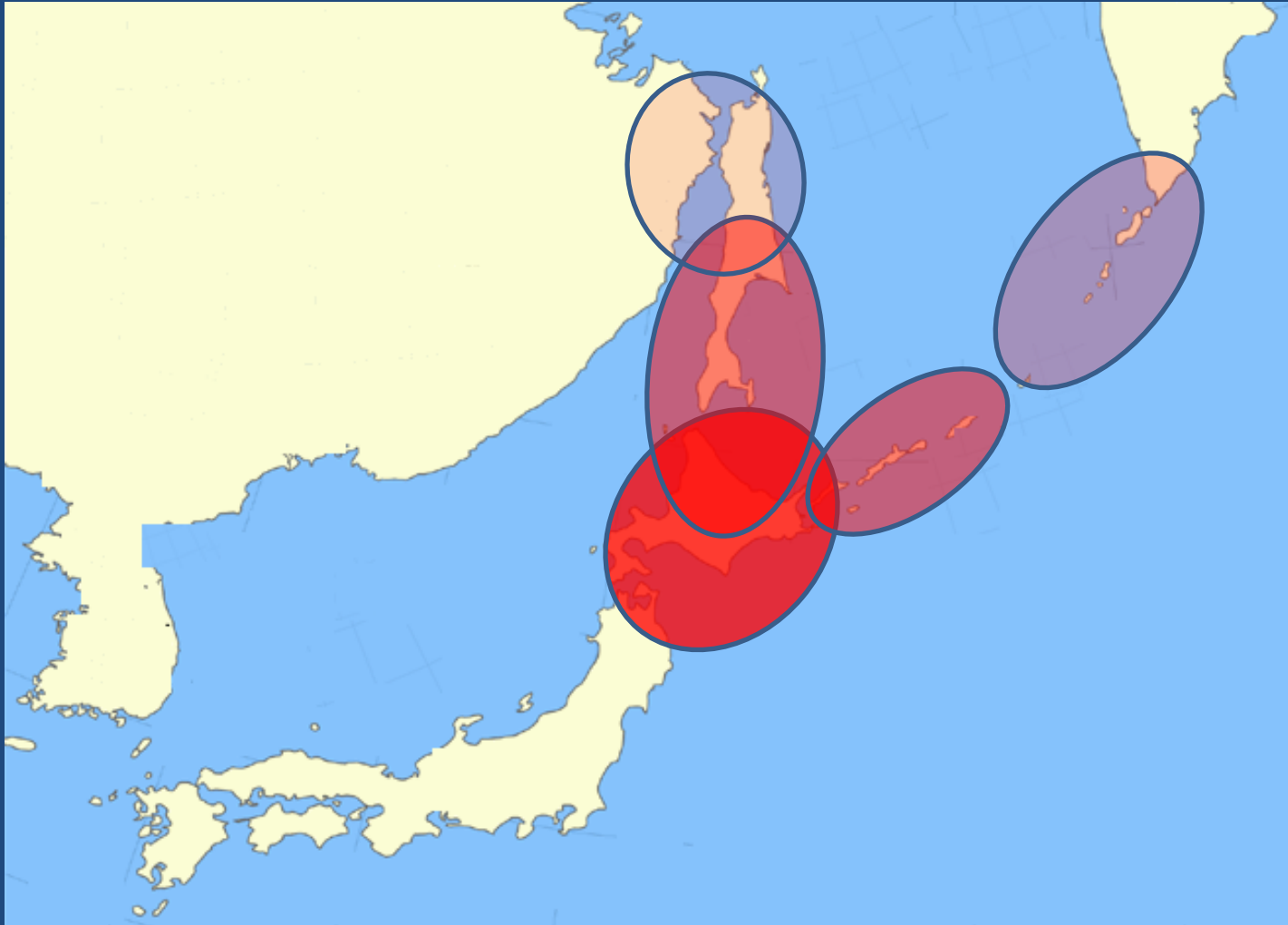


# 4th expansion





# 5th expansion



# Languages extinguished by Ainu

- Northern Honshu – unknown Jomon Iges
- Southern Hokkaido – unknown Epi-Jomon Iges
- Northern Hokkaido – Okhotsk culture Ige
- Southern Sakhalin – Okhotsk + unknown Iges
- Kurile Islands – Okhotsk + unknown Iges?

Potential sources of information: lexical contacts, typological interference, ethnonyms, toponyms, folklore

# Okhotsk language

- (a) Tungusic – Jurchen?
- (b) Amuric – Ghilyak?
- (c) Kamchatic – Itelmen?
- (d) Eskimoic – Yupik?
- (e) Unknown substratal language?
- (f) Many languages of various origins?

“Northern elements in Hokkaido Ainu”? (Vovin)

*inau, mukhuri, kotan* – with Amuric and Tungusic parallels

# Ainu 500 yBP

- Early premodern historical period
- Corresponding to the ethnographic present
- Occupying the Ainu ethnic territory
- A link between Japan and Manchuria
- Possessing the Ainu ethnic complex
- Genetically continuing the Jomon heritage
- But with a possible Okhotsk mixture
- Still a single speech community: Proto-Ainu

# Ainu 1000 yBP

- Late protohistorical period: Satsumon
- Still expanding to the future ethnic territory
- In contact with the Okhotsk complex
- Only incipient Ainu ethnic complex
- Genetically continuing the Jomon heritage
- Speaking Late Pre-Proto-Ainu
- Possibly the only remaining Jomon language
- With unknown internal diversity

# Ainu 1500 yBP

- **Early protohistorical period: Late Epi-Jomon**
- **Northern neighbours of Yamato Japan**
- **In cultural contact with the Kofun complex**
- **Not yet Ainu in the cultural sense**
- **Genetically continuing the Jomon heritage**
- **Speaking Late Pre-Proto-Ainu**
- **Only one of several Epi-Jomon languages**
- **With unknown internal diversity**

# Ainu 2000 yBP

- Late prehistorical period: Early Epi-Jomon
- Distant neighbours of Korea and China
- In cultural contact with the Yayoi complex
- No true Ainu ethnic complex yet
- Genetically continuing the Jomon heritage
- Speaking Early Pre-Proto-Ainu
- Only one of many Epi-Jomon languages
- With unknown internal diversity

# Ainu 2500 yBP

- Early prehistorical period: Late Jomon
- A part of the ethnic diversity of Jomon Japan
- No substantial contacts with the continent
- Not yet Ainu in the cultural sense
- Genetically a part of the Jomon population
- Speaking Early Pre-Proto-Ainu
- Only one of many Late Jomon languages
- Exact location and extension unknown



# Ainu 10000 yBP

- Early Neolithic period: Initial Jomon
- Hunting, gathering, gardening? pottery?
- A part of the ethnic diversity of NE Asia
- One of many local linguistic lineages
- Unknown location and extension
- Probably already on the Japanese Islands
- Genetically a part the local population
- No Ainu ethnic complex yet

# Paleolithic expansion routes

- NW “Amur-Sakhalin” ?
  - NE “Kamchatka-Kuriles” ?
  - W “Korea-Shandong” ?
  - S “Ryukyus” ?
- 
- Impossible to determine, probably a trace of the earliest human expansion to NE Asia, prior to the dispersal of the Asian “race”

# Linguistic origins

- Unrelated to genes and culture
- Impossible to determine any affiliations
- Apparently a trace of a Jomonic family
- But not the only Jomon lineage
- Possibly representative of Jomon typology
  - cf. the uniformity of Jomon culture
  - vs. the complexity of the geographical environment of the Japanese Islands

# Language – Genes – Culture - Territory

The evolution of Ainuness in time and space

kyBP

- 10 L G paleo-ethnic
- 2.5 L G c pre-ethnic
- 1.5 L G c pre-proto-ethnic
- 1.0 L G C t proto-ethnic
- 0.5 L G C T ETHNIC
- 0.0 l g c t post-ethnic > re-ethnic?

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