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〈Notes on Research〉

Personal Experience of Cultural Succession in Northern Kamchatka: The Case of an Alutor¹

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1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose of ‘Life History Study in North-East Eurasia’

The majority of the indigenous languages in Siberia are seriously endangered. However, the description of these languages is far from complete, as is study in ethnological and other related fields. In the Soviet period, indigenous people under socialism experienced sudden and drastic changes in their lives. In most cases, Russian politics and journalism applauded this change as progress, rather than a threat to the culture of indigenous people. More realistic reactions and opinions of the people were shared only with contemporaries in local communities, and were reported in local media, such as newspapers or broadcasting, to which a limited number of people had access. Studies about policy on ‘ethnic minorities’ in the former USSR were often conducted for those peoples who had their own republics and considerably larger populations, such as people of Central Asia, Caucasia, and other European parts of the USSR, and there are few studies concerning indigenous people in Siberia. Almost the only and outstanding work on the impact of Soviet language policy toward indigenous people in Siberia is Vakhtin (2001), which gives a complete picture based on rigorous analysis of statistical data, reports by pioneering teachers and researchers, and short interviews with indigenous people in the area. However, it must be said that the materials about people’s experiences under Socialism are drastically inadequate even in Vakhtin’s brilliant work. Considering the aging and incredibly low rates of life expectancy of indigenous people in Siberia, we need to urgently document their personal experiences and memories of the Soviet period. However, in each area of Siberia, a very limited number of specialists - linguists, anthropologists, or folklorists - work on highly specialized themes, and often there are no specialists of life history working there. Therefore even fragments of personal experiences collected by researchers who are not trained for life history study should be worth documenting for further use. In this regard, the value of our works is, at least, comparable to personal notes or memoirs, and reports written by journalists, which can be important resources for academic research.

¹ This work is partially supported by MEXT Grant-in-Aid for Scientific research ‘A Study of Digital Archive Environment and Language Documentation for Minority Languages in North-East Eurasia’ and the grant for joint research projects, ‘Life History Study under Socialism in North-East Eurasia: With a Focus on Cultural Control and Daily Life’ by the Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University. I am grateful to Ms. Lidiia Chechulina and other Alutor people who gave me interviews and valuable comments or statements for my research. All errors in this paper are, of course, my responsibility.

Based on this background, we conceived a project called 'Life History Study under Socialism in North-East Eurasia: with a Focus on Cultural Control and Daily Life' which was adopted by the Slavic Research Center (Hokkaido University) as one of the yearly joint research projects for 2012. Our purposes are (1) documenting personal experiences of non-Russian people in North-East Eurasia under Socialism; (2) seeking a more effective, but feasible way of data archiving and data sharing; and (3) constructing an interdisciplinary network among researchers who provide field research in the socialist countries in North-East Eurasia.

In this issue, I, a linguist, report a personal experience of an Alutor cultural successor in Kamchatka; Itsuji Tangiku, a folk narrative researcher, proposes a tentative way of archiving various data concerning personal experiences and statements collected during his research on Nivkh folk narratives in Sakhalin (in this volume); and Ryo Takiguchi, an anthropologist, shows an example of anthropological research based on a narrative study of a savvy trader in Mongolia (in this volume).

1.2 Life History Research of the Alutor People

The Alutors are a minority indigenous people of Northern Kamchatka in Siberia. The Alutor language, together with Chukchi, Koryak, Itelmen, and Kerek, belongs to the Chukchi-Kamchatkan language family, which is included in the Paleo-Siberian languages. Russian researchers estimated the fluent Alutor speakers to be about 100 people (Kibrik et al. 2000). The average age of the youngest speakers is about 50 at the present moment, and no children are acquiring the language; thus, this language is seriously endangered.

The only comprehensive life history research conducted on the Alutor people was Rethman (2001), which focused on history and gender. This work, of course, is not entirely sufficient to clarify the daily lives of non-Russian people under Socialism.

In this paper I will introduce a life history told by an Alutor cultural successor, Lidiia Innokent'evna Chechulina (born in 1957), who works successfully as a singer, a dance performer, a school teacher instructing on the material culture of native people, and a tour organizer of a tourist village, etc. Although Lidiia grew up in a boarding school apart from her parents, she inherited their native language and culture extremely well. Lidiia's story shows that she always and in every aspect maintains relationships with her relatives and other members of the indigenous community.

Materials for this paper were collected mainly in 2010-2012 during my linguistic field research on the Alutor language; some parts of Lidiia's story were derived by interview, and some parts were simply told to me in pieces as small talk in different situations. For this paper I categorized each fragment of her talk according to topic, and reconstructed them in chronological order. All stories were told in Russian, except for most people's names and some placenames, which Lidiia prefers to say in Alutor. I replaced all Alutor names with Russian for convenience of reading. In addition, I do not change the word 'Koryak', which Lidiia uses to

indicate ‘Alutor’. This is because the word ‘Alutor’ is not popular among the Alutor people, and they prefer to use the word ‘Koryak’ by tradition instead of ‘Alutor’². Note that words in italic letters indicate Alutor words in the international phonetic alphabet, except in the presence of the abbreviation ‘*Russ.*’ which indicates Russian.

2. Family

My Koryak name is *Qəvniutaŋav*. I was born in 1957 in an earthen house in the village Old Anapka³ (*Kuparasiv*⁴). Earthen houses were made of wooden frames - we usually used alder, because there were no big trees there - and pieces of earth which were heaped along the wall and roof, and the houses were equipped with a steel stove⁵. Two families consisting of eight people could live in such a house.

Our family was large: my parents - Innokentii Nikolaevich Chechulin (*Tyipyərŋən*) and Evdokia Nikolaevna Chechulina (*Uvva*), my old grandmother⁶ Matriona Alekseevna Chechulina (*Dəruli*), my father’s younger brother Egor (*Kəʒusʒən*), my elder sister Nataliia (*Amniutaŋav*), my elder brother Sergei (*Kitkitav*), and myself⁷.

Furthermore, my father had three elder sisters, a younger sister, and a younger brother. My mother had seven brothers and one sister. They all lived separately but in the same village. All my relatives spoke only in Koryak at home, because the people of Anapka began to learn Russian only in the 1950’s.

My grandmother Matriona (born in 1873) did not speak Russian at all, and never had any contact with Russians in her life of over 100 years⁸: she never went to a shop nor to a hospital, where usually only Russian speakers worked. My mother Evdokia also did not speak Russian, because she did not go to school. But she understood Russian a little, because she worked with Russians at the collective farm, fish processing, and hay harvesting, etc. My mother had difficulty with Russian pronunciation. For example, she called my classroom teacher

² The autonym of the Alutors is *nəməlʒən* ‘Nymylan’ (literally translated, ‘the one who is located in a village’). The word *alutalʒən* ‘Alutor’ on which the Russian exonym is based simply means ‘the one from the village *Alut* (*Russ. Oliutorka*)’, and thus, the majority of the Alutors call themselves ‘Koryak’, which was formerly used to indicate different ethnic groups including the Alutors, Reindeer Koryaks whose autonym is *čawčəv*.

³ Old Anapka was located in the upper stream of the river Anapka on the upper east coast of Kamchatka Peninsula.

⁴ Loan word from Russian ‘*kooperativ*’ (cooperative).

⁵ Before the coming of the Russians, people lived in semi-underground houses, so houses built in such a way are considered Russian-style houses.

⁶ Lidiia’s paternal grandmother.

⁷ After Lidiia, three boys (Egor – *Kəʒusʒən*, Roman – *Amrəltil*, and Spiridon – *Piretu*) and one girl (Liudmila – *Nutaŋawət*) were born.

⁸ She died in 1985 at the age of 112.

‘Misuskina’ instead of ‘Anastasiia Afanas’evna⁹’. My father Innokentii (born in 1923) knew Russian well. He had a two-year education at school, which was considered well-educated for natives in his time. He went to school at the age of seven or eight, and finished two grades in two years. He could speak Russian very well, write and read Russian newspapers. He began to work at the age of 12, when his father died. Later, he joined the Communist party, because educated Koryak men were strongly expected to do so during wartime. Since my father often worked as a chief of fishing units, he kept company with Russians, such as leaders of the collective farm, fur hunters, etc. My father had a dog sledge and 10 sled dogs. In winter, he carried postal matter and other loads.

3. New Anapka

People moved from Old Anapka (*Kuparasiv*) to New Anapka (*Qajjanvæn*¹⁰) in 1958. New Anapka was located on the coast, for the convenience of loading and unloading fish products and other loading by fishing boats. Anapka had a collective farm named ‘Tumgytum¹¹’, which engaged in fishing and reindeer breeding. We often needed to load and unload fish, food, fishing nets, and tractors. Cows, chickens, pigs and animal feed were ferried to the village.

The majority of the population was still native. Only a few Russian families lived in Anapka (an accountant, a director of the collective farm, a party organizer, a doctor and a teacher). I estimate that the population of Anapka in the 1950’s was about 200-250, i.e. the native population accounted for more than 90% of the total¹².

I grew up here until the fourth grade, and remember well that people already lived in small houses made of double-layer walls filled with clay between them. Those houses were equipped with brick stoves. The village had electricity, which worked until twelve midnight. However, the village of Anapka still kept our traditions. Everything we needed was nearby: rivers, storehouses for dried salmon on the coast, private reindeer in the collective farm’s herds. Later, however, the government took away our private reindeer due to the decline in public reindeer.

In summer, our whole family with seven children left for our ancestral fishing camp: there we stocked salmon, gathered berries, edible roots, and fireweeds. All the family members were busy, and small children always helped adults. Every child helped to make or carry dried salmon from the age of five, and some children could process fish for dogs and for personal consumption.

⁹ In Russian tradition, people should call teachers by their name with the patronymic, but Lidiia’s mother called the teacher by her family name, and moreover, incorrectly; in fact, the teacher’s family name was Mishustina. However, Lidiia remembers that her teacher never minded.

¹⁰ Alutor name for Anapka, with the meaning ‘Small Lagoon’ in literal translation.

¹¹ Borrowed from the Alutor word ‘*tumgytum*’ (friend, comrade).

¹² Elders said that dogs barked eagerly at people who were dressed in Russian clothes, because the majority of villagers wore Koryak fur clothes.

4. Raised by my Grandmother

Our grandmother raised her granddaughters. She lived separately from our parents in another flat in the same house. We lived in the house, consisting of two studio flats.

Grandmother was always busy: she tanned skins, sewed fur clothes, wove grass baskets, etc. We, her granddaughters, always sat near to her. She gave us small skin scraps, and we began sewing from about four years old¹³. At first, we made toys and dolls. At the age of six, adults gave us reindeer skin ribbons to attach them to working gloves, or round ornaments to working parkas. Later, at the age of eight years old, we were allowed to patch up old parkas. At the ages of 10-12, we already could sew up summer fur boots. We loved to weave grass baskets. Whatever our grandmother or aunts did, we made efforts to emulate by watching their examples. The older we grew, the better we got at sewing and cooking. Tanning reindeer fur is such laborious work. Formerly, women became skillful seamstresses only at 25 years old, and nowadays even at 35 years old, only if one makes great effort. Nowadays, there are many school club activities, and children cannot find time for sewing and tanning skins.

From my childhood, I walked around the tundra with my grandmother. In the summer, we picked berries, dug edible roots, gathered plants and pine tree nuts. We also walked along the coast and gathered shellfish and seaweed.

My grandmother often told stories about how they lived in the 1920s before Russians arrived at our village. She always told us: ‘Never forget our traditions, preserve fur clothes. After many years, everything will help you all.’ At that time, people began to throw away Koryak fur clothes and boots. Everybody thought that we could wear Russian clothes such as quilted cotton coats, felt boots, and rubber boots instead of fur clothes and boots. Many people thought that we could learn Russian culture very quickly.

5. Festivals in Anapka

The ‘Seal festival’ (*Hololo*) is the biggest and most important festival for the Coastal Koryak. It was such a long-awaited festival in Anapka. Every late autumn, each family should celebrate the Seal Festival if any of their family members hunted seals. In Anapka, almost every man hunted seals. Each family celebrated their own festival at home on different days, because men could be absent from the village for various reasons – hunting, or business trips, etc. As a result, the festival ran on for a whole month: from about November to 10 December.

We celebrated many traditional Koryak festivals in Anapka. Many people visited Anapka during the Reindeer herder’s festival from nearby villages - Tymlat, Rekinniki, etc. Various games, races and concerts were held at the festival. Winners were awarded prizes: piece goods, tableware, clocks, etc. They then shared those prizes with their relatives.

¹³ Stebnitskii (1930: 44) pointed out that girls began sewing at the age of 9-10. However, considering that boys at the age of 10 could work as full-fledged reindeer herders (*ibid.*), Lidiia’s remarks should be more realistic.

In addition to Koryak festivals, Soviet festivals were held by the village House of Culture (*Russ. Dom Kul'tura*) in Anapka. Many activists worked in the 1950s and 1960s in Anapka: among them, Vasilii Nikolaevich Volkov (*Niŋvit*) and Evdokiia Trifonovna Uvarova (*Kawanni*) worked with children. They organized various concerts with Koryak folk culture in the festivals. Anna Pavlovna Tiumentseva (*ŋiŋawət*), the leader of the village council, also worked to organize festivals.

I began dance performances at six years old. My aunt Mariia¹⁴ played a drum, and her daughter Liudmila¹⁵ and I danced and sang Koryak songs on the stage. In Anapka, all children became familiar with Koryak dance and song performances from their early years.

In the 1960s and 1970s, many Russian researchers visited Anapka to study our culture. For example, Gurvich, a historian, visited Anapka maybe in 1971 or 1972. Mariia Zhornitskaia, an anthropologist from St. Petersburg, visited to study dancing. She recorded our father on videotape: he explained the names of the months in Koryak. She worked in fishing camps and hayfields. A Koryak journalist also came to us. Nikolai Pavlovich Igiklavul (*ŋiŋəqlavul*), a photojournalist, also visited us and took many pictures. Sergei Vasil'evich Kevevtegin¹⁶ - a dance master - and Nikolai Anisimovich Shmagin (*Kel'əm*)¹⁷ - an accordionist - visited Anapka in the 1960s, too. Many men and women performed dances on a stage in Anapka. Mariia Nikiforovna Chechulina (*Kal'anna*), Vera Vasil'evna Volkova (*Wasavŋawət*), and Evdokiia Trifonovna Uvarova (*Kawanni*) used to dance on stage all the time in the 1960s.

Exhibitions of native art began in the 1950s. Daria Pavlovna Uvarova (*Amma*), my aunt Varvara Nikolaevna Chechulina (*Ama*) and Anna Chechulina (*Kiwliŋawət*) from Anapka, and Grandma Iwna (*ŋiŋna*) - a Chawchu (Reindeer Koryak) woman - from Tymlat always took part in these exhibitions. Daria Nikolaevna Chechulina (*Ŋavəlŋiw*) even sewed with a motif of a space satellite in the 1950s. Mariia Nikiforovna Chechulina also sewed a small rug with a motif of a space satellite. Mariia Chechulina and Irina Pavlovna Tiumentseva worked as seamstresses, and Daria Nikolaevna worked as a cutter at the collective farm and made fur work clothes.

6. School Education

My father went to school at the age of seven to eight, and finished two grades in two years. It was about the end of the 1920s¹⁸. At that time, the literacy education program¹⁹ had begun, and many adults went to school to learn Russian literacy at the age of 20-30. Many people had

¹⁴ Mariia Nikolaevna Chechulina (*Marja*), a younger sister of Lidiia's mother.

¹⁵ Lidiia's cousin of the same age. Her Russian name is Liudmila Ivanovna, and her Alutor name is *An'n'akku*.

¹⁶ The first dance master of Koryak dances, born in the Penzhina district, the Northernmost part of Kamchatka.

¹⁷ An Alutor man from Anapka, a musician.

¹⁸ Enforcement of compulsory education for native children in Kamchatka began in 1928 (Bubnis and Nefedova 1981: 72-73).

¹⁹ In Russian '*Likbez (likvidatsiia bezgramotosti)*' (campaign of eradication of illiteracy).

great difficulty in learning literacy²⁰. Many students were only able to learn how to write their own signature. However, some boys studied successfully, and went to Palana for higher education. Then some high-achieving boys were sent to Khabarovsk, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky, or St. Petersburg. Some parents did not allow their daughters to go to school. I guess there was an interpreter in the class. In the 1940s many people went to school.

My uncle, Vasilii Volkov (my mother's younger brother), studied in Palana and became a veterinarian. But some boys did not come back. A brother²¹ of my ensemble member Mariia Chechulina, went to Khabarovsk to study at the school of the Communist Party, and drowned there. Uncle *Mikkul*²² (my mother's elder brother) studied in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky, and drowned, too. Ivan Barannikov and Ketsai Kekettyn - the first Koryak writers - who studied in St. Petersburg, died in the war.

In New Anapka all children were forced to go to nursery, even if parents were against it. Many families lived with grandparents, and they were able to care for and nurse children by themselves. My father was persuaded to send us to the nursery: 'You are a communist. Why don't you want to send your children to the nursery?'

At the age of six, native children went to preschool class. Russian children did not go there, but all native children had to go. Not all children could go up to the first grade among approximately ten children in the preschool class. Some could stay in the preschool class for one more year. I understood Russian well in the first grade at school²³. We studied painting pictures, reading and writing, and counting. In the preschool class, children still could live at home.

Then we went to school, and from the very beginning, 1 September, we had to live at the boarding school. We could go home only in the holidays. All native children lived at the boarding school, while Russian children lived at home with their parents. In our time, we had no interpreter in class. When indigenous children did not understand Russian, the older children helped them. My elder brother Sergei²⁴ and cousin often helped me with my homework.

We had to speak only in Russian in the nursery and the boarding school²⁵, because our teachers and nurses were only Russians and did not understand Koryak. We were not allowed to

²⁰ Chukchi-Kamchatkan languages originally had no writing system. The Koryak (Chavchuvén) writing system was created in 1930s (Zhukova 1997: 39). Russian researchers, Sergei Nikolaevich Stebnitski, Grigorii Mikhailovich Korsakov and Elizaveta Porfir'evna Orlova, worked for the creation of the writing system (Bubnis and Nefedova 1981: 76). It is not surprising that many felt difficulty with writing Russian, which they could not speak at all.

²¹ Fedor Chechulin (*Tilməqlavul*) (1930-1956).

²² Lidiia does not know his Russian name.

²³ In the 1970s almost every child understood Russian before they entered school. A Koryak man who entered school in the 1970s remembered that he was the only child in his class who did not understand Russian at all.

²⁴ Sergei Chechulin is three years older than Lidiia.

²⁵ Some elders commented that there was an 'interpreter' in a class for native children, because Russian teachers did not speak Koryak, and native children did not understand Russian. Bubnis and Nefedova

speak Koryak. In cases when children spoke to each other in Koryak, a teacher or nurse scolded them. But we, of course, spoke in our native language at home, because my mother and grandmother spoke only in Koryak²⁶. My father also spoke only in Koryak at home. Once my father was very surprised to see that his nephew did not understand him when he asked something in Koryak. There were many cases in which elders did not understand their grandchildren. But our generation knows Koryak well, and also mastered speaking and writing in Russian.

I completed four grades in Anapka, because Anapka was a small village with a population of 200-250, and we had only a four-year course at school. We had to move for higher education to the neighboring village Tymlat, which is located about 150 km from Anapka. Tymlat had an eight-year course at school. Tymlat is a native village²⁷, like Anapka. Each class had approximately 12 children and only three to four of them were Russian. As in Anapka, only native children lived at the boarding school, and Russian children lived with their families. From the fifth grade at school, we could go home only for the summer vacation, once in a whole year. Sometime we could go home for the New Year's holiday, but not every year. Once we took off for home for the New Year's holiday without permission. It was approximately 30 December. Daria Uvarova²⁸'s husband came to Tymlat for his son on a sledge. My father also sent a musher on a dog sledge, but the man did not appear. We set off at six o'clock in the morning. Some rode on the sledge, others followed it on skis. The eight children ran away without the director's permission. Our director called Ossora and requested a helicopter. By four o'clock the helicopter caught us up near Kichiga²⁹. I left my parka out of fear when we took a rest. I was in the 6th grade, and other boys were older. The director's name was Damer Valievich, a Tatar. He was nearly displaced from the position of director because of the incident.

There was no Koryak language class until the 10th grade. We were only taught to master Russian. However, one Russian teacher, Anastasiia Afanas'evna Mishustina, showed great respect for our culture, as much as for Russian. She began to work in Old Anapka with her

(1981: 75) mentioned that assistants-interpreters works at schools in earliest years. However, some of the first teachers in Kamchatka knew native languages. In 2000s, one woman (born in 1910s) from the village Karaga told me that her Russian teacher spoke Koryak well.

²⁶ Lidiia's parents, aunts, uncles, and all other relatives spoke only in Koryak in the 1950s-1970s. However, not all Lidiia's generation speak Koryak. Lidiia estimates that only half of her generation speak Koryak well. For example, her cousin Grisha was sent to a hospital in Moscow for several years in childhood, and therefore his level of the Koryak language was considerably lower. One of Lidiia's brothers was also sent to a sanatorium near Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky for several years and Lidiia considers that he speaks Koryak a little bit awkwardly.

²⁷ 'Native village' (*Russ. natsional'noe selo*) is an administrative term indicating a village whose indigenous population accounted for over half of the total. Schools in native villages have special classes for learning native languages and culture as regular subjects.

²⁸ Daria Uvarova (*Amma*). One of the first members of the ensemble 'Lauten'.

²⁹ A native village which was located between Tymlat and Ilpyr. It was closed in 1965.

family, then New Anapka, and later in Tymlat. She spent a large part of her life in Kamchatka, and still lives there and works at the school³⁰.

Mrs. Mishustina often invited Koryak elders (Vasilii Volkov, and Evdokiia Uvarova) to the class to teach children Koryak dances. Vasilii trained boys for male dances, and Evdokiia trained girls for female dances. Mrs. Mishustina also organized exhibitions, concerts with Koryak, Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian dances. We liked to dance various dances in each costume. In the lesson 'Manual Training', we could do some fur/skin sewing. We often sang Russian songs in Koryak translation, not only at school, but also on a stage in front of villagers. Mrs. Mishustina often took us to the tundra for a picnic. We sat around a fire, and after the picnic we wrote compositions about it. In addition, there were many club activities after school hours.

I had many relatives in Tymlat. My grandmother told me to visit an old woman called *Lilijawät*. The woman also did not speak Russian, but she was such an interesting woman, like my grandmother. She was very calm. She was also always busy like other native women: tanning skins, weaving grass baskets, cooking traditional dishes. She often talked with me about various topics.

After the 8th grade, we moved to another village, Ossora, the center of Karaga district, for education from the 9th to 10th grade. We lived in the boarding school there again. Ossora is the administrative center of the Karaga district, and consisted mostly of a Russian population. In my class of 43 people, five students were Koryak from Karaga, I was the only Koryak from Anapka, and all the others were Russian. We respected the teachers in Anapka and Tymlat, but the students in Ossora allowed themselves to behave arrogantly toward the teachers.

7. Relocation from Anapka

Anapka was closed in 1974. My parents moved to the village Ilpyr. All residents were relocated to three villages: Ilpyr, Tymlat, and Ossora. Nobody, of course, wanted to leave the native village³¹. Those who moved to Ossora by ferry said that elderly people cried. Forced relocation was very harmful, especially to the elderly people. It was very difficult for them to leave their native places.

The authorities decided to close the village very quickly. It was summertime. Some men worked in the fishing industry, others with reindeer herds in the tundra, many families were in fishing camps, and my father was in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky for the course for promotion.

One day they held a meeting. Very few people attended. Among native people, mostly women attended the meeting; but what could women say against the authorities? At that

³⁰ Not all teachers treated Koryak children with respect like Mrs. Mishustina. In the 2000s, a Russian teacher of a village school proudly told me that her colleagues complimented her on her having the strongest class, because all the children in her class were Russian.

³¹ In cases when people stayed at home, men came to them on a truck and carried all the household goods out of the house, loaded them up on the truck, and conveyed it to a dock (see Nagayama 2008: 197).

meeting, they decided to close the village. In previous times, people did not oppose the decisions made by the district or higher authorities. The authorities determined where to relocate each family: those who worked in reindeer herding had to go to Tymlat, those who worked at collective farms to Ilpyr, and most of the residents to Ossora. They broke windows and stoves so that people could not come back. People were carried away by an open-topped barge. A boat drove the barge full of people together with their loads. No passenger ferry was arranged. The residents' belongings were soaked wet by being hit by the waves. Many of the elderly people died one after another within a year after the relocation, and after three years almost nobody remained. All these things were connected with the relocation.

Very few families moved to Ilpyr. But within a year some families - maybe seven - moved to Ilpyr from Tymlat and Ossora by dog sledges, because they missed their native places very much. They were allowed to stay at Ilpyr in the collective farm. In this way, they felt much closer to their familiar fishing places. Those who moved to Ilpyr could easily go to their ancestral fishing places.

In contrast to Anapka, the majority of the population in Ilpyr consisted of newcomers from other parts of the USSR: Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians etc. Ossora had a much larger newcomer population; it was the administrative center of the Karaga district.

Our life had changed drastically. First of all, people simply felt uncomfortable among strangers. Secondly, people were allowed to fish only in places very far from home. Elderly people and families with many children just could not reach the places for fishing. People needed transport for themselves, their household and fishing items. Moreover, those places were inconvenient because of a lack of fresh water. It was necessary to build cabins and storehouses for dried salmon again, and to find materials for them. It was especially difficult for those whom did not have transport. Some could manage to build houses, but vandals destroyed them or broke the windows during winter.

This never happened in Anapka: people did not lock doors of flats or storehouses, simply propping the doors closed with a stick. In the new place, we did not feel comfortable any longer among strangers.

For example, in Ilpyr or Ossora we could not actively celebrate our Koryak festivals as we did in Anapka, because our Russian neighbors came to berate us, saying that we made a big noise by singing songs and playing drums. Many rituals were scaled down and people tried to celebrate 'The Seal Festival' in a very short time, for example, in one day, while we had celebrated the festival for a whole month in Anapka. After the relocation from Anapka, we did not celebrate the Reindeer Herder's Festival at all.

8. Music College in Petropavlovsk

After the school in Ossora, I studied at the Music College in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky from 1975 to 1978. I studied at the cultural edification work course, which prepared club workers.

In the first year, our group had 13 students, but only 7 students finished the course. There were only two native students (myself and an Itelmen girl) in our group, and all the others were Russians. Mariia Khristoforovna Sidorenko³² studied in the third year, because she entered the institute after the 8th grade. I finished the 9th and 10th grades in Ossora, then entered the institute. At that time, the teaching staff were ordered to prepare native specialists.

The institute had five courses: a folk music course where students studied the accordion and other Russian string instruments, a chorus course where Morozov³³ gave lectures, ours, and two others. We studied various subjects. For example, in the subject 'Cultural speech', we learned tongue twisters, lyrics and diction, so that we could speak loudly and clearly before audiences. In the other subject, 'Club management', we studied how to organize leisure activities with a cinema projectionist and dance performers. We also learned painting to make flyers, stage arts, and exhibitions. I was lucky, because the House of Culture where I later worked always had a painter. My teachers were Viktoriia Sergeevna Fontalina (chorus), Violetta Alekseevna Buduchel (chorus) who graduated from the Moscow Conservatory of Music, and Liliia Georg'evna Mikhailova (club management).

Vladimir Nikolaevich Maliukovich and his wife Anna Fedorovna were my neighbors in the institute's hostel. She had just given birth to their son. I and my cousin Albina from Anapka often visited them and took care of the baby. Albina studied at the Medical College in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky. After Maliukovich got a flat in another part of the city, we visited them every weekend. Vladimir worked as a junior curator of the Kamchatka Regional Museum, and their flat was always full of guests from the Northern part of Kamchatka. Mengo³⁴ dancers from Palana often visited them. Tatiana Urkachan³⁵ from Palana also often visited them. She argued that we should make stage programs only with our native dances, and it was no use to put other dances, such as Russian dance, into our programs.

Anna's mother and her relatives from Karaga often visited them, too. People from the North always brought native food such as reindeer meat, dried salmon etc., and Vladimir and Anna always fed us very well. At that time, Vladimir started to record Koryak songs and

³² A cultural successor from Rekinniki, which was located on the western shore of Kamchatka peninsula. The village was closed in 1982. She was a member of the Parliament of the Koryak Autonomous Region in the 2000s.

³³ Evgenii Ivanovich Morozov. The leader of the Kamchatka choir group. This group made overseas performances many times during and after the Soviet period.

³⁴ First professional ensemble of Koryak and other native dances.

³⁵ Koryak-Even cultural successor from Palana (1940-1996, Ogryzko 2005: 362). Her daughter, Galina Urkachan, had been working for the Koryak Broadcasting Company as an anchorperson in both the Koryak and Russian languages. Urkachan (2005) describes her mother's life as a cultural successor.

folklore texts. Once I also told him some stories in Koryak, after I had come back from summer vacation in the Northern part of Kamchatka.

Through Vladimir and Anna, I got to know Margarita Ivanovna Belova, an art curator of the Kamchatka Regional Museum. She always kept company with our seamstresses from Anapka and other Northern villages. She traveled to the Northern part of Kamchatka with the seamstresses, and even had gone on dog sledges. She always said not to use beads in fur souvenirs. Margarita managed to put six skillful Koryak seamstresses into the Artists Union of USSR in 1977³⁶. It caused a long discussion in Moscow, but eventually Margarita was victorious. Among those six, four women were from Anapka: Anna Pavlovna Tiumentseva (*Ġiwnjawət*), Evdokiia Trofimovna Uvarova (*Kawanni*), Aleksandra Ivanovna Popova (*Qutavjawət*), and Mariia Nikiforovna Chechulina³⁷ (*Kal'anna*). I do not remember exactly about the other two. One of them was Olga Konstantinovna³⁸ from Khailino.

Five people in our group were especially close friends. After graduation, we communicated for a long time; we often wrote and sent presents to each other.

I finished my studies at the Institute in the spring of 1978, and then I began to work in Ossora in October.

9. Career in «the House of Culture» and the Ensemble «Lauten»

At first, I tried to get a job in Tymlat, because I wanted to work in a native village. But the Russian director did not want to employ me. So I went to Ossora, where my father worked for the Cultural Agitation Brigade. He was officially employed in Ossora, but lived in Ilpyr. Like my father, I was employed in Ossora and began to work at the 'House of Culture' in Ilpyr as a method specialist for the Cultural Agitation Brigade. It was 1978. I worked there for six months.

After six months the director of the collective farm in Anapka had changed, and they invited me to work in the village House of Culture (*Russ. sel'skoe dom kul'tura*) as an art director. Then, in the second year, I became a director.

During the Soviet Period, all laborers were guaranteed recreation programs after their work time. So we often traveled to remote camps: hayfields, fishing places, reindeer herds, etc. Our group usually had approximately five to six people, and we always had movies, library, concerts and exhibitions. Each trip varied in duration: from three days to a whole week, or even two weeks. We could stay at a hayfield for a whole month. The Cultural Affairs Division in Ossora usually sent us. They reserved a helicopter for us to reach reindeer herds.

We organized Soviet festivals for laborers: October Revolution Day, May Day, New Year festivals for adults and children, Soviet Army Day, Women's Day, etc. During festivals, various large concerts were held with chorus groups, folk dances of the peoples in the USSR (Russians,

³⁶ Cherkashina (2002) shows that they entered the association in 1976.

³⁷ One of the first members of the ensemble 'Lauten' (1935-2010).

³⁸ Olga Konstantinovna Olelei (born in 1932 in Upper Pahachi) (Cherkashina 2002)

Ukrainians, Moldavians, Caucasians...), and instrumental ensembles. For Fishermen's Day, we went to visit fishermen on a boat where they worked with fixed nets.

I established a Koryak performance ensemble called 'Lauten'³⁹, meaning flatsedge, a symbol of goodness and happiness on the earth. It was a small group with women performers aged from 40 to 50 with their children, and later with their grandchildren. Our first performance on a stage was on 23 February 1979, on Soviet Army Day. People in Ilpyr saw Koryak dancers in Koryak clothing for the first time. Our first members were: Nataliia Innokent'evna Voronova (*Amn'utajav*), Mariia Nikiforovna Chechulina (*Kal'anna*), Vera Vasil'evna Volkova (*Wasavŋawət*), Mariia Innokent'evna Pritchina (*Rəʔoji*), Tatiana Nikolaevna Golikova (*Ləlqivŋawət*), Galina Chechulina (*Qutavŋawət*), Iuliia Chechulina (*ŋaqeŋav* – *Alili*'s daughter), and me. We performed at two clubs: the club of the collective farm, and the other was of the Fishing Factory.

It was very hard during the first two years. We rehearsed for three months. At the beginning, we performed one or two pieces. Then later, we performed two or three pieces. Step by step, we enlarged our repertoire. After five months, we already had five pieces. We usually rehearsed in the House of Culture, sometimes in the library. We used to get together three times a week at seven o'clock in the evening after work, and rehearsed for two hours. Before a concert – it was often held on Saturday – we rehearsed every day from Tuesday. I often scolded members for being late or being slow to learn. Although I was the youngest of all the members, Mariia Pritchina and Vera Volkova were supposed to respect me, because they were wives of my uncles⁴⁰. Vera Volkova was often late. Tatiana Golikova was slow to learn and liked to perform in her own way. I often said them, '*Aliŋpaŋaka! Tok liŋpaŋayəryən!*' (My heart is very tired from waiting! Oh, how I am tired!). Later they understood that we raised awareness of our songs, folk stories, and Koryak culture through our performances.

In the first year, the Russian audiences laughed at us, especially at Mariia Pritchina, because we were inexperienced at performing on a stage. But Mariia never took umbrage.

We performed various songs, dances, fragments from Koryak folk stories, and songs from folk stories; for example, the Crow song, Ermine song, etc. Because we did not have a written language, all songs and stories were passed by word of mouth from generation to generation. People learned them very well. One could learn any song or story at one time. Elders often told stories in the evening, while some spun reindeer tendon into thread or opened fireweed stems⁴¹.

³⁹ Derived from '*ləʔutaj*' (a kind of flatsedge). This grass is used for rituals during the Seal Festival 'Hololo'.

⁴⁰ Both of these women were wives of Lidiia's uncles and about 30 years older than Lidiia. Mariia's husband Iakov Volkov was the elder brother of Lidiia's mother, and Vera's husband Vasilii Volkov was the younger brother of Lidiia's mother. Stebnitkii (1930: 43) pointed out that Koryak put strong emphasis on age difference; however Lidiia's statement shows that kinship relations and gender played a stronger role.

⁴¹ The inner pith from the fireweed stems is dried, and used for food.

The 'Girlfriends dance' was performed by three women: Vera Volkova (*Wasavḡawət*), Tatiana Golikova (*Ləlqivḡawət*) and Mariia Chechulina (*Kal'ayḡa*). They were girlfriends in real life, too. Vera played a drum and sang her husband's, Vasilii's, song, and the other two danced.

The 'Drum Dance (*Jajarmlavə*)' was performed by 8-10 dancers.

Mariia Pritchina (*Rəʔoji*) always performed 'Songs from folk stories': the song of the Crow Woman, song of the Idol Woman, and the song of *Lilqewwət* (a girl character in a folk story), etc.

The 'Ancestry Tunes' were performed by three women: Vera Volkova, Tatiana Golikova and Nataliia Voronova⁴². Each performer sang the songs of their parents or grandparents. Tatiana sang her uncle's (*Təḡatvil*) song, and Nataliia sang our grandfather's (*Wajam*) song.

Later Savelii⁴³ (*Sanva*) joined us and began to dance with her sons and grandson, as did Vera Volkova and Mariia Pritchina.

In February 1981, a helicopter came down to pick up us for the first time, and then we began to visit remote herds.

In the autumn of 1981, I entered the Khabarovsk State Institute of Culture. I studied there for the first two years, and then studied for three years by correspondence. After graduating from high school, I received an offer to enter the Institute of Hertsen⁴⁴ in St. Petersburg, but I did not accept it. I had never been to St. Petersburg. Before I entered the Institute in Khabarovsk, I visited there, and I was not afraid to live there. I majored in the Organizer/Method-specialist course. Other courses were 'Stage-director', 'Choreographer' and 'Conducting-Choir'. There were 43 people in our group.

I finished studying at the institute in 1985 together with Raisa Efremova⁴⁵. She also studied by correspondence. The connections throughout my student days helped the success of our ensemble very much.

Gradually, our ensemble 'Lauten' became famous. In 1987 Raisa Efremova invited us to the folklore festival held in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky. Forty performers from Penzhina district, including Nina Milgichil⁴⁶, were also invited. Nina and some old women performed pure Koryak folklore: the 'Whale Festival', 'Wolf Festival', 'Returning from summer camp', folk stories about dogs, foxes, etc. The ensemble from the village Sedanka also performed a very short drama. I saw performances based on Koryak folk stories on stage for the first time, and I

⁴² Lidiia's elder sister.

⁴³ Savelii Vasil'evich Golikov (born in 1932). Husband of Tatiana Nikolaevna Golikova. Their sons Ivan and Aleksei often performed with them.

⁴⁴ Department of Peoples of the North, at the Russian State Pedagogical University by A.I. Hertsen in Leningrad.

⁴⁵ Raisa Petrovna Efremova. A public bureaucrat of the Parliament of Kamchatka.

⁴⁶ Nina Nikolaevna Milgichil, a cultural successor of the Coastal Koryak from Mikino in the Penzhina district, a creator and leader of the ensemble 'Fakel'.

was very inspired. I immediately made up my mind to perform our own dramas based on our folk stories.

The Cultural Affairs Division in the village of Palana never had invited us before, but after the festival they invited us immediately. We were in Ossora, on the way back home from the festival, when we received the invitation from Palana. We sent Mariia Pritchina and Vera Volkova to Palana, because they were on their holidays; others were at work and could not go to Palana. We gave an exhibition, and performed with Mengo dancers on a stage. After that, we were invited to other parts of Russia such as Khabarovsk and Moscow.

A drama was performed for 30-40 minutes. In the drama ‘Qutkynniaqu and Amamkut’, Daria Grigor’evna Popova (*Jajaku*) played Lira⁴⁷, Nataliia Voronova played Kliu⁴⁸, Mariia Pritchina played Qutkynniaqu, Tatiana Golikova played Devil Woman (*Niḡvitʔanpəḡan*), I played Wind (*Ḍəpəvajulyən*), and children played puppies. Vera Ivanovna, a director of the House of Culture in the fishing industry, worked with us as an interpreter, because we performed in Koryak. I do not remember her family name. She had worked in theatre before. We gave her a whole text beforehand and she interpreted simultaneously on a stage. Before the performance, we explained to the audience about each character in the folk stories.

After three years, we performed the drama ‘Qutkynniaqu⁴⁹ and mice’. Valentina Chechulina⁵⁰ (*Iwtəlʔaḡan*) played Mother-mouse, and Golikov’s children and our Sasha⁵¹ played the mice-kids. In the drama ‘Bent Bistort-root Woman (*Kaḡimtaḡan*)’ Aleksei Golikov played Qutkynniaqu, and Oksana Kiseliova (*Watʔawwət*) played Bistort-root woman.

When we visited reindeer herds by helicopter, the interpreter always went with us. Audiences enjoyed our dramas with great pleasure. After our performances, people came up on stage to praise us.

We performed touring concerts many times in the Koryak Autonomous Region. We often flew to reach reindeer herders. There were 14 reindeer herding camps in Karaga district until the 1990s. Therefore we could not visit all the camps in one day, but in about three days. Sometimes weather conditions forced us to stay in Tymlat or Ossora for several weeks.

We always took the following objects along with our exhibitions: reindeer fur clothing with checker work, fur caps, fur boots, carvings of marine animals, reindeer antlers, etc. We took part in many regional art workshops, showed and explained about our culture and customs.

⁴⁷ Qutkynniaqu’s daughter.

⁴⁸ Qutkynniaqu’s son.

⁴⁹ The creator of the world in Alutor folkstories. In English publications, he is often translated as “Big Raven.”

⁵⁰ Iulia Chechulina’s sister. Their father *Alili* had three daughters: Valentina, Iulia, and Galina.

⁵¹ Aleksandra Voronova (*Uvva*). Lidiia’s niece. Her mother is Nataliia Voronova.

In 1988, we were invited to the First International Folklore Festival in Moscow. We went there in a big group: Boris Zhirkov⁵², our women from Ilpyr, and others. There we met with Beate Gordon from the Asia Society, New York. After that we were invited to Arkhangelsk, also for a folklore festival. After that, 11 Soviet performers were invited to the USA: Nanais, Ulchas, and three Koryak women from Kamchatka; Mariia Pritchina and myself from Ilpyr, and Elza Levkovskaia from Sedanka. Elza is one year younger than me. We visited New York, Washington, and Philadelphia. We had opportunities to mingle with Native American professional dance performers. Inuits from Alaska came to meet us. It was a 21-day journey. We gave performances every three days. One day we performed, then we took a rest for three days. We demonstrated our sewing at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. In Washington, about 1,000 people came to see us. We performed in a theatre, too. After that our ensemble 'Lauten' came to be invited to many other foreign countries: France, Sweden, Alaska, Japan, etc.

In 1994, a French man visited Ossora and other villages in Northern Kamchatka. I think he found us through Raisa Efremova. That man recorded our songs, and made a music CD with our Koryak songs⁵³. Since I was pregnant with my daughter and expected to deliver in three days, it was very hard to sing songs at the time.

We created some modern Koryak songs with melodies from Western music: for example, the song 'Lauten' that we created together with Mariia Pritchina in 1987, when we were in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky.

10. In Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky

My family and I decided to move to Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky in 2000, when my daughter Violetta (*Гиппәһ*) went to school. We wanted to give her a good education. Ilpyr had already begun to fall apart. The factory and the collective farm were closed a long time before then. Teachers and doctors had left Ilpyr. Fresh water was very far, a few kilometers from the village. Members of our ensemble left, too. Some moved to Ossora, others to Tymlat, and others to Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky. I worked in Petropavlovsk for a year and a half, and then moved back to Ilpyr. Violetta and my husband Sasha stayed in Petropavlovsk. I wanted to stay in Ilpyr, but I could not stand living there and moved to Petropavlovsk again, because life in the North was very harsh. Now Violetta studies at Moscow State University, at the Faculty of Journalism. She knows very little Koryak, though she could understand the old women speaking in Koryak fairly well when she lived in Ilpyr. Nowadays schoolchildren are so busy with homework and

⁵² Boris Aleksandrovich Zhirkov (1945-2012), former dancer of Mengo, the creator and the director of the Itelmen Folklore ensemble 'Elvel'. Honored Culture Worker of Russia.

⁵³ 'Musique du monde: Kamtchaka - Tambours de danse de l'extrême-orient sibérien' (Music from the World: Kamchatka - Dance drums from the Siberian Far East), Buda, Paris, 1994.

after-school lessons, and they do not have enough time to acquire knowledge of our language and culture.

I had a job in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky in the first few years, then later in the neighboring city of Elzovo as a teacher at the Center for Children's Extracurricular Activities. There are many clubs: painting, clay work, dance, music, etc. I teach a subject named 'Culture and Customs of the people in Northern Kamchatka'. I talk to children about us and our culture, because many children do not know about indigenous people at all. I always tell them, 'You live in Kamchatka, so you should study and know how people live'. Children sing songs, dance Koryak dances, and learn skin sewing with beads. I am happy working there, and with our director and colleagues. They understand my work, my traveling abroad.

In addition, I continue Koryak performances. In the first few years I worked with performers of the Association of Indigenous people of Kamchatka: Vladimir Berezhkov, Albina Marilova, and Zhenia Kevevtgina. I also worked with Pavel Cheche⁵⁴ and Vladimir Tynetegin. I worked in Sosnovka⁵⁵ for a tourist company for nine years.

In 2009, I began to work at another tourist company. The owner is a Russian woman who runs a tourist village. There are some Koryak-style tents, storehouses, a small stage, etc. My brother Egor organized the construction of the buildings, and named the village 'Kainran' (House of Bear)⁵⁶. I was invited there as an organizer for tour programs about Koryak culture. I am happy working there, too. I work with the children and grandchildren of our former 'Lauten' performers. Mariia Chechulina's daughter (*Rukavav*) worked with me for a while, then her daughter, i.e. Mariia's granddaughter (*Mamakəlŋav*), began to work too. Tatiana Golikova's son (*Nutalqut*) also works with us. I pass on my experiences and knowledge about Koryak performances and culture to the younger generation through my work in the tourist village. Just as I learned many songs, stories, and manners of rituals from the elders in previous times, the young learn many things by listening when I talk to tourists, or watching what I do in front of tourists.

We have many tourists from abroad, and from central parts of Russia. We introduce to them the culture of the indigenous people in Kamchatka: Itelmen, Even, Chukchi⁵⁷, and Koryak. Besides us, Itelmen and Chukchi performers work here. We sing, dance, tell, and show our clothes. We bake flatbreads and make herb tea on a fire in front of tourists. Tourists are very interested in our stories, and ask many questions. In addition, many school students and foster

⁵⁴ Former Mengo dancer, born in the Penzhina district.

⁵⁵ A village located near Elzovo. There is a tourist village with yaranga (Chukchi-Kamchatkan style tents covered with reindeer furs) and a storehouse in the Itelmen style.

⁵⁶ In Alutor '*kajŋəran*' (*kajŋə*- 'bear', *ra*- 'house', *-n* 'absolute case'). Alutor has a special word for a bear den, and such a combination sounds awkward in natural speech. However Egor explained that he named it like this so that anybody with a little knowledge of the Alutor language could understand the word.

⁵⁷ In order to distinguish from Alutor people whom Lidiia calls Koryak, she names Reindeer (Chawchu) Koryak as Chukchi.

home children from Petropavlovsk come to us by bus. The regional government finances the program. In Autumn 2010, we had about 600 children visit us.

My relatives from the North, especially from Ilpyr, often visit us and stay at our flat in Petropavlovsk. Some are on the way to summer vacation, and some enroll their children at college. They always bring seal fat, reindeer meat, and berries (cloudberry and crowberry), because such foods are not on sale in shops. We are familiar with those foods from childhood, and we need them. We meet rarely, because air tickets are very expensive and people do not easily permit themselves to buy tickets. For example, a one-way ticket from Ilpyr⁵⁸ to Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky may cost 15,000 rubles, while a reindeer herder may receive 10,000 rubles per month. Many people cannot go anywhere for several years, or do not go anywhere at all. There is no road leading to Northern Kamchatka. Food, clothes and all goods were carried there by air or by sea. So prices differ very greatly. A loaf of bread may cost 50 rubles in Ilpyr, while it costs 30 rubles in Petropavlovsk; a kilogram of apples may cost 250 rubles, while it costs 90 rubles in Petropavlovsk. And yet, prices in Petropavlovsk are the highest among other cities in all of Russia. Besides, the unemployment rate among indigenous people is very high, because fish factories, collective farms, and the majority of reindeer herds were closed in the 1990s. Only three of fourteen reindeer herds now remain. However, fishing and reindeer herding were the basic and only economic activities for indigenous people. Seamstresses cannot pass their knowledge and skills to children, because they cannot find reindeer fur skins. In this way, the number of skilled seamstresses is dwindling recently. In general, life in the North is very harsh. So I always help them, and they help me.

Sometime I miss my language very much. So we make efforts to meet each other at festivals, exhibitions or any other events to stay in contact with other indigenous residents in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky. Besides, when I have questions, I call my elder relatives in the North on the phone and ask how to sew clothes or prepare traditional dishes. I always help others when somebody ask me for assistance in sewing fur clothes, organizing events, or other activities.

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⁵⁸ There is no regular flight from/to Ilpyr. People manage to get to the nearest airdrome in Ossora by a cargo or ambulance helicopter, or cross-country caterpillar vehicle, or fishing boat, then fly to Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky by airplane, which is very often cancelled.

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カムチャッカ北部における文化継承の個人的体験：あるアリュートル人の事例

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本稿ではカムチャッカ半島のアリュートル文化継承者リディア・チェチュリナ氏（1957年生まれ）によって語られたライフストーリーを紹介する。社会主義体制下の一般市民の個人的な体験の記録は近年注目されつつあるテーマであるが、これまでほとんど記録に残されていない。とくにシベリア地域での平均寿命の短さや当事者の

高齢化を考えると、この地域における調査は緊急の課題である。そこで本稿では、チェチュリナ氏の体験をとりあげ、言語や文化の継承を阻むことになったさまざまな状況と、社会主義体制下での急激な生活の変化の中で、どのように言語や文化を保持してきたのか、また文化継承者としての現在の地位がどのように形成されたのかを中心に、文化継承の実態の一例を提示する。