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Special Theme: Anthropological Studies of the North Pacific Rim

In this issue, four authors introduce topics related to the project *Interdisciplinary Comparison of Historical Change, Current of State, and Future of Indigenous Societies along the North Pacific Rim: From a Perspective of Human History*. Nobuhiro Kishigami led this inter-university research project and invited participants to contribute here. His introductory remarks follow.

History and future of anthropological studies of indigenous cultures and societies along the North Pacific Rim

KISHIGAMI Nobuhiro

National Museum of Ethnology

The North Pacific Rim is a vast geographical area encompassing the northern part of the Japanese archipelago, Sakhalin, the Primorsky Territory, the Amur River basin, the Kamchatka Peninsula, the Chukchi Peninsula, the Alaskan coast, the Pacific coast of Canada and Washington State of the US, the Kuril Islands, the Aleutian Islands, and other islands. It is the coastal area of two continents bordering the Pacific Ocean, above the latitude of approximately 35 degrees north and is rich in marine and forest resources.

This region is also home to numerous indigenous peoples, including the Ainu, Nivkhi, Itelmen, Koryak, Chukchi, Inupiat, Yupiit, Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Kwakwaka'wakw, Coast Salish, Nuu-chah-nulth, Makah peoples, and more (see map next page). Despite linguistic and identity differences, these peoples share

significant cultural elements such as raven myths, salmon fishing, salmon ceremonies, recognition that animals and humans have the same soul, an idea of transformation from human to non-human or/and vice versa, among many others. These resemblances sparked early curiosity among European, American and Russian anthropologists.

The first systematic and comparative research project ("the Jesup North Pacific Expedition") was organized and led by Franz Boas at American Museum of Natural History in New York, US from 1897 to 1902. During this period, V. Bogoraz, V. Jochelson, J. Swanton and others conducted field research among indigenous societies of Kamchatka Peninsula, Chukotka Peninsula, coastal Alaska, and Canada's Pacific coast to produce many important ethnographies. Later, W. Fitzhugh at the National Museum of Natural History, the Smithsonian Institution, led the "Crossroads of Continents" exhibition project in the 1980s in collaboration with

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American, Russian, Canadian and other researchers. In the 1990s, a Japanese linguist, O. Miyaoka of Hokkaido University and later Kyoto University, led a research project on North Pacific languages.

Boas attempted to compare ethnographic data to determine historical relationships among several indigenous peoples on Pacific sides of the old and new continents. The results were inconclusive. Miyaoka sent his young colleagues and students of linguistics to many places along the North Pacific rim to collect basic data on indigenous languages. However, he also was not able to establish historical relationships among the languages. W. Fitzhugh's project addressed many topics including material culture, indigenous economic interactions, conflicts and fur trading in the North Pacific regions, from ancient to the 20th century. He also did not explain similarities among the indigenous cultures in the regions.

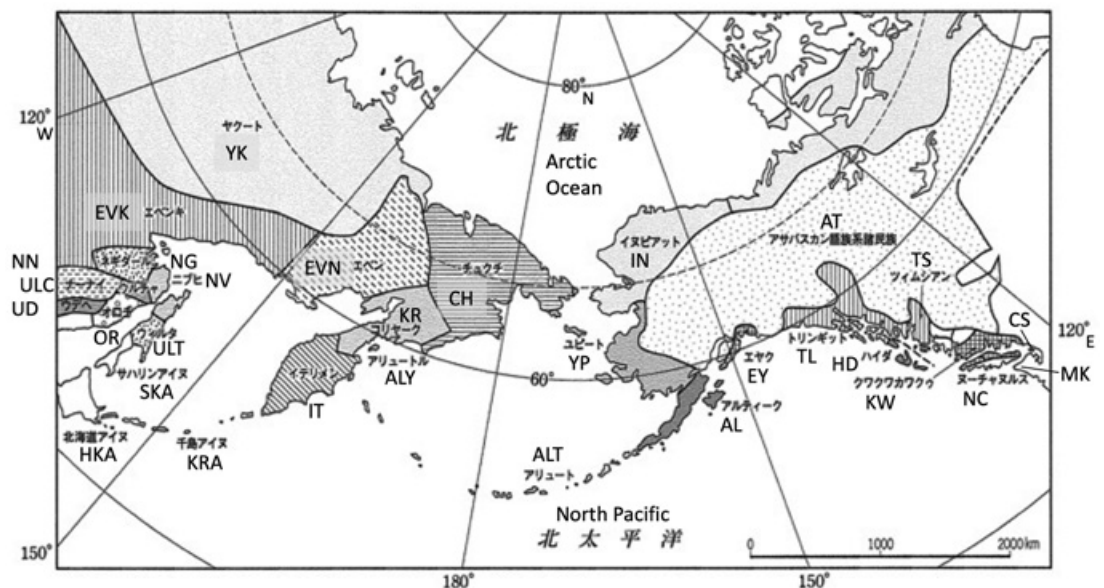
After these projects what research followed in the 21st century? Here I will outline the research trends in linguistics, archeology, and cultural anthropology of the North Pacific Rim.

In the field of linguistics, the main tendency has been for each linguist to devote himself/herself to the syntax, semantics, morphology, phonetics, or/and phonology of a particular indigenous language in the region in order to prepare a grammar and dictionary. Among the few comparative linguists, studies by E. Vajda, P. S. Piispanen and M. Fortescue are notable. Vajda proposed that Na

Dene languages in North America are historically related to Ket language in central Siberia, while Piispanen tried to find a historical relationship between Turkic languages and Yukaghir language in east Siberia. With his Uralo-Siberia hypothesis M. Fortescue proposed that Uralic, Yukaghir, Eskimo-Aleut, and Chukotka-Kamchatkan languages make up one language group. Despite these proposals, there are still very few empirical comparative studies of indigenous languages across the North Pacific. If linguists continue to employ the same approaches as before, I believe, we cannot expect to prove the historical relationships between languages of the region.

Recently, several linguists have focused on loan-word relationships among neighboring languages in the Far East and North America's Northwest Coast regions, to explore historical relationships among the languages. Furthermore, many linguists have cooperated with local indigenous people to restore and vitalize indigenous languages in many areas. It is very important for us to explore the reasons for the existence of closely-spaced but distinct indigenous languages in a limited area along the Northwest Coast region. Such work may shed light on historical migration routes and relationships between the different speaker groups.

For archaeology, crucial questions have been (1) what groups migrated from the Old to New Continents when, on what routes, and how and (2) where and what



Map of indigenous groups around the North Pacific Rim. Abbreviations: **AL** = Alutiq, **ALT**=Aleut, **ALY** = Alyutor, **AT** = Athabaskan peoples, **CH** = Chukchi, **CS** = Coast Salish, **EVK** = Evenki, **EVN** = Even, **EY** = Eyak, **HD** = Haida, **HKA** = Hokkaido Ainu, **IN** = Inupiat, **IT** = Itel'men, **KR** = Koryak, **KRA** = Kuril Ainu, **KW** = Kwakwaka'wakw, **MK** = Makah, **NC** = Nuu-Chah-Nulth, **NG** = Negidals, **NN** = Nanai, **NV** = Nivkhi, **OR** = Oroch, **SKA** = Sakhalin Ainu, **TL** = Tlingit, **TS** = Tsimshian, **UD** = Udege, **ULC** = Ulcha, **ULT** = Uilta, **YK** = Yakut, **YP** = Yupit

kind of human groups and cultures emerged before the 18th century? Recent developments in the archaeology of Northern Eurasia and North America have been nothing short of eye-opening. Archaeologists have elucidated the emergence, change, and diffusion/spread of “archaeological cultures” in Siberia, Alaska, and North America’s Northwest Coast regions by integrating ideas and research results from genome studies, paleoecology, and paleoclimatology and other disciplines into their research.

Various points have become clear: (1) Human migration from the Old to New Continents occurred not once but multiple times. (2) The first human movement took place much earlier than 15,000 years ago. (3) A south-bound route along the Northwest Coast (K. Fladmark names it a “kelp highway”) was an important route for human groups entering North and South America, in addition to the ice-free corridor route between the Cordilleran and Laurentide ice sheets, from approximately 15,000 years ago. (4) Microliths which were made by the Yubetsu method and found in northeastern Asia (ca. 18,000 – 17,500 cal BP) were also found at Swan Point in inland Alaska (ca. 14,500 – 13,500 cal BP). Yu Hirasawa urges us to study microblade assemblages in Hokkaido, Japan and Alaska to explore historical relationships of microblade makers/users in the two continents.

In the field of cultural anthropology since the 1990s, several ethnographies on the Koryak by A. King and T. Irimoto, Aleut by K. Ready-Maschner, Haida by J. Weiss, St. Lawrence Yupik by H. Ikuta, Inupiat by C. Sakakibara and

others were published on the basis of field research, records of historical change, and the current situations among these indigenous groups. However, comparative research of the North Pacific Rim cultures has been rare. Exceptions have been Y. E. Berezkin’s comparison of motifs in the mythologies and oral traditions of indigenous peoples of Siberia and North/South America and N. Kishigami’s research on social organization around the North Pacific Rim. Interdisciplinary and collaborative projects in cultural anthropology with indigenous research partners or principal researchers have increased gradually. Priorities for such research projects in the North Pacific Rim include historical social change, indigenous relationships between humans and non-human beings, the historical influences of natural disasters such as eruption, earthquake, tsunami, and wildfire on indigenous societies, and the impacts of climate change, globalization, and national policies on indigenous peoples.

The study of indigenous cultures and societies around the North Pacific Rim remains a fascinating and important field. To promote research in this region, we must invest in recruiting and training the next generation of researchers, promote interdisciplinary collaboration, and strengthen networks involving both indigenous and non-indigenous stakeholders. This will allow us to collectively explore the rich history of indigenous cultures and societies around the Rim, and consider their future development.

Socio-cultural anthropological studies of the North Pacific Rim

TAKAKURA Hiroki

Tohoku University

The North Pacific indigenous peoples in the early 20th century are well-known as non-egalitarian or complex hunting-gathering societies. These societies range from the Ainu of Hokkaido through indigenous Sakhalin to others of the Eastern Siberian coast, Kamchatka Peninsula, Chukotka Peninsula, and further from Alaska to the northwestern coast of the North American continent, reaching all the

way to California. These societies are diverse, and some even include egalitarian communities, yet they unmistakably represent a significant grouping for reconsideration of hunter-gatherers in human history.

The Potlatch of the indigenous people of the Northwest Coast of North America was highlighted by Franz Boas, the father of American anthropology. It is an ethnographic

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case supporting Mauss's gift-giving theory. However, it was not until the 1980s that these societies began to be seriously examined for their internal inequalities, or social stratification, as they have social hierarchies despite being hunter-gatherer societies.

Alain Testart of France (1982) and Hitoshi Watanabe of Japan (1983) have discussed the relationship between the use of abundant, seasonally-appearing migratory resources, sedentary life, stratification, and the extreme cold of the North Pacific in the context of hunting-gathering. Testart emphasized that food can be stored in cold climates, which he suggested could lead to sedentarization, high population density, and socioeconomic inequality. Watanabe argued that the seasonal appearance and spatial distribution of fishing resources in the North Pacific led to occupational diversification within local communities. He theorized that this resulted in the emergence of different occupations dependent on families, such as hunting-focused and fishing-focused families, and that the social status of hunting families increased because hunting is the technically more challenging. This process led to development of a prestige economy as resources could not be consumed all at once and became surplus. Moreover, highly-organized consumptive rituals such as the Potlatch on the northwest coast and bear hunting in Hokkaido and Sakhalin developed as occasions to display prestige.

However, this fascinating discussion eventually stalled. Due to influences such as the criticism of colonialism and world-system theory, phenomena related to the potlatch and fur trade of the hunter-gatherers in the North Pacific began to be interpreted in relation to the nations that expanded into this region. Japanese anthropologists contributed to this trend. Akihito Tachikawa in 1999 argued that in the case of the Potlatch, significant changes in its traditional religious and symbolic nature followed the introduction of wool blankets by the Hudson Bay Company after colonial rule. Since 1980s, Shiro Sasaki has revealed that tributary trade by modern states such as the Qing Dynasty and Edo Shogunate had a significant impact on indigenous societies in Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the lower Amur River region in the 19th century. Generally, it was argued that the political and economic relationships with colonialism or pre-modern states exacerbated the stratification of hunting-gathering societies. This new

line of research scarcely touched upon previous discussions of stratification and inequality within hunting-gathering societies.

Nevertheless, scholars in the field of Siberian anthropology have discussed these phenomena. Taryo Obayashi (1991) pointed out that the cultural traditions of Siberia and Northern Eurasia can be divided into the mobile hunting culture of inland areas and the settled fishing culture of coastal regions. Russian-originated Igor Krupnik, in his theory of Eurasian extreme-northern adaptation, argued that subsistence patterns of the past 2000 years form a continuum with settled societies focusing on marine mammal hunting and fishing in coastal areas at one extreme, and nomadic societies focusing on reindeer hunting in inland areas at the other extreme—the distribution of food resources changes with climate and socioeconomic conditions. Regional communities' subsistence patterns reflect their historical and cultural background, and converge towards one extreme or another of the continuum. Krupnik proposed that hierarchical societies are based on the ability to store food due to the abundance of migratory resources such as salmon, and cold environment. This adequately explains the ethnographic fact that different livelihood choices exist even within the same ethnic group, such as the coastal Chukchi and Reindeer Chukchi (similarly, the coastal Koryak and Reindeer Koryak). From a research history perspective, Testart's food storage theory and Watanabe's theory of family-based subsistence culture are well integrated in Krupnik's theory.

Research on inequality in complex hunter-gatherer societies has also progressed in the archaeological and ethnographic studies of indigenous peoples along the northwest coast of North America. In 2016, the American archaeologists Ames & Maschner, argued that sedentarization and population growth began around 4300 BC in the Cascade mountain region, and that the marking of special status by lip decoration artifact started around 2500 BC. An economy based on salmon storage was established around 1800 BC. The hierarchical society advanced further, and slavery was established around 600 BC. While reconstructing the ethnographic history of the indigenous peoples of in this region, Flannery and his colleagues suggested that wealth and inequality can emerge in society solely from wild resources. Historically, chiefs of the Chumash society living on the Channel

Islands (California) monopolized the production of thick-plank canoes. Potlatch ceremonies that dissipated wealth, as observed in the early 20th century, may have occurred because colonial governments prohibited intergroup warfare over resources in the first place. Flannery and colleagues emphasize that the system of enslaving people in war, an example of hierarchy, existed before contact with Western societies. They argue that the key to generating inequality was the combination of migratory fish resources that cannot be consumed at once, and social organization. According to them, the principle of non-bilateral social

organization (patrilineal or matrilineal) is essential to explain the existence of egalitarian and non-egalitarian societies in the same resource environment.

Based on ethnographic records of traditional societies in the North Pacific, we can see social inequalities emerging from ecological factors that existed before historical relationships with the state. It is a mistake in modern historical theory to assume that hunting and gathering societies were previously egalitarian. Further theoretical considerations remain to be explored in the future.

Archaeological studies in Siberia and the North Pacific Rim

KATO Hirofumi

Hokkaido University

The North Pacific Rim, including the Russian Far East, was a gateway for human migration from North Eurasia to the Americas. After leaving Africa, modern humans reached the Australian continent 60,000 years ago and expanded into the Arctic region 30,000 years ago. The advance of human groups into the Americas can be seen as the final journey of human expansion to five continents.



Mammoth Ivory Venus from Mal'ta site stored at the State Hermitage Museum, Russia (Kato)

Despite substantial interest in the North Pacific Rim, there have been relatively few archaeological studies and their findings have not been widely shared. This can be attributed to the low population density, lack of industrial development, and political conflict in the region. The Cold War structure resulting from political conflicts of the 20th century has had a major impact. Organized research and international collaboration have been difficult. Since the Jesup North Pacific Expedition in 1897-1903, international collaboration between the USA and the Soviet Union has often been interrupted.

This paper provides an overview of the main issues in recent archaeological research in the North Pacific Rim and offers perspectives for future research.

From an archaeological perspective, recent research issues in the North Pacific Rim can be divided into three main categories: 1) timing of human migration to the Americas, 2) marine adaptation and technological innovation in relation to migration routes, and 3) the origins of ethnolinguistic diversity.

According to the standard model of human migration from Eurasia to the Americas, the first human movements occurred on the Eurasian

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side during the Last Glacial Maximum (26,000-19,000 years ago), followed by the migration and spread of human groups to the Americas 14,000-12,000 years ago. However, the "Clovis First Hypothesis," which considers early migratory groups to have been large-animal hunters who expanded into the Americas 13,000 years ago, is now no longer the best model.

Archaeological remains indicating human activity around 15,000 years ago have been found at the Buttermilk Creek complex, Meadowcroft Rockshelter and Monte Verde, and in recent years, Pre-Clovis sites were reported at Topper (16,000 years BP) and the Chiquihuite cave (26,000 years BP). Human footprints dating to 26,000-18,000 years BP were found at White Sands National Park in 2021. Biomarkers from Lake E5 and buried lake sediments in northern Alaska also indicate the presence of humans at 30,000 years BP. In the light of these early and geographically widespread dates, the timing of human migration and dispersal models for arrival in North America are being reconsidered.

The situation in Northern Eurasia

is also complex. The Yana RHS site at 70°N shows that human groups expanded into the Arctic at 31,000 years BP. The site has yielded a lithic assemblage with unique exfoliation techniques and a large quantity of horn-bone tools, providing a rich assemblage for reconstructing the toolkit of Pleistocene hunter-gatherers.

Genetic analysis of human teeth from the Yana RHS site has also been possible. A team from the University of Copenhagen reported ancient DNA results for remains from 34 individuals from a range of sites, including Yana RHS. The analysis revealed at least three populations and their dispersals since about 30,000 years ago, mainly in north-eastern (NE) Siberia. These are referred to as "Ancient Northern Siberian (ANS)", the "Ancient Paleo-Siberian (APS)" and the "Neo-Siberian (NS)". It has been suggested that the earliest "ANS" entering Northeast Siberia was not the direct ancestor of the Native Americans. The results of the rapidly advancing studies of ancient human genomes will have a significant impact on future models of human diffusion.



Whole skeleton of the woolly rhinoceros displayed at the Mammoth Museum of North-Eastern Federal University in Yakutia, Russia (Kato, 2016)

Learning more about marine adaptation and innovation, in relation to the migration routes of prehistoric humans, will require a reassessment of the coastal migration hypothesis. This hypothesis was proposed by Fladmark in 1979 and has been touted as an alternative to the ice-free corridor migration hypothesis. Testing the

coastal migration hypothesis has been hampered by the difficulty in finding sites that have been submerged by sea-level rise since around 18,000 years BP. A Channel Islands site and sites on Vancouver Island and Triquet Island have shown that human groups adapted to the island environments between 16,000-14,000 year ago. At

such coastal sites, food resources are more abundant and less seasonally variable than at inland sites.

Archaeological sites in the Japanese archipelago, island Southeast Asia, and the Pacific islands show that the exploitation of marine resources and marine adaptation began earlier than previously expected. In the Oki and Izu island groups of Japan, planned systematic voyages to remote islands to secure lithic materials are known. Fish and crabs were important food resources at coastal sites, including those in the Ryukyu Islands. Further information on resource exploitation in coastal areas will be forthcoming, but models can assume that a variety of marine resources assisted coastal migration, as in the “Kelp Highway Hypothesis” proposed by Arlandson and others in 2007.

Technological innovations were essential for prehistoric humans to adapt to coastal environments and utilize marine resources effectively. Pre-adaptation to coastal environments involved the use of freshwater resources such as fish in large inland rivers, and development of a wide range of fishing gear. Siberia has many large rivers with diverse and abundant fish species, as in marine environments. It is evident from the distribution of archaeological sites with fish bones that prehistoric humans used rivers in the process of migration within the continent. To understand the preliminary steps toward marine adaptation, models for riverine adaptation in the continental interior must be considered. Particular points of interest for future studies are:

- use of large rivers and lakes as hunting grounds for large mammals
- use of river and plant resources for seasonal risk avoidance
- river fishing and aquatic resource gathering activities, mainly by women and children
- the boats or canoes used for water transport and as equipment for subsistence activities (e.g. collecting reeds and lithic materials, fishing, and hunting).

The North Pacific Rim is an important region for testing models of maritime adaptation and human migration around the Last Glacial Maximum. This region is also currently inhabited by diverse ethnolinguistic groups whose historical formation process is not clear. Further evidence is needed to reconstruct this formation process.

Nevertheless, attempting to reconstruct population origins and ethnogenetic processes through genomic research is now possible and highly recommended. Such work has indicated relatively stable population continuity from the Mesolithic to the Bronze age in the eastern part of the region bound by Lake Baikal, while large-scale population movements have been reconstructed in the western part of Lake Baikal and Yakutia. Of special interest will be the human genetic relationships between bearers of the Paleo-Inuit Saqqaq culture and the Belikachi cultural complex in Yakutia. This will be important for exploring Paleo Inuit ancestral populations in Northeast Asia, and Siberia in particular.



Central Arctic kayak displayed at the National Museum of the American Indian, USA (Kato, 2010)

Current status and prospects for the study of languages across the North Pacific Rim

HORI Hirofumi

Shizuoka University

KUREBITO Megumi

Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples

HORI Hirofumi is professor of linguistics at Shizuoka University, Japan. He has been documenting the Haida language spoken on Haida Gwaii (formerly known as the Queen Charlotte Islands) in British Columbia, Canada. His recent paper on "Verbal Classifiers in Haida", was published in *Gengo Kenkyu* (No.162, 2022).

KUREBITO Megumi is a professor emeritus at the University of Toyama and currently director of the Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples. She has been engaged in descriptive linguistic research on the Koryak language, which belongs to Chukchi-Kamchatkan language family and is found in the Magadan region of the Russian Federation. Her recent papers include "Koryakugo no futeishi to fukudoushi wo kenmusuru keishiki ni tsuite (The form of Koryak that doubles as an infinitive and a converb)" in *Hoppo Gengo Kenkyu* (No.13, 2023).

With its many genetically and typologically distinct languages, the North Pacific Rim has attracted the attention of many scholars. The indigenous languages of the Northwest Coast of North America and the Paleo-Asiatic languages of Northeast Asia are particularly important when considering the route of human migration from the Old to the New Continent. In this essay, after looking at relationships among the languages of the Northwest Coast of North America and among the languages of Northeast Asia respectively, we will present the findings of recent research on the relationship between the languages of both regions.

The Northwest Coast of North America, ranging from southern Alaska to northern California, is a region of especially high linguistic diversity, in genetic and typological terms, and represents a very complicated, intricate linguistic context that differs considerably from the rest of North America.

Similarities across the diversity in the Northwest Coast are not considered to be evidence of a genetic relationship; they are considered to be the cumulative result of diffusion across languages. Over the last few decades, some attempts have been made to define language areas, including the Northern and Central Northwest Coast language areas, among others.

The Northern Northwest Coast language area proposed by Jeff Leer in 1991, includes Haida (an isolate), Eyak (Na-Dene), and Aleut (Eskaleut). The morphosyntactic traits that Leer considered to be the strongest evidence are promiscuous number marking and periphrastic possessive constructions. The former is found in all three languages and in Tlingit (Na-Dene), which belongs peripherally to this language area, whereas the latter is observed only in Eyak and Haida.

The Eyak, Aleut, and Tlingit languages share a lack or paucity of labial obstruents with Proto-Athabaskan. The fact that Eyak and Haida show promiscuous number markings suggests that they had prolonged close contact, while Aleut, belonging to the Arctic cultural area, appears to have had loose contact with the other two language groups. Eventually, the language area was broken up by the intrusion of Tlingit and Alutiiq (Eskimoan). Leer also pointed out that lexical borrowings between Aleut and Eyak, or between Aleut and Haida, are very few or virtually none, suggesting that there might have been other now-extinct languages in the area.

Languages of the Central Northwest Coast language area consist of Salishan, Wakashan, and Chimakuan, which Edward Sapir, in his 1929 paper, claimed to be genetically related. David Beck in 2000 stated that structural similarities between these languages emerged through long-term intimate contact, rather than being inherited from a common origin. In contrast to the structural similarities, lexical borrowings are relatively few. This is typical of a Sprachbund where widespread grammatical and phonological similarities are observed with few lexical similarities – as pointed out by Sarah Thomason and Terrence Kaufman in their seminal work published in 1988.

The Northwest Coast area is known to have been densely populated compared to other areas in North America. As a result, people interacted with each other closely through trade, intermarriage, warfare and slavery long before contact with Europeans. The language situation in the past can be surmised to a certain degree using the methods of historical linguistics, but these can only reveal parts of the whole picture that might be gained with the help of other disciplines.

We turn now to Northeast Siberia. Paleo-Asiatic languages in this region include Ket, Yukaghir, Nivkh, and the Chukchi-Kamchatkan language family (Chukchi, Koryak, Kerek, Alutor and Itelmen). The Ainu language was also considered to belong to the Paleo-Asiatic group. Chukchi-Kamchatkan, in particular, has many phonological and grammatical features in common with the languages of North America and has been considered key to understanding the relationship between the languages of the two continents. Common features include asymmetrical vowel harmony, polysynthesis, and noun incorporation, which are not found in Altaic languages of Northeast Asia. More importantly, these features are also found in the geographically-closer Nivkh and Ainu (although the latter lacks vowel harmony), which are considered genetically unrelated to Chukchi-Kamchatkan.

Asymmetrical vowel harmony with two series of vowels is found in the Nez Perce language of North America, and the Chukchi language of Northeast Asia (Koryak in the Chukchi-Kamchatkan family has three series of vowels). Nivkh shows traces of similar vowel harmony, but these are now virtually lost.

Polysynthesis of languages across the North Pacific Rim has led to continuous variation with Eskimo, located at the northernmost center, as one pole. The languages gradually become less synthetic as our view moves westward to Northeast Asia and eastward to North America. In Northeast Asia, the Chukchi-Kamchatkan, Nivkh and Ainu languages are considered polysynthetic.

In addition, incorporation – a morphological technique to enhance synthesis – has a dense distribution in central, eastern, and southern North America; and is found in the northwest with limited use. It is also found in the three Northeast Asian languages (although Nivkh is controversial, and Itelmen has no incorporation).

Based on these similarities and phonological correspondences, Michael Fortescue in 2011 proposed the Proto-CKA hypothesis. This suggests a possible genetic relationship between Chukchi-Kamchatkan and Nivkh. The apparent differences between these languages is due to the fact that Nivkh inflectional verb morphology was abraded by the influence of surrounding languages, while Chukchi-Kamchatkan existed in isolation in the tundra and could therefore retain its complex inflectional verb morphology.

There have been few genetic linguistic studies on the relationship between Chukchi-Kamchatkan languages and Ainu. However, it is noteworthy that Ainu and Chukchi (also Koryak) have prefixes (Ainu: *i-*, Chukchi/Koryak: *ine-/ena-*) that are mutually similar in form and serve the same functions. This might lead to elucidation of the genetic relationships between these languages.

Archeological and ethnological research have revealed that Nivkh and Koryak likely came into contact on the northwest coast of Okhotsk, whereas Ainu and Itelmen came into contact in southern Kamchatka. The next urgent task is to elucidate relationships between the languages of these cultural groups.



Koryak reindeer herder in Magadan area of the Russian Far East (Kurebito, 2001)

Overall, only intermittent attempts have been made to elucidate relationships between languages of the Old and New Continents since the efforts of Franz Boas. A notable recent attempt is Fortescue's 1998 "Uralo-Siberian hypothesis" suggesting that Uralo-Siberian languages – consisting of the Uralic languages, Yukaghir, Eskimo-Aleut and less-certainly Chukchi-Kamchatkan – may have emerged out of "Proto-Uralo-Siberian."

The "Dene-Yeniseian hypothesis" advocated by Edward Vajda also assumes a genetic relationship between Eurasia and North America. In a series of publications (most recently in 2022), Vajda claims that Ket (the only surviving Yeniseian language in central Siberia) and the Na-Dene languages (consisting of Tlingit, Eyak, and the Athabaskan subfamily) are

genetically related. This argument is based on the sound correspondences, lexical cognates, and morphological homologies that these languages appear to share. Although emphasizing that only linguistic evidence can prove validity of the hypothesis, Vajda insists that data from human genetics and archaeology are consistent with the hypothesis. He estimates that the time depth of Proto-Dene-Yeniseian ranges from 6700 to 5900 BP, that Proto-Na-Dene began to diverge at approximately 5000 to 4400 BP and Yeniseian at 2000 BP or earlier.

How the Dene-Yeniseian and Uralo-Siberian hypotheses relate to each other is another problem to be investigated in the future. That work will surely provide a new scenario for the migration of people from Asia to North America.

Column

Northwest Pacific Rim collections at Minpaku

As a supplement to the special theme essays presented in this issue of the Newsletter, we have collated information on artefact collections at Minpaku from all regions of the Northwest Pacific Rim (northern Japan to the Californian coast of northern USA) (see table next page). The records here come from the online "Specimen material catalog database" (<https://htq.minpaku.ac.jp/menu/database>). All

artefacts recorded reached the museum after 1975, our founding year, but the actual dates of collection go back to the 19th century (see example in photo).

No artefacts were found in the database for the following groups (see map on p. 2, this volume): AL (Alutiiq), ALY (Alyutor), EY (Eyak), IN (Inupiat), IT (Itel'men), NG (Negidals), or ULC (Ulcha). The total number of artefacts found in the full search (not including



Belt fitting (leather, bronze) used by Nanai people of the Lower Amur River Basin, Khabarovsk Krai, Russian Federation. Collected 2002, a 19th century object preserved by villager. (Minpaku collection no. H0228094).

most “Eskimo”) was 6,599. The most represented group, by far, is comprised of the Hokkaido Ainu (HKA) and Sakhalin Ainu (SKA) (4,206).

The database does not distinguish the geographical origins for all Ainu artefacts. To identify geographical origins and source communities for these artefacts, it would be necessary to examine each one, find original field labels (if present), and relate each artefact to other information sources (e.g. collectors’ field notes and photographs). A further problem is that different collectors have used different general or specific terms to identify source areas and communities, so there is no consistent use of terms. This is a general problem for all

collections held by Minpaku, and most other ethnological museums.

Outside of Hokkaido, Japan, the most represented area is the Pacific Northwest Coast, with 1,032 artefacts from several groups within that region. From the Eurasian mainland, the Nannai of the Amur River Basin are best represented (653). (See photo and table). While the numbers are important, the cultural and historical significance of artefacts is not conveyed by counts such as this. To go beyond numbers requires efforts in many related disciplines (see essays in this issue).

Peter J. Matthews and E. Tabuchi
National Museum of Ethnology

Area or tribal name	Names used in database	No.	Remarks
Alaska and northern Canada (outside “Pacific Rim” area)	Alaska Eskimo, 38; Eskimo, 102; Inuit (Canada Eskimo), 5; イヌイト, 219; イヌイト(カナダエスキモ-), 73	437	イヌイト (J, Inuit), イヌイト (カナダエスキモ-) (J, Canadian Eskimo). “Eskimo” is a broad term, and may have been applied to artefacts from Yupiit (see YP) or Inupiat (see IN)
ALT=Aleut	Aleut, 2; Aleut or Eskimo, 10	12	May include some non-Aleut materials (see Alaska and northern Canada, above)
AT = Athabaskan peoples	Carrier, 10; Chadalar Kutchin, 2; Tahltan, 4; Upper Tanana, 13	29	
CH = Chukchi	Chukchee	24	
CS = Coast Salish	Coast Salish, 35; Northwest Salish, 1, Salish, 43	79	Coast Salish territories on the Pacific NW coast span coastal British Columbia (Canada) and Washington State (USA)
EVK = Evenki	ditto	5	
EVN = Even	ditto	39	
HD = Haida	ditto	101	
HKA = Hokkaido Ainu	Ainu, 302; アイヌ, 3,904	4,206	May also include early collections from Sakhalin; see also SKA
Heiltsuk (not on map)	Bella Bella	2	Located in Central Coast region of British Columbia
KR = Koryak	ditto	6	-
KRA = Kuril Ainu	ditto	71	-
KW = Kwakwaka'wakw	Kwakiuti, 221; Kwakiutl, 176; Kwakwaka'wakw, 3	400	-
MK = Makah	ditto	2	-
NC = Nuu-Chah-Nulth	Nootka	221	-
NN = Nanai	Nanai E), 225; Nanai Samagir, 12; ナナイ230; ナナーイ, 186	653	ナナイ, ナナーイ (J, two spellings for Nanai). People of the Amur basin.
Pacific Northwest Coast	Northwest Coast Indian, 50; Northwest coast tribe, 3; 北西海岸先住民, 127; カナダ (Northwest coast) 30	210	北西海岸先住民 (J, Northwest Coast Indian). These collections may come from various groups, e.g. Eyak (EY), Coast Salish (CS), Kwakwaka'wakw (KW), Makah (MK) Nuu-Chah-Nulth (NC), Tlingit (TL), Haida (HD), Tsimshian (TS) or others.
NV = Nivkhi	Nivkh Gilyak, 50; Nivkh, 67	117	-
OR = Oroch	Orok	78	Sometimes called Uilta; see also Uilta (ULT)
SKA = Sakhalin Ainu	Sakkaline, 9; Sakhalin Ainu 5	14	May also be found among artefacts identified only as “Ainu” (see HKA)
TL = Tlingit	ditto	53	-
TS = Tsimshian	ditto	176	-
UD = Udege	Udekhe	23	-
ULT = Uilta	Uilta Orok, 57; ウイルタ (Uilta) オロッコ (Orok), 238	295	Sometimes called Orok (see OR)
YK = Yakut	ditto	15	-
YP = Yupiit	Alaska Eskimo, Yupik (pl. Yupiit)	2	May also be found among artefacts identified only as “Eskimo”; see Alaska and northern Canada

Exhibition

“Arte Popular”: The Creative and Critical Power of Latin Americans

Special Exhibition
March 9-May 30, 2023

As the chief curator of the title exhibition, I tried to showcase the cultural richness of the expansive Latin American region by displaying a wide variety of “arte popular”, a Spanish term with meaning close to “folk art” and/or “popular art”.

I chose to focus on “arte popular” because the concept itself is polysemic in the context of contemporary Latin American society. Three principal meanings of “arte popular” are: plastic expression inherited by various ethnic cultures, national art encouraged by the state, and expression of a critical spirit by citizens. Thus, “arte popular” includes a diverse range of artistic genres.

Regarding the first, we combined a time axis from pre-Hispanic times to the present with a spatial axis that spanned Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean. The exhibited

works from different periods and places allowed visitors to experience the ethnic diversity inherent in “arte popular” across the region. “Arte popular” in the second and third senses is defined by the political background of artworks, and has rarely been treated in Minpaku’s permanent exhibitions. This Special Exhibition was an experiment to represent the cultural diversity of Latin America not only in terms of ethnic diversity, but also in terms of the diversity of perspectives from which “arte popular” is created and perceived.

What were the outcomes? The special exhibition fostered significant visitor interaction, with approximately 45,000 attendees, making it one of the biggest events of its kind in the Spring season at Minpaku. The exhibition was accompanied by an array of workshops, concerts, and related events each weekend, presenting visitors with opportunities to engage with Latin American culture through diverse media and genres.

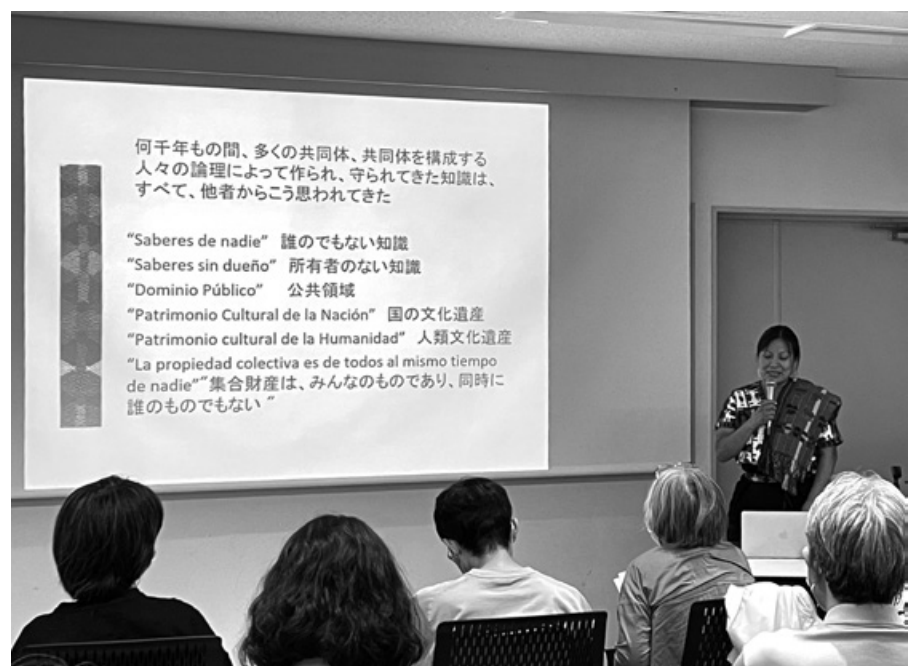
Media reviews were generally positive for the exhibition. It received coverage in the cultural sections of

major national newspapers, and was featured on NHK’s art programs, increasing its visibility nationally. Art experts frequently posted reviews on social networking services and in art magazines, with some highlighting the third meaning of “arte popular” as particularly noteworthy for reaffirming the political nature of art.

Nevertheless, the exhibition left some issues unresolved. Interactions between the museum and Latin American art creators was limited, although some interactions of this kind took place through related events. Educational programs, such as a concert of Andean folk songs by a Peruvian singer and a Japanese guitarist and a workshop by an activist of the Guatemalan national movement of female weavers, attracted a great amount of interest. However, during the planning stages of the exhibition, there was little opportunity to consult with local artists. This was due to the fact that the actual preparation period for the exhibition was only about two years, during which time it was affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. A much longer preparation period would have been needed to curate



Signboard for the special exhibition (Minpaku, 2023).



International Workshop on Intellectual Property of Mayan Costumes (Minpaku, May 13, 2023).

the exhibition with the direct involvement of Latin Americans themselves.

SUZUKI Motoi
National Museum of Ethnology

The Hunter's View of the Earth

Collection Exhibition
July 6-August 8, 2023

The fact that we humans were able to spread to all corners of the world during the Paleolithic Era is largely due to hunting. Since ancient times, we have hunted in various regions, sharing our prey and cooperating with each other to survive. Human history and hunting are inseparably linked.

This exhibition featured photographs and videos of hunting scenes from around the world, showing hunting techniques and knowledge I have acquired through my apprenticeship with local hunters living in the savannas of Africa, tropical and temperate forests, and ocean of the Arctic. The aim of the exhibition was to present a culmination of 40 years of hunting research, and to consider hunting around the world within its global environmental context. Findings presented in the exhibition included the following.

Diverse hunting techniques have been developed in response to the diverse environments of the Earth. Hunting methods that involve spears, bows and arrows, and spring traps are very widespread, while the uses of blowguns and drop traps are found in limited areas. Although hunting methods have been said to have changed in a sequence from spears to bows and arrows, and then to traps, it was necessary to establish new frameworks appropriate to each region.

There are also relationships between hunting and infectious diseases of humans and animals (including COVID19), damage caused by wild boars and bears in Japan, and the



Hunting in Japan: photos, equipment and a wild boar (J. Miyazaki, Minpaku, 2023)



Blowgun hunting in Amazon (J. Miyazaki, Minpaku, 2023)

wars that continue unabated in many parts of the world. These relationships were clarified to some extent. Of particular interest is change in the use of spears and bows and arrows by humans from animal-hunting to tools of warfare. When and why did this change occur?

In these ways, the exhibition was an attempt to pursue what "humanity" is in terms of environmental adaptability and social cooperation, through the eyes of the world's hunters, and as seen through my own fieldwork across the Earth.

For public education, we held a weekend salon at the museum, and lectures with guided tours of the exhibition. A public talk was also given by Mr Yoshiharu Sekine (a professional adventurer) attracted people and was well received.

Kazunobu Ikeya
National Museum of Ethnology

Award

Educational tools for children and the Kids Design Award 2023

More than 20% of the visitors to the Minpaku are primary school children. The museum aims to be a place for social education where children can come into contact with the lives and cultures of people around the world. In order to stimulate interest and discovery, the Working Group for Social Collaboration Projects at the museum has developed a number of workshops and educational tools.

A set of *Activity Cards* and a *Map for Children* received the *Kids Design Award 2023* from the Kids Design Association (see next page). These materials were developed to support children touring the Minpaku galleries, which occupy a very

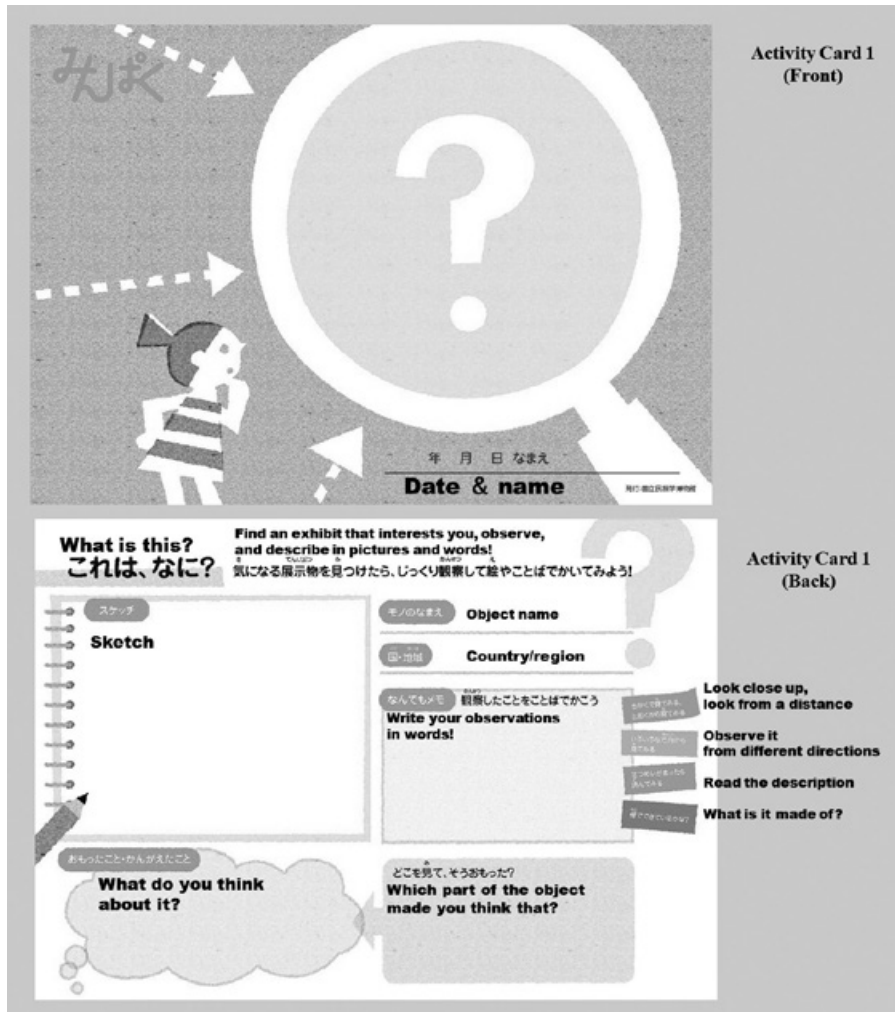
large exhibition space with many exhibits. The *Activity Cards* encourage children to select objects and think about object materials, people's lives and cultural contexts, while following their own individual interests. There are eight types of card including cards for (1) carefully observing a single object, (2) new discoveries through dialogue with friends and family, (3) thinking about cultural differences by comparing them with one's own lifestyle, and (4) imagining the people who used an object based on its structure and material composition.

These cards and the *Map for Children* have been well received, especially by primary school students who visit the Minpaku for field trips.

Emi Okada
National Museum of Ethnology



Using an Activity Card (Kayako Saotome, 2021)



Example of Activity Card (instructions translated here) (Working Group for Social Collaboration Projects, Minpaku, 2021)

What is the Kids Design Association ?

'The Kids Design Association is a non-profit organization (NPO) aiming to contribute to creating a social environment that leads to the healthy growth and development of children, who make up the next generation. The Association consists of various member companies and other organizations supporting the Association. The objectives of the Association are to widely publicize and disseminate kids' design principles and thereby expand the development of products and creation of content taking the standpoint of children into consideration.' (URL kidsdesign.jp)

Information

Retirements

After many years at Minpaku, the following staff members will retire in March 2024.

Kazunobu Ikeya

Professor, Hunter-gatherer culture, society and historical ecology

Nobuhiro Kishigami

Professor, Cultural anthropology, Indigenous cultures of North America

Naoko Sonoda

Professor, Conservation science

In memoriam

With regret we note the following:

Hisako Kimishima

Professor Emeritus. A specialist in Chinese folklore, she conducted field research on Chinese and Southeast Asian peoples, and was a leading translator of Chinese folktales and fairy tales. *Saiyuki (The Journey to the West, Fukuinkan Shoten)* won the Japan Translation Culture Award in 1976. Minpaku 1975-1989 (d. June. 8, 2023).

New Staff

Masakatsu Nagai

Project Professor, NIHU Center for Innovative Research



Masakatsu Nagai specializes in general linguistics, with particular interests in Ancient Egyptian

language and scripts. He was granted his PhD at the University of Tsukuba in 2009 for a study of hieratic palaeography and graphemics, and studied Egyptian languages including Coptic at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem from 1998 to 2000. He has been chief director of Hieratic Database Project in Japan since 2012, and now manages the Hieratische Paläographie DB (<https://moeller.jinsha.tsukuba.ac.jp>). His main published works are: "Notes on the Hieratic Script of Pap. Turin Cat. 1885 in the Collection of the Egyptian Museum Turin" in N. Kawai and B. G. Davies (eds.) *The Star Who Appears in Thebes: Studies in Honour of Jiro Kondo*, Abercromby Press, pp. 309-319 (2015), and "Linguistic Variety of the 19th Dynasty," *Lingua Aegyptia* 14: 223-250 (2006).

Overseas Visiting Fellow

Tom Strang

Visiting Overseas Researcher, Department of Advanced Human Studies



Tom has a BSc in biology, Masters and PhD in conservation. He worked at the Canadian Conservation Institute for 35

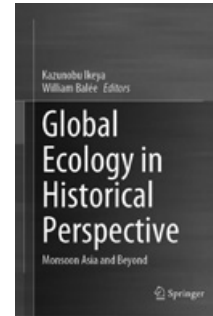
years (now retired) where he specialized in museum integrated pest management and latterly applying GIS to hazard and energy modeling for preventive conservation. Tom has given training workshops on IPM worldwide,

conducted a high arctic GPS survey of Eocene fossil forests, ran a provincial museum conservation lab and provided conservation support for underwater shipwreck archeology. With conservation scientists in Japan he has for two decades engaged in cooperative research and training projects. Tom is being hosted by Naoko Sonoda and will be assisting with Minpaku's 50th Anniversary International Symposium "Conservation of Museum Collections: Past, Present and Future" and conducting solar heat disinfection research. His publications include:

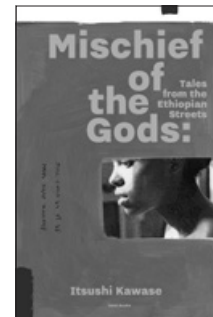
(2019) "An Elephant Walks into a Room - Population Models to Teach IPM"; (with J. Jacobs and R. Kigawa, 2019) "Integrated Pest Management for Museum Collections"; and (with J. Jacobs, 2019) "Seeing is Believing, A Fourteen-Year Study on Efficacy and Economics of Visual Inspections to Protect A Large Mammal Collection from Insect Pests."

Bookshelf

Books by Minpaku authors, published elsewhere



Kazunobu Ikeya and William Balée (eds.)
Global Ecology in Historical Perspective: Monsoon Asia and Beyond
Springer Nature Singapore Pte. Ltd., Singapore, 2023



Ittushi Kawase (author), Jeffrey Johnson (translator)
Mischief of the Gods: Tales from the Ethiopian Streets
Awai Books, New York, 2023

Forthcoming Exhibitions

A Special Exhibition for the 50th Anniversary of the Museum's Founding
Masks in the Performing Arts and Festivals of Japan
March 28–June 11, 2024



Mendon (Iwo Jima, Kagoshima prefecture)
K0006438



Lion mask (Saga prefecture) H0037083

A Thematic Exhibition for the 50th Anniversary of the Museum's Founding
Conveying the realities of the Minamata disease
March 14–June 18, 2024



A Jizo statue at Cape Myojin in Minamata



Minamata guided tour

MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter

The Newsletter is published in summer and winter. "Minpaku" is an abbreviation of the Japanese name for the National Museum of Ethnology (*Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan*). The Newsletter promotes a continuing exchange of information with former visiting scholars and others who have been associated with the museum. The Newsletter also provides a forum for communication with a wider academic audience.

Available online at:
www.minpaku.ac.jp/newsletter

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