1 DOCUMENTING ORAL HISTORIES IN THE RUSSIAN FAR EAST: TEXT CORPORA FOR MULTIPLE AIMS AND USES

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Introduction

With the emergence of American cultural anthropology at the end of the 19th century, new concepts gave more weight to studying people's own interpretations of their traditions. For Franz Boas, it "seemed supremely important to document the anthropological material through uncensored accounts of natives in their own words and in their own language, to preserve the original meaning" (Boas 2001: 19). But such "salvage anthropology" was by no means aimed at sustaining the endangered languages and cultures. Thus Michael Krauss is "struck, even shocked, that as revolutionaries, discoverers of cultural relativism, they [Boas, Jochelson, and Bogoras] wrote so little in their JNPE [Jesup North Pacific Expedition] contributions to protest or even express regret about the then very active colonial suppression of the languages and cultures" (2003: 215). But nevertheless, the enormous amount of texts that were collected by Franz Boas and his collaborators in the indigenous languages of the peoples of the North Pacific rim (see Dürr, *this volume*) today—more than 100 years later—provides many First Nations of the Canadian Pacific Northwest essential and highly appreciated foundations for their efforts to revitalize their languages and cultures. Thus, unintentionally, important additional or multiple uses of the data once recorded came to light later.

In similar ways, more recent text corpora originated for indigenous peoples in the Russian Far East. At the outset of my own fieldwork in Kamchatka in 1993, when an initial project was explained to the locals at a community gathering in Kovran, the strong wish expressed by the Itelmens was to preserve their language, which was at that time in a critical state of endangerment. Keeping this request in mind, the information to be collected from local people for the purpose of that project[1] was recorded, whenever possible, in the given indigenous language. This way, as a later spin-off from this scientific project, a primer on Itelmen language and culture (Khaloimova et al. 2012 [1997]) was produced as early as 1997, as the first volume in a series of eagerly awaited community learning tools (Kasten 2009b).[2] The same strategy was applied in following projects, even though these projects had to prioritize other programs and

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1   "Ethnicity processes", funded by the German Research Foundation.
2   http://www.kulturstiftung-sibirien.de/mat_31_E.html [24.01.2017]

different aims.[3] For all these projects most of the information was knowingly recorded in the given indigenous languages. As a result, much of it already has been and will later be returned to the communities who support sustaining endangered languages and indigenous knowledge, in the form of learning tools. During the last decades, this philosophy and implicit agreement on sharing and returning recorded data has become the basis for most collaborative field projects with indigenous peoples, especially on the North Pacific rim (see Krupnik 2000, also *this volume*).

For most institutions and funding organizations (see note 3) it has been the policy or recommendation to encourage sharing data at a later point with the wider public, beyond their paramount project aims. In one instance, however, Ulrike Ottinger, the producer of the film project "Chamissos Schatten", refused to allow such supplementary use of the recordings as non-profit learning tools for the given indigenous communities. Her decision was justified with reference to the funding guidelines for that project. However, it turns out that the main sponsor of that project, the *Kulturstiftung des Bundes* (The German Federal Cultural Foundation) does not actually provide such guidelines. In fact, as a public institution, it is not only obliged, but usually committed to supporting the aim of maintaining the cultural heritage of indigenous peoples and, thereby, cultural diversity in general. But despite the producer's decision, the audio of the recorded texts on Chukchi language and culture will still be used for publishing community learning tools, as these are the intellectual property of the people who provided the information in the first place (Lewinski 2004) and secondly of the consultant who conducted the interviews, chosen because of his connection to the local culture and language competence. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that these learning tools will not be released, as with most other volumes in this series, together with the DVD, which contains the recorded texts, because the producer was not prepared to provide the footage of these interviews.

In total, about 170 hours of Itelmen, Even, Koryak, and Chukchi language data are stored at the Foundation for Siberian Cultures as part of a more comprehensive ethnographic digital video pool. They originated over the past 20 years more as spin-off results from ethnographic fieldwork projects that where, firstly, directed towards other aims. But the full value of the collected data has become apparent only later with the data now even being employed—after their scientific or commercial usage for exhibition and film projects—for important community-oriented purposes. Fortunately, this opportunity has been seized upon and an extensive text corpus for the peoples of Kamchatka has been compiled in time, as much of this knowledge has been rapidly vanishing since then (see below). This is important since special programs

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3   Among these were scientific projects on property relations (Max Planck Society), ethnographica in context (German Research Foundation), traditional ecological knowledge (UNESCO), math in cultural context (US National Science Foundation) and international exhibition projects on peoples and cultures in Siberia at the Museum of Natural History (Münster), the Central and Regional Library (Berlin) and the Linden-Museum (Stuttgart).

for preserving the cultural heritage of these peoples have been unlikely to receive the needed full-scale funding as they are usually seen as not responding to specific scientific research questions.

In the following, it will be discussed how a given text corpus can be made available for multiple follow-up uses. But first, various recording methods will be scrutinized with regards to possible limitations or biases of the given data. These data refer to oral history that is defined as "a field of study and a method of gathering, preserving and interpreting the voices and memories of people, communities, and participants in past events."[4] Even though its most prominent genre are life histories, this definition should also include tales or stories, since they often contain historical information not only about events in the distant past, but also about worldviews and behaviors that have been transmitted over generations. (For particular story genres that may carry elements of political discourse, see Dürr 2017: 126ff., *this volume.*)

Methodological Considerations

Should oral history be recorded in the indigenous language or in a lingua franca?

In the case of Itelmen, most speakers—even those belonging to the elder generation—were already more fluent in Russian than in their indigenous language in the 1990s. Yet even then we were still able to record life histories from the last remaining fluent speakers—that is from those to whom the language was transmitted in the natural way as their mother tongue. Most of them are no longer alive today. However, for neighboring Even and Koryak, one can still find, especially in remote locations, a sufficient number of speakers who are still in full command in their own language. But even there, most of them are now only able to communicate fragmentarily in their language or with constrained grammar and lexicon. This leads to restrictions for a researcher expecting data only in the indigenous language if he or she is mostly interested in the ethnographic or historical content of the recorded text. In this particular case, the information may be less complete if the speaker is encouraged to speak in his or her indigenous language for linguistic documentation purposes.

Furthermore, recording a text in the respective indigenous language may entail a considerable time lag until the text can be analysed with regards to its content, as it has first to be transcribed and translated into a language understood by the researcher. Most researchers who decide to cover a larger geographical area for comparative reasons or for getting a broader and more balanced view, are not—or hardly can be—in command of all the various languages spoken in the given area, with all their often diverse dialects and local variants. Therefore, in order to capture the subtle nuances of

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4   http://www.oralhistory.org/about/do-oral-history [24.01.2017]

the documented language material the researcher often works in teams with various indigenous experts who are familiar with the given local vernacular. Working up the recorded texts later can turn into an extremely time-consuming process that has, in our case, sometimes stretched over several years. Clearly, this often exceeds the deadline for submitting the expected results or for providing reports on a funded project in time. Therefore, researchers in projects who have to focus on the immediate analysis of a specific research question regarding ethnographic or historical content might be inclined or well-advised to record the data in Russian or whatever relevant lingua franca right away.

On the other hand, whenever we had the opportunity to record oral histories from some of the last fluent mother-tongue speakers in their own language, we noticed that the information often was more precise and more complete. Speakers would even place more emphasis on certain issues that they would usually share among their group members but not necessarily with the foreigner. That means that the same life history can be told differently in the indigenous and in the Russian language—as in the latter case the speaker might also be more inclined to live up to the expectations of the foreign interlocutor, in addition to having to conform to the linguistic and communicative structures of the foreign tongue and culture.

Therefore, even with regards to content, it is preferable to conduct the recording in the indigenous language, if the speakers are proficient enough in it. This can also create a more familiar situation for the speaker, especially if he or she feels more comfortable using their own language. But in other situations, as mentioned above, it can be counterproductive to urge the speaker to use his or her indigenous language. Therefore, the researcher has to assess and to decide flexibly about these options case by case.

How can certain recording techniques influence or bias the information?

Until the end of the 19th century, there were no technical means to record sound data. But with the breakthrough of modern devices, new wax cylinder recording techniques were applied, first in the Russian Far East during the Jesup North Pacific Expedition in the years between 1900 and 1902. However, because of the limited capacity of these wax cylinders, Vladimir Jochelson and Vladimir Bogoras confined their use mostly to recording shamanic songs or incantations. Therefore, only few texts of the extensive corpora that they compiled for the Koryak, Chukchi, Yukaghir, and Itelmen languages have audio samples as well. But nevertheless, according to Boas' instructions (see above), the researchers were eager to record the information from the local people as authentically as possible, with obvious limitations that soon became apparent. Most of the texts—collected in the indigenous languages as well as in Russian—were still written or taken down in shorthand, which meant continuous stops and interruptions of the important on-going flow of the story. Jochelson explicitly stated that the tales were dictated to him, and that he had felt obliged to stop frequently for questions

regarding the proper script and translation through his interpreter. Obviously, the speakers became irritated about that and frequently lost their enthusiasm (Jochelson 2016: 448).

Most notably when recording tales, it is essential not to interrupt the text flow of the story as otherwise its meaning and the plot can get lost. But even today this basic requirement may be put aside, as in the film project "Chamissos Schatten" when the recording of a tale by Maya Lomovtseva in Esso was interrupted by the producer to adjust the lighting. Understandably enough, the speaker found this annoying but carried on with telling the story. Consequently, a decisive fragment of the story was later missing and the entire recording had become useless with regard to its meaning. But, in that case, it was not seen as a problem as the intention was simply to record a segment of indigenous language. Here, just a fragment of the indigenous language was considered sufficient for insinuating exotic authenticity for the later audience of such a film. When she was asked in a newspaper interview whether she was irritated by not understanding Russian or any of the indigenous languages while filming, the producer professed quite frankly that she learnt from gesture and facial expressions alone what the given story was about.[5] Such imaginary ethnography (*imaginäre Ethnographie*, cf. Kramer 1977) was certainly a fascinating genre in the 19th century. The question is whether this approach can live up to current standards that aim at understanding indigenous concepts and look for a "respectful coexistence of various types of knowledge" (see Krupnik and Bogoslovskaya 2017: 78, *this volume*)—if local oral history and indigenous nomenclature is explicitly ignored.

But even in serious text recordings, researchers are sometimes inclined to interrupt the story in order to request more information, especially on linguistic topics. It is clear that such questions are better discussed later so as to not interrupt the narrative, after having finished the interview and when going through the audio file again with its transcript and translation. Beyond this, it has proven useful to set up recording situations in a way that the researcher disappears as much as possible into the background in order to encourage a natural conversation among local participants on a certain topic that is given beforehand (see Pagenstecher and Pfänder 2017: 193ff., *this volume*). A good example for this is a spontaneous recording during a tea-break in the tundra with Maya Lomovtseva, the same Even protagonist mentioned above, in 2000 (see Fig. 1.2). While enthusiastically telling the fox story to her Koryak and Even friends she almost forgot about the filming fieldworker, tripping over him during the story.[6]

When Bogoras and Jochelson occasionally employed, for the first time in that area, the revolutionary new sound recording technology of wax cylinders, this must have already felt like an intrusion. Descriptions of relevant field situations by Jochelson and reactions by the people indicate obvious biases of the recorded material. When

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5   "Gekochter Seehund ist delikat". *Der Tagesspiegel*, 8. Mai 2016.
6   http://www.kulturstiftung-sibirien.de/mat_321_2_E.html [24.01.2017]

speakers were sitting curiously or even afraid in front of the funnel they must have perceived the situation as unfamiliar (Jochelson 2016: 448, 609). Advanced recording technologies can certainly provide better opportunities to minimize such kinds of intrusion or interference and the observer's paradox, especially if they use less obtrusive recording devices, for example low-key camcorders in contrast to more conspicuous complex professional film equipment.

Fig. 1.1   A film crew is recording a ritual in Chukotka, 1999 (photo: V. Vaté).

Fig. 1.2 Maya Lomovtseva (right) tells a story to her friends during a tea-break in the tundra, 2000 (video still, E. Kasten).

How the outcome can be biased by certain recording methods can be seen with regard to other examples from the above mentioned film project "Chamissos Schatten". In Yanrakynnot (Chukotka) first the furniture of a household had to be rearranged for the imagined visual aesthetics of the setting, which caused detrimental irritation and stress on the part of the interviewees. Another recording in Kamchatka

with the Even elder Nadezhda G. Barkavtova was made in a traditional yurt that is set up for tourist shows in Esso. Immediately, the set was understood by the interviewee as a commercial project that she already had become used to in similar previous occasions—with consistent code-switching out of regard for the expectations of the particular audience, the film crew. The same topics of her life history that she addressed then had been recorded with her more than 10 years earlier, at various occasions in the natural setting of her summer fishing camp and winter hunting cabin at Kabana, several days' travel by horseback away from Esso in the tundra (see Fig. 1.3–4).[7] When contrasting these recordings with each other, it is most revealing to analyse specific features and variations resulting from the different contexts in which the recordings were taken.

Fig. 1.3
Recording life histories with
Nadezhda Barkavtova (left)
at her fishing camp, 2000
(photo: E. Kasten).

Fig. 1.4
Nadezhda Barkavtova, 2000
(video still, E. Kasten).

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7   Her tales from these recordings have been published in Kasten / Avak 2014: 55–77, see a sample clip: http://www.kulturstiftung-sibirien.de/mat_321_1_E.html [24.01.2017], while more editions on her life history, ecological knowledge, and sewing techniques are still in progress.

How can linguistics influence or bias the recorded data?

Sometimes researchers with linguistic competence may overrate their abilities and risk distorting or biasing the recorded material. An early example is given in some notes by Bogoras (1917: 1, 4) when he makes judgments about rules of pronunciation in the Koryak language that are based on his earlier experiences with the Chukchi language, which he was more familiar with. Today many researchers prefer to work in shifting teams with local language experts who are familiar with the numerous different varieties or dialects of the given indigenous language in order to capture the particular subtleties that most often only a local person can fully understand (see above).

If the researcher focuses too much on text recordings, there is the risk that one relies foremost on what is told while paying less attention to the actual practices and activities. For example, in one case Jochelson's confined oral information caused his incorrect assessment of the way the *matev*, the traditional skin boat of the Koryak, is paddled (Kasten and Dürr 2016: 25–26). There are many other cases where it has become apparent how important it is to match recorded texts with visual and emotional information from real situations und practices by means of participant observation, which is the classical method of the ethnographer. Therefore, it is most advantageous if researchers with particular linguistic interests or expertise collaborate with cultural or social anthropologists, for properly contextualising the recorded data.

Another bias can occur when sound recordings of oral histories are transformed into written text or academic script. It is well known that through this procedure they lose some of their specific qualities. Often they appear as "frozen" or they suffer from changes or standardizations, especially if the given speakers transcribe the recorded texts themselves. Commonly, written texts do not capture the on-going variation that is characteristic for oral traditions. A story is rarely told exactly the same way twice, but it is continuously varied, further elaborated or provided with supplements. Today, we have adequate technological means to record and to preserve oral history in unbiased form in original and annotated audio-video files. Being thoughtfully applied in learning situations, they can simulate customary story-telling situations that are closer to natural ways of transmitting this knowledge orally and visually than through print media or textbooks. This may downplay the significance of written texts insofar as scientific transcriptions have anyway often been of limited use for the purpose of language preservation.

For example, the Itelmen (or Kamchadal) texts, recorded by Jochelson and edited later in 1961 by Worth in linguistic script could never be read by Itelmen themselves, until these were published in 2014 in contemporary practical Itelmen script (Khaloimova et al. 2014). Even today, linguistic documentation programs put first emphasis on scientific script, from which later community-oriented learning tools might be produced, if at all. Even when relevant data are hosted on the Internet for open access, the given interface is often not designed in user-friendly ways for indigenous com-

munities. This reflects again the subordinate aim of making the texts available for practical uses and for the important purpose of endangered language preservation. Although these reasons are often given as part of the justification for funding such projects, they are seldom hardly more than attempts at maintaining political correctness.

In conclusion, the data is usually looked at with a specific preset focus according to the aims and approaches of the given scientific disciplines or film genres. Consequently, recorded life histories and related activities often reflect only confined or even biased segments of the actual stories. A too narrow linguistic view can at times miss or ignore the need to put the data into cultural perspective. The same occurs in film projects, which have to look for the most spectacular images to address a particular public. An example of this is a scene from a staged ritual after the killing of a seal that was set up for the film crew of "Chamissos Schatten" in Chukotka. Not only was the natural community involvement left out, in particular the important role that the hunter's wife takes in this ritual. During the recording the imagination of the producer Ulrike Ottinger was captured by the powerful moment (from the Western viewpoint) of seeing the film crew's cook (a Siberian Yup'ik) drinking the fresh seal's blood. Thus she did not want to pay attention to the most significant step in the entire ritual from the indigenous point of view, although the consultant was insistently pointing to it, when the hunter cut a small piece of the seal's liver and returned it to the sea—as a gift to and a reconciliation with nature. By missing this scene, the fundamental idea and worldview of Chukchi and Koryak seal hunters with regards to nature (Kasten 2009a, 2017) could not be captured in the film. In consequence, the footage is of limited value for other multiple uses, such as high-toned documentary for potential further scientific analysis.

Experiences from a Recent Edition Project on Itelmen Oral history

In addition to providing ethnological or historical information, the documentation of oral history can serve additional needs when it is used for linguistic research and/or as learning tools for preserving or sustaining endangered languages. With these potential multiple uses in mind—even to be taken up at later times or by other disciplines—we decided to record oral history whenever possible and even despite the mentioned restrictions in the given indigenous languages. Over the years we tested different formats for practical use in Kamchatka for which we developed print as well as electronic editions of the recorded texts. They can be used simultaneously for various aims and can supplement each other in favourable ways.

Here I will give an example of a first set of learning tools from documented Itelmen oral history. In contrast to our much more extensive materials on Koryak and Even oral traditions, the recorded Itelmen data is relatively confined. One reason

is the already limited number of Itelmen speakers in the 1990s. In addition to this, because of other research priorities then, the later focus on documenting endangered languages was unfortunately not yet fully developed at that point.

The resulting edited volume on Itelmen language and culture (Kasten and Dürr 2015) contains life histories and tales that show particular characteristics according to the speech competence and the individual background of each speaker. There is one short story on memories of early village life by one of the last fully fluent speakers,

Fig. 1.5 "Gosha" Zaporotski, 1993 (photo: E. Kasten).

Fig. 1.6   Chatting about Itelmen texts over a bearded seal stew with Klavdiya Khaloimova, Galina Zaporotskaya, and Tat'yana Zaeva (from left) near Kovran, 2001 (photo: E. Kasten).

"Gosha" (Georgi) Zaporotski (Kasten and Dürr 2015: 46–49), who had no academic background, but who was in command of probably the most profound Itelmen traditional knowledge. When I approached him, I was surprised that he proposed to first give some thought to my request. As he obviously wanted to speak "correct" Itelmen he wrote the story down over night, and the next morning he read it from his notes, which of course was not what I was looking for. He presumably wanted to satisfy my perceived linguistic expectations to the best of his ability.

A similar problem occurred in another publication project in our series when the speaker herself helped with transcribing the recorded data and insisted on changing and correcting the grammar. In that case the editors could not publish the sound files together with the book, as these eventually differed too much from the transcript given in the volume after the speaker herself had edited it.

Similar experiences were gained when re-editing Jochelson's Kamchadal texts (Khaloimova et al. 2014) in contemporary practical Itelmen orthography (see above). At the beginning, the local co-editor and Itelmen language expert in this project Klavdiya Khaloimova tried to translate the numerous Russian terms in the original texts into Itelmen—although these had already at that time, the beginning of the 20th century, become part of the Itelmen lexicon. Understandably enough, from the perspective of a textbook author (see below) she was obviously concerned about standardizations according to this specific genre. Although, as a matter of course, the team eventually decided to leave the Russian terms as they were, as they document and reflect internal dynamics within the Itelmen language that already had occurred at the given time, and which provide important clues for further analysis of such processes. Beyond that, the occasional Russian terms do not affect the practical use of the texts, as this even reflects and anticipates more recent developments and states of the Itelmen language.

There are other chapters in the edited volume "Itelmen texts" in which the realization of the Itelmen language is obviously biased by the academic background of the speakers. Klavdiya Khaloimova (Kasten and Dürr 2015: 50–53) has published textbooks together with Aleksandr Volodin from the 1980s onwards in which they have employed standardized Itelmen, which is strictly rejected by genuine speakers who pay particular attention to preserving their local variants.

Other local Itelmen speakers, Galina Zaporotskaya (ibid.: 36–45) and Valentina Uspenskaya (ibid: 16–35),[8] were able to preserve their local and clearly differentiating vernacular, although they had an academic background as teachers of Itelmen at the Institute for Advanced Teachers' Training in Palana and in the regional city of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatski. Another text, a *Kutkh* (Raven) tale (ibid.: 84–97), is from the schoolteacher Vera Khan who—although one of the last genuine mother-tongue speakers—read it from a manuscript that she had prepared for her classes.

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8   Sample clip: http://www.kulturstiftung-sibirien.de/vir_237_3_E.html [24.01.2017]

It is obvious that in the Itelmen case one had to draw mostly on the local *intelligentsia.* Most of the last few speakers of this language belonged to this group who had been able to preserve the language because of their professional engagement with it.

Another text, a *Kutkh* and *Miti* tale (ibid.: 54–65), concludes in a way that is otherwise not characteristic for this genre. The speaker Lyudmila Pravdoshina, who teaches cultural programs and Itelmen classes for younger children, adds to the tale's end the admonition that "they had forgotten their parents. But do you know your Mama and Papa"—whereas in traditional ways of storytelling such moral concepts remain implicit, they are not overtly spoken out. This tale was recorded, the same as another one on the culture hero *Tylval* by Agrafena Ivashova (ibid: 66–83), unscheduled and in a relaxed mood after a picnic near their potato field.

Fig. 1.7   Picnic with Agrefena Ivashova (left) and Lyudmila Pravdoshina (right) and her family, Tigil', 1997 (photo: E. Kasten).

There are also a number of texts that were told spontaneously and which were of prior value for our documentation. One of them was quite notable and informative; I was able to create a situation in which two speakers shared their memories about earlier village life while more or less forgetting about my presence. In this way, they did not feel pressured to speak "proper" Itelmen, but employed customary continuous code-switching between Itelmen and Russian, which reflected the natural state of Itelmen speech among elders in 1997.

Also, another recording with Tat'yana Gutorova (ibid.: 98–115) was not intended at the outset for the later given text collection. It unexpectedly came about during her granddaughter Elena Zueva's rehearsal and preparation for a concert tour in Germany,[9] and therefore was recorded in Russian.

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9   http://www.kulturstiftung-sibirien.de/ver_422_E.html [24.01.2017]

In sum, what makes these texts particularly interesting is that they reflect on-going changes not only in the language itself, but also even in the content of the stories, according to new social environments and the varying personal backgrounds of the given speakers. Therefore, collaborative projects between linguists and cultural anthropologists can produce favourable effects, as the latter can contribute by viewing linguistic data within its proper cultural context.

Generally, the transcription process proceeded relatively straightforwardly once decisions had been made about consistencies in the Itelmen script. But deciding on an adequate or proper Russian (or English) translation turned out to be more of a challenge. The question was how far the translation could diviate from the original text, or from the word-to-word translation in the scientific annotation, in order to make the text understandable or even attractive for a general readership. In the past, less attention was paid to this, and not much effort was put into editing the data for non-scientific audiences. Therefore, the Jochelson Itelmen texts have been hardly used by others apart from researchers (including linguists) until recently. The same situation occurred with the enormous corpora of informative Itelmen, Koryak, and Chukchi texts collected by Bogoras, which also deserve more attention beyond specialized academic circles.

Additional Electronic Formats of the Itelmen Oral History Text Edition

From the outset, our motivation to record oral history in the indigenous languages was in response to community concerns for language preservation. This motivated our earlier focus on print editions according to the technical means in the mid-1990s. Even later on, with the emergence of new electronic formats, these aims were still applied primarily for this purpose and not yet for linguistic documentation such as under the DoBeS programme.[10] More recently, within the framework of developing multiple uses of the data stored at the Foundation for Siberian Cultures, these aims and relevant digital technologies have been gaining more weight, especially with regard to long-term storage of the data.

New technological formats were already explored in the late 1990s during our research on the use and acceptance of learning tools. We then noticed a few important points that could strengthen or create indispensable motivation among those who are concerned about the Itelmen language in Kamchatka (Kasten 2013). Viewing and listening to elder relatives in familiar local settings by means of video recordings—even if some of them might have already passed away, but are still well-remembered—endorses identification with one's own local history and promotes cultural self-esteem. With this in mind, we supplemented the print editions of the oral histories mentioned

10   http://dobes.mpi.nl [24.01.2017]

with DVDs that contain a complete set of the recordings with subtitles in Russian and English. These audio-visual formats go back to earlier experiences when we first published relevant sound files of Itelmen speech and wordlists on CD.

Since 2000, we have been recording consistently on digital video in order to illustrate the context and to also show the body language of the speaker. Thus the DVD materials that have been produced since then are even more attractive for educational uses as learning tools.[11] However, these DVDs must be seen only as a provisional "bridge technology". In the long run, all related audio-visual materials will be available on the Internet for more convenience and free download. But for the time being, some of the most prominent target user groups—private households or pedagogical institutions and cultural centres in indigenous communities in Kamchatka and in other parts of the Russian North—do not always have adequate and reasonably priced access to the Internet and therefore still have to rely on the DVD editions. Currently, comprehensive Internet language archives are in progress that will ensure easier open access to the text corpora, with links to relevant other text corpora of the Russian North (see Wilbur and Rießler 2017, *this volume*).

The edited volume "Itelmen texts" is also available on the Internet, the same as all other publications in the series "Languages and Cultures in the Russian Far East".[12] In addition, most of the texts are accessible there in modern linguistic transcription and with interlinear glossing as separate electronic editions.[13]

The package of Itelmen learning tools also includes a primer that addresses natural learning situations at home for children at a pre-school age. It has been widely used since 1997 in Kamchatka, and its second edition came out in 2012 (Khaloimova et al. (2012). The illustrated schoolbook was followed by the multimedia CD-ROM "Itelmen Language and Culture" (Dürr and Kasten 2001). As a new feature, the user can listen to sound samples while choosing from up to eight different variants of the Itelmen language, in addition to slideshows and videoclips that illustrate the particular cultural contexts. Since its first publication in 2001, this multimedia CD has technically become out of date. Based on the same data, we produced a thematic dictionary in html-format for the Internet with sound samples of various local speech variants. This online "Itelmen Talking Dictionary" includes about 550 entries that are useful for both educational and research purposes.[14]

In addition to the above-mentioned publications that were jointly produced by the project team, Klavdiya Khaloimova published the book "Methodical recommendations for teachers of the Itelmen language" (Khaloimova 2015). This book is directed mainly towards future Itelmen teachers and is considered a particularly useful teach-

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11   See sample clip http://www.kulturstiftung-sibirien.de/vir_231_1_E.html (6:25–8:17) [24.01.2017]

12   http://www.siberian-studies.org/publications/lc_E.html [24.01.2017]

13   see for example: http://www.siberian-studies.org/publications/PDF/lcitelmentexts_LiAn_ Khan.pdf [24.01.2017]

14   http://www.kulturstiftung-sibirien.de/itd_E.html [24.01.2017]

ing tool at the Institute for Advanced Teachers' Training in Palana.[15] The book is a guide for teachers on how to systematically explain the rather intricate Itelmen grammar to schoolchildren of different levels with the help of short examples.

Finally, the DVD on the fall festival of the Itelmen, "Alkhalalalai" (Kasten 2015) completes the package of Itelmen language and culture learning tools. It depicts situations in which Itelmen language is used today in cultural revitalization events, although less for the purpose of communication, and more so to express Itelmen ethnic identity (Kasten 2005).[16]

Multiple Uses of the Recorded Material

In sum, the example of the Itelmen texts edition shows the potential multiple uses of recorded oral histories. The experiences gained from this project also apply to our forthcoming materials on Koryak and Even oral histories editions, as well as to publications by other authors in this series:

- The edited volume of these texts contains the full Itelmen transcripts of the recorded texts and their translations into Russian and English, with Russian and English subtitles on DVD.
- The Russian translation is meant for community members who are not yet in full command of their indigenous language, or who are no longer familiar with it.
- The English translation encourages desired cultural exchanges about these themes, especially among indigenous peoples of the North, such as in Scandinavia and North America.
- Furthermore, the English translation addresses the international academic community of linguists, who do not always know Russian.
- The linguistic annotation of the texts that is provided in addition to the electronic version of the edited volume on the Internet is even more specifically intended for further research purposes.

Conclusions

There are obvious mutual benefits in approaches to the documentation of oral history that aim to produce complex and well-integrated outcomes, and which bring together or combine potential multiple uses. The historical information can be more precise and complete if oral history is recorded in the given indigenous language. In

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15 *Kafedra rodnykh yazykov, kul'tury i byta korennykh malochistlennykh narodov Severa Kamchatskogo instituta razvitiia obrazovaniia.*
16 http://www.kulturstiftung-sibirien.de/vir_237_7_E.html [24.01.2017]

the form of printed and electronic learning tools that are supplemented with DVDs, the recorded oral histories can stimulate interest in the preservation of endangered languages and indigenous knowledge, especially among younger generations. And we have seen how linguistic research can benefit if the recorded data are made available and presented in the ways as mentioned above.

Finally, this contribution has identified a number of fields in which shared interests and approaches between cultural anthropologists and linguists should be brought together in order to create valuable synergies from which both sides certainly will benefit. So far, because of its primary orientation towards language and traditional knowledge preservation through community use, we have put particular emphasis on (physical) print and DVD editions of the data. The next steps will be to focus even more on digital solutions, for example by using ELAN[17] as an archiving format, and by securing long-term storage and promoting the usage of these data via integrated language archives. These will merge various extensive text corpora that cover indigenous or minority languages of the North—from Scandinavia in the west to as far as Sakhalin and Chukotka in the east (see Rießler and Wilbur 2017, *this volume*).[18] The principle aim would be to provide easy and free access to these materials for indigenous communities, as well as for anthropological and linguistic research.

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17 ELAN is an annotation tool allowing for transcribing and annotating video and audio materials. Cf. https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/ [24.01.2017]

18 See the already existing volumes from such data bases for the Russian Far East: http://www.siberian-studies.org/publications/lc_E.html [24.01.2017]

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