

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Nivkh or Nivkhi also known as the Gilyaks, Nivkhi, Moribund, seriously isolated and endangered (<http://www.ethnologue.com/web.asp>). Language links to Altaic and Sino-Caucasian language families (Lee and Daly 119). Poor knowledge of the native language due to no territorial autonomy (Mastyugina 102). Nivkhi or Nivhs are plural pronunciations. In contemporary Russia they are Nivkhi, pre-revolutionary they were called Giliaki and pronounce their language as Nivghu (Lee and Daly 171). Nivkh is unique with no known linguistic affiliations with any other language (Grant 54).

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): niv <http://www.ethnologue.com/web.asp>

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Sakhalin Island: 51 N 143 E, Amur River Region: 48°48'59"N 108°46'13"E (wikipedia.org/wiki/Sakhalin ,wikipedia.org/wiki/Amur_River).

1.4 Brief history: An indigenous group who live on Sakhalin Island and the region of Amur River in far east Russia, mainly fishermen and semi-nomadic. Seemed to be believed as Neolithic people migrating from the Transbaikalian region during the Late Pleistocene. Traditional lifestyle was altered when the Soviet Union was formed in 1922 (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivkh_people). Date back at least 7,000 years ago (Lee and Daly 170). Nivkhs are a common descent of aboriginals, classified as Paleoasiatic peoples with an isolated language group with four dialects (Mastyugina 46).

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: Affects of prolonged contact with Chinese and Russians. According to census in 1891 there were 1000 Nivkh men and 785 Nivkh women in N. Sakhalin Island which made it hard to find wives since there was an unequal sex ratio (Bartels 25). Peaceful neighbors and intermarriages. Russians thought of Nivkhi as uncivilized and lacked state organization (Bartels 28). Politics and governments involved forced labor among the Nivkh (Bartels 52). Governments pushed villages into larger settlements and resettlement continued into the 50s and 60s, far from fishing rivers. Nivkh used to fish daily but now have to travel as far as 50 km everyday (Bartels 57). Despite the influence of government and neighboring reindeer pastoralism, Nivkh maintain pre-pastoral customs and traditions (Lee and Daly 119). Soviet Union takes over in the 1920s. However, since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 many Nivkh enjoy and take advantage of new political and economic freedoms (Lee and Daly 171). Used to craft nets from nettle fibers but now use larger mechanized fishing collectives (Lee and Daly 172). The Nivkh influenced heavily by the migration of the Tungusic peoples. Later, the Qing Dynasty of China forced the Nivkh to pay tribute to them. In 19th century, Russian Cossacks annexed and colonized Nivkh lands, where they are a small, often neglected, minority today. Today, the Nivkh live in Russian-style housing and with the over-fishing and pollution of the streams and seas, they have adopted many foods from Russian cuisine (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivkh_people). No overwhelming numbers of Nivkh have converted due to Russian Orthodox missionaries. Have been integrated into the workforce.

1.6 Ecology: Sakhalin Island is about 956 km in a N-S axis, varying from 26 km to 161 km in width, lush in bamboo forests in the South and stunted spruce and larch groves in the more

barren North. Reside on both coasts on the North half of the island, also banks and rivers in the island's center. Temperatures range from -40 degree C in January and up to 18 degree C in July. Island's soil is not good for agricultural development and is considered sinful by the Nivkh to plow the Earth's surface (Lee and Daly 171).

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: 2002 Russian Federation census, 5,287 Nivkh exist. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivkh_people) Tribal areas population 4,700 (Mastyugina 52). Population 5,000 on Sakhalin Island and 2,600 on banks of Amur River (Lee and Daly 171). Up until the 1920s Nivkh lived in small villages lining the South coast and local river basins approximately every 10 km (Lee and Daly 172). Nationality Population 1979 approx. 4,673 and in 1989 approx. 4,397 (Bartels 16). Between 1979 and 1989 experienced low growth rate of 4.5% which has been connected with continuing assimilation of the Nivkh people (Mastyugina 81). Nivkh villages consisted of 3 to 4 households shared by several families with larger villages rare, mostly located on the Amur estuary. Often households contained families that were not related. The village was usually composed of people from two to eight different clans, four being standard (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivkh_people). Villages lined rivers approx. every 5 km. Anywhere from one or two to ten families lived in a village with the maximum numbers around fifty (Grant 54).

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Berries. Millet, buckwheat flour, wheat flour, and beans were expensive to acquire and not the norm to always have on hand (Grant 50).

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Fish mostly salmon, hunted fur-bearing animals (Bartels 25). Pink, Pacific, and chum salmon, Trout, Red Eye, burbot and pike found in rivers and streams. Salt water fishing provided saffron cod, flatfish, and marine goby caught. A traditional preservation process called Yukola, involving slicing the fish in a particular way and drying the strips by hanging them in the frigid air, without salt, was used before foreign influences. The preservation process created a lot of dried fish waste, unpalatable for human consumption but utilized for dog food. Pulverizing dried fish and mixing it with fish skins, water, seal fat, and berries until the mixture had a sour cream consistency is a favorite Nivkh dish called mos'. Nivkhs would hunt seal, duck, sable, and otters. They would gather various berries, wild leeks, lilybulbs, and nuts. Contacts with the Chinese, Manchu, and Japanese from the 12th century on introduced new foods incorporated in the Nivkhs diet such as salt, sugar, rice, millet, legumes and tea. Russian 19th century colonisation introduced flour, bread, potatoes, vodka, tobacco, butter, canned vegetables and fruits, and other meats. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivkh_people).

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

2.4 Food storage: Drying of fish, largely shared

2.5 Sexual division of production: Sewing is a major part of production in Nivkh daily life, even involving different rituals and provide spiritual and environmental protection. Women usually sew but men know how to and do so when gone traveling (Oakes and Riewe 15). Settled or

semi-settled fishermen. Typical grouping of men hunting, women gathering. During fishing season women work from morning to night that their hands swell. Same with winter, they hunt deer, bears, and put out traps. They also gather wood, repair tents, work on skis, the sled, dishes. They also must travel far to exchange nettles and nets for seal oil, seal skins, and other things they don't have access to. Women are eternally at work (Grant 65).

2.6 Land tenure: Nivkh suffered from flooding and starvation at North settlements in 1946 (Bartels 55). Industrial pollution such as phenols and heavy metals in the Amur River have devastated fish stocks and damaged the Estuaries' soil (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivkh_people).

2.7 Ceramics:

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

2.9 Food taboos:

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? Dug-out canoes (Lee and Daly 170). Team of dogs for winter travel and narrow wooden boats carved from logs for navigating hazardous coastal waters (54).

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):N/A

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): N/A

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): 13 or 14 beginning of matrimonial age (Shternberg 130).

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):N/A

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):N/A

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): 13 or 14 beginning of matrimonial age (Shternberg 130).

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: Woman were bough to come live with a man permanently in his house, travel and migrate with him and is considered his wife and mother of his children (Shternberg 12).

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: unequal sex ratio led well-to-do men with 2-4 wives. For every polygynous marriage there were 9 monogamous men in N. Sakhalin. This does not include data for Amur River region populations (Bartels 25). Open public polyandry is not found. A wife or wives are customarily permissible and his own individual property (Shternberg 12).

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: Bride price may be involved often when a girl is forced to marry against her will. Wealth accumulation allow rich men to pay bride price for beautiful and skilled women, fathers wanted large bride price for marrying his daughter to a rich

man. Sometimes the marriage and bride price is arranged when the girl is less than 10. Bride wealth that came from rich men included Chinese silk, Manchurian spears inlaid in silver, Japanese sabres, cast-iron kettles, and sable coats. Bride wealth in poorer families included boats, guns, and dogs (Bartels 27). Fathers provide a dowry of prestigious goods, such as ornately inlaid knives; these items are stored as symbols of wealth and of the bride's importance. At the end of the marriage feast, a kettle (female) and an axe (male utensil) are exchanged between the two families. Symbols of elements of nature and the universe are placed on footwear, spears, knives, household implements, and clothing to ensure health, happiness, and prosperity (Oakes and Riewe 167). A man very often buys his wife from her father or brother at a very high price (Shternberg 12).

4.9 Inheritance patterns: Hunting and fishing grounds linked to clan lineages (Lee and Daly 172). Children belong exclusively to the father and inherit from him following his death (Shternberg 12).

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: Relations tend to be peaceful and tender between parents and children. Married couples frequently give evidence of great affection for each other, may commit suicide when one dies or may seemingly die of grief (Shternberg 13). Children are never scolded by parents for their amorous passions. (126).

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: Five cases of hermaphrodites. Gets mixed up with hermaphrodites that have been recognized in society. The attitude towards hermaphrodites is quite simple and considered simple anomalies. They are not despised and sexual intercourse with them is accepted quite willingly. The marriage of hermaphrodites is also not considered unusual. One spoke about himself of having two chances, two happinesses and was considered by others to be a good man. At first he was thought to be a woman with a vagina but she grew a beard and cohabited with the men. He married his wife, dressed like a man, and was considered to be the best hunter in the region (Shternberg 130).

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): Nivkhi were exogamous, married outside their lineages in a complex system of reciprocities that bound together wife givers and wife takers. This was unique because it was a triangulated system of marital exchange based on a tri-clan alliance group which compiled mutual social and economic obligations (Grant 57). The clan is based on the agnatic principle and marriage is exogamous (Shternberg 12).

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized?

4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows")

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: Rare because of relative accessibility, has been known to happen though (Shternberg 123).

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin) Clan kinship may designate agnatic and cognatic lineage as well as affinity and cognatism but particularly of common descent from a male ancestor, adopted patrilineal clans (Shternberg 15). It is not specified that cross-cousin marriage is preferred but does happen and is strong evidence for socio-cultural evolution.

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? Sexual intercourse is a natural act, as insignificant morally as any other natural act answering the well-known needs of a man (Shternberg 39). Women are open to premarital sexual encounters as well as men when puberty hits (122). Women obtain great sensuality and great sexual freedoms however restraining factors such as motherhood, household duties and love and shame among both married and unmarried women (Shternberg 125).

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: Women in general are treated as less of a person, the woman is given the worst spot in the house to sleep which is on the edge of a bench by the door. If there were two wives, then the second wife lives in poverty and is an object to be bought or sold (Grant 87).

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: The source is unclear of the number of reproductive females but does mention a higher number of males in the sex ratio. This is only for a portion of the population and does not include villages of Nivkh living inland of far east Russia (Bartels 25).

4.22 Evidence for couvades

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

4.24 Joking relationships?

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: Tri-lateral cross-cousin group marriages involving access to wives (Lee and Daly 172).

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: An unmarried pregnant woman is supposed to marry the child's father, refusal to do so implies that there is incest involved which is a cultural taboo. If it is incest the child is aborted or if the child is born it is killed (Bartels 26). Sexual intercourse is prohibited between uncles and nieces, aunts and nephews, the same applying to their tuvng classes, in agnatic and cognatic lines. Same with paternal uncle's wife or with his wife's sister and prohibitions between persons of ascending and descending generations but not limited to persons of different generations (Shternberg 41).

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? In preparing for weddings, dog harnesses are decorated and wear special headgear. The bride's father carves spoons that will be used by the bride and groom to ritually feed each other (Oakes and Riewe 166).

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? After the birth of the first child, the father and mother give up their former names and are then addressed by the name of the child as ‘father or mother of so and so’ (teknonymy) (Shternberg 12).

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) Group marriage central feature of social organization. Custom that Nivkhi men should marry a cross-cousin, marriage is conferred sexual access to women but of her age group and within her clan, providing the marriage was agreed upon and liaisons were discreet. Group marriage was a major feature of an early, universal stage of socio-cultural evolution (Bartels 25).

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin) Marriage tended to be exogamic unlike many paleo-Siberian groups. Although within the clan, marriage is endogamic while sub-clans are exogamic. Nivkh marriage customs were very complicated and controlled by the clan.

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: Cross-cousin marriage seems to be the original custom with the clan a latter necessity when the clan was unable to marry individuals without breaking taboo. The Bride price was probably introduced by the Neo-Siberians. The dowry was shared by the clan. The number of men generally exceeded the number of women. It was hard to gain wives, as they were few and expensive. This would lead to the wealthier men having more than one wife and the poor men without (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivkh_people).

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:N/A

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: N/A probably more outgroup considering there were lots of surrounding societies including major governments such as Russian, Chinese, and Japanese. By 1893, more than 13,000 convicts and exiles were settled on Sakhalin Island. This produced drastic decrease of Nivkh population on the island and may of even been up to a third of Nivkhi that died from diseases or foul play of the settlers (Grant 64).

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: no official reports found however, persons may be killed in an extramarital affair or anyone questioning or infringing on a man’s marital rights (Shternberg 12, 39).

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): Trade and intermarriage with Chinese, Japanese, and Korean. Peaceful neighboring groups with cordial relations. Resettlements into the 1970’s reduce settlements on Sakhalin Island from over 1000 settlements to 329 settlements (Lee and Daly 172). Ainu, Itelmen, Koryaks, and Chukchis were peaceful neighboring societies.

4.18 Cannibalism? None found

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: Villages may include one or two families or even be up to ten families or more in one village. Usually villages had roughly 50 people in them.

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): Semi-nomadic since time divided depending on the season, semi-subterranean. Log winter homes set inland and elevated wooden summer homes on the coasts (Lee and Daly 172).

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): Clans male-dominated and patrilineal, wealthy men helped poorer classmen and retained important elements of communalism. Did not have hereditary leaders or patriarchs but could gain influence because of wealth, generosity, eloquence or wisdom. (Bartels 26). Nivkh clans were a group of people united by marriage ties, a common derived deity, arranging marriages, and responsible for group dispute resolution. The clan is divided into three exogamous sub-clans. A clan would cooperate with other members on hunts and fishing when away from the village.

5.4 Post marital residence: Lives patrilocally. Woman may live with her father after the marriage until bride price is fully paid (Shternberg 45).

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

5.8 Village and house organization: Nivkhs lived in two types of self-built winter dwellings. Most ancient of these was the rylv. The dwelling was a round dugout about 7.5 meters in diameter, shored up by wooden poles and covered with packed dirt and grass. The rylv had a fireplace in the center and a smoke hole for light and smoke escape. The other type of dwelling used for winter is the chad rylv similar to the Nanai dio which was modeled after Manchurian and Chinese dwellings of the Amur. The chad rylv were one-room structures with a gable roof and a kan (Korean furnace) for heating. A nearby shed held sledges, skis, boats, and dogs (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivkh_people).

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? Log homes in the winter and wooden homes on the coasts in summer.

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: The attempt by Tsarist authority to appoint compliant clan elders was unsuccessful, may have been possibility of slaves however, none are described and are non-existent in traditional society (Bartels 26). Hunting and fishing ground considered to be property of clan lineages (Lee and Daly 172).

5.12 Trade: Trading contact with Ainu in Sakhalin (Lee and Daly 132). Broad trading and intermarriage with Chinese, Japanese, and Korean up until Soviet reign beginning in the 1920s. History of trading with Chinese from 12th century to Manchu domination in the 19th century (Lee and Daly 170). Exchanged fur with Russian and Chinese for brick tea, flour, alcohol, guns,

kettles, and other goods (Bartels 25). Japanese trade offered hides, liquor, axes, cotton, tobacco, and kettles while Nivkh had brocades, jewels, pipes, sables, and fish to trade with (Grant 50).

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? Not in an organized way. Some argue that introduction to trading goods with Russians and Chinese developed greed and stratification. Bride price did not appear until stratification of clans appeared (Bartels 26). Outsiders call Nivkh uncivilized which is why they lack state organization. Nivkh say civilization only brings alcohol, taxation, disease, and other negative problems (Bartels 28).

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR:

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): Explanation of supernatural forces often regulated actions interceded by shamans. Shamans used animal sacrifices and had a materialistic, atheistic worldview. It was a source of ecstasy or repository of traditional value, using wisdom and knowledge. It is mentioned but not emphasized. It is portrayed here that shamanism is an integral part of Nivkh life in a neutral tone (Bartels 19-20). Shamans' main role was in diagnosing and curing disease for the Nivkh. The rare Shamans typically wore an elaborate coat with a belt often made of metal. Remedies composed of plant and sometimes animal matter were employed to cure sickness. Talismans were used or offered to patients to prevent sickness. Shamans additionally functioned as a conduit to combat and ward off evil spirits that cause death. A shaman's services usually were compensated with goods, quarters and food (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivkh_people).

6.2 Stimulants:

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): The deceased are garmented in white loose fitting cloth in order for them not to get lost all the way to the underworld. The corpse is dressed in leggings and short cloth slippers or the feet are exposed, then the ceremony begins. When it is time for cremation expensive furs are put on the deceased in multiples of three for a man and two for a woman. After the cremation a piece of cranial bone is retrieved, wrapped in white cloth, and place between two small planks that are fastened together with the umbilical cord of the deceased, which has been stored in an inner bag inside a sewing bag. A miniature wooden image of the deceased is carve and set nearby with several sticks, one of which has a piece of human hair tied to it. This provides assistance on the journey and symbolizes the inner soul of the footwear needed to cross into the underworld (169). No ceremonies are in connection with puberty. The only sign is when a girl has passed puberty she wears her hair in two braids (Shternberg 130).

6.4 Other rituals: Before entering a forest to hunt or gather, older Nivkhs often leave vodka, cigarettes, or sweets at the foot of the trees. Bear festivals usually held in February. Clan leaders raise bears for several years in honor of a dead kinsman (Lee and Daly 172). Ceremonial feeding of the sea was done with tobacco and mos (a potato and cranberry puree) before beginning a fishing expedition, bear festivals were at the high point of the winter social season, and forest feedings at the beginnings of hunts (Grant 55). The bear festival represented the feeding of the

Lord of the Earth, forest, and mountains to secure good hunting, gathering, and health. The equality and unity of people and nature is the foundation of the feast. Bears and tigers are associated with men, and it is believed that these supernatural animals can transform into humans and enter into sexual relations with other humans. Bear feasts are usually to commemorate deceased ancestors, join two distinct families, or adopt someone into a group (Oakes and Riewe 166).

6.5 Myths (Creation): Nivkhs' have extensive folklore, songs, and myths of how humans and the universe were created, and of how fantastic heroes, spirits and beasts battled with each other in ancient times (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivkh_people).

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): Nettle thread is less durable than sinew and more available in the Far East and colored thread is acquired through trade with Chinese and Nivkh use it for embroidery. Thin strips of fish skin are used for thread in Amur Region when reindeer sinew is unavailable (Oakes and Riewe 19). They decorate with fish skin applique and silk embroidery and glue different colored fish skin to create patterns. Chinese threads, dyed blue or red fish skin, dyed birch bark, reindeer, moose and dog hair are all used for embroidery thread (Oakes and Riewe 22). The color white is associated with the sea, violence, and death. Generally white is not used for clothing. Nivkh are known for use of turtle, toad, lizard, snake, and fish for symbols. Nivkh use stronger, more defined spirals than those of Nanai. Nivkhs' floral and anthropomorphic motifs are bolder and more stylized than Negidal. Nivkh use wider lines and thicker designs on boots and leggings. Typical sole style has a turned-up toe (Oakes and Riewe 170). Used seal and fish. Salmon and pike skins preferred because they were light, yet strong, waterproof and provided good traction (Oakes and Riewe 172). Many different designs and styles used for winter boots, wraparound boots and wet weather boots (Oakes and Riewe 180-182). Sewing and the tools needing were a great importance spiritually and culturally to the Nivkhs. The tools are thought to be of protection to the user and could transport people and shamans to different worlds in the universe. Women's sewing tools may be offered for sacrifices or buried as grave goods when the owner of them dies. Sewing footwear has many symbolic meanings and is related to shamanistic activities. It is seen as a critical point of contact between the sacred and the profane (Oakes and Riewe 19).

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

6.8 Missionary effect: Russian Orthodox missionaries have been unsuccessful and have never converted Nivkhs in any amount of numbers. A vast majority of Nivkh say they are atheist (Lee and Daly 172).

6.9 RCR revival:

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: Small cemeteries, area with small mortuary houses where people's ashes and amulets were kept but people began to give up on that after so much contact with the outer world (Grant 60).

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

6.12 Is there teknonymy? Yes, After the birth of the first child, the father and mother give up their former names and are then addressed by the name of the child as ‘father or mother of so and so’ (tekonymy) (Shternberg 12).

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) Many identify as atheists. Been told by missionaries they have pagan ways. After Soviets took over, Soviets stress that pronounced religion is a “waste of social energy”. Nivkh still carry spiritual values and maintain these values through natural phenomenon such as the land, mountains, and the sea (Lee and Daly 172). Nivkh's traditional religion was based on animist beliefs, especially via shamanism, before colonial Russians made efforts to convert the population to Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Nivkh animists believe the island of Sakhalin is a giant beast lying on its belly with the trees of the island as its hair. When the beast is upset, it awakens and trembles the earth causing earthquakes. Nivkh have a pantheon of vaguely defined gods (yz, yzng) that presided over the mountains, rivers, seas and sky (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivkh_people). Despite being assimilated into Russian ways, little effort was made to converting to Russian Orthodox faith and many Nivkh remain deeply animistic, recognizing four spirits that master over the sky, the hills, the water, and fire (Grant 54). Shamans were keepers of traditional culture and medicine, were required to act as mediators, inherited special gifts. Men and women could be shamans. Some were ordinary and some were “big” shamans who could send the dead to the afterworld and cure illnesses (Oakes and Riewe 167).

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

7.2 Piercings: Only in pictures (Shternberg 19) (Oakes and Riewe).

7.3 Haircut: Late 1920s Nivkhi were urged to cut their long hair during years of assimilation (Grant 81). Traditional dress and men wearing their hair in braids was completely abandoned in 1934 (Grant 90).

7.4 Scarification:

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): Ornaments were coins, bells, or beads made of wood, glass, or metal mostly originating from Manchurian and Chinese traders (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivkh_people).

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: Mourners of deceased ones dress up in their best clothing. They wear their scarves backward, to participate in a remembrance feast for their deceased relatives (Oakes and Riewe 19).

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Female shamans wore a short jacket, skirt, and apron and headpieces made of cloth decorated with images of birds, fish, snakes, and lizards. They wore wood and metal representations of spirit helpers and metal lattice representing the universe made into a necklace (167). Male shamans wore a coat with a jacket over it, along with a skirt and a suede apron bearing images of spirit helpers. Long strips and numerous figurines of spirit helpers

were hung on the back of a belt. Similar but smaller pendants were located on the headpiece (Oakes and Riewe 169).

7.8 Missionary effect: non-effective, even by 1887 the Sakhalin military governor cited only two Nivkh men and two Nivkh boys had been converted (Grant 66).

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: Tuvng used but not for direct address of brothers and sisters of children of common father and mother, of brothers, of sisters, of common father, of common mother, and of wives of all male tuvng reciprocally (Shternberg 24). Imk used for designation of real mother, all wives of the father, wives of father's tuvng, father's wives' sisters, father's tuvng's wives' sisters, mother's sisters, sisters of wife's father, sisters of brother's father-in-law. Itk designative term for real father of mother, father's elder and younger brothers, father's younger male tuvng, mother's sister's husbands and their male tuvng, wife's father's sisters' husbands, and brother's wife's father's sisters' husbands (Shternberg 25).

8.2 Sororate, levirate: women compelled to live with husband's brothers to provide sex as group wives (Bartels 26). In the Giliak system of levirate, they had shared access of wives among designated brothers, proof that group marriage was alive and well in the Siberian hinterlands (Grant 53).

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): Punaluan-style tri-lateral cross-cousins considered helpful dividing the 'wife-givers' from the 'wife-takers'. Nearly impossible to continue clan-based marriage rules since resettlement carried into the 1970s. Some clan-based marriages have been observed in the 1950s but it is hard to continue to do so (Lee and Daly 172).

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them): Russian government began shipping political and criminal exiles to Sakhalin Island in late 1880's (Grant 52).

Numbered references

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