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FRANZ BOAS

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The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus

BY

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VI. — RELIGION. FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS.

GENERAL INTRODUCTORY REMARKS. The modern religious concepts of the Yukaghir which I am about to describe here are no more than a vague shadow or a faded image of their ancient religion. Russian influence has transformed the religious life of the Yukaghir to such an extent that their primitive religion in its entirety is irretrievably lost to us. Some aspects of their religious conceptions were to a degree influenced by the Yakut and the Tungus. I hope, however, to indicate the characteristic traits of the ancient Yukaghir beliefs, or as much of them as still remains but will soon be forgotten and the meaning of which will no longer be understood. I am able to undertake this task, thanks to my familiarity with the Yukaghir language, which I studied during two visits to the Yukaghir.¹

Before embarking on a description of the data which I have collected on the religious beliefs of the Yukaghir, I shall permit myself to expound briefly my views about the nature of religion, views elaborated in the course of many years of contact with the aborigines of northeastern Siberia and based on personal observations of the religious life of these people. While discussing the general principles of so dark and complex a subject as religion I cannot avoid passing criticism on authorities whose knowledge and erudition are universally recognized. I have, however, one advantage, and that is direct observation in the field. These observations did not merely suggest but forced upon me certain views as to the general nature of religion. On the other hand, this general survey will help me to systematize my own material.

While theological views of religion held sway in ethnology, the beliefs of peoples of "lower cultural stages" were regarded as outside the domain of religion. The scope of what we now call religion is much wider. Whenever we assert, that the essence of religion lies in the adoration of deities, we thereby attest our adherence to a theological interpretation. I cannot endorse this view. Nor can I, not being a theorist, accept the views of some modern ethnologists on the development of religious ideas² and the sharp distinction they draw between the beliefs of the so-called savages and of civilized peoples.

¹ In connection with the so-called Yakut Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, 1894-1897 and with the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1900-1902.

² J. G. Frazer understands religion as "propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man, which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life" (*The Golden Bough*, 2nd Edition, II, p. 63).

In its aims religion does not differ from science. Of course their ways and methods are different, but religion as well as science strives to comprehend the external world and to subjugate it. In accordance with these two ends, religion, like science, may be considered in the aspects of pure and applied religion.

Applied religion is the cult: prayers, sacrifices, incantations and mysteries.

Pure religion is mythology in so far as the latter satisfies curiosity, the craving to know and to comprehend the world. I am making this reservation because mythology, in distinction from pure science, contains also another element, that of amusement or entertainment, bringing mythology nearer to legend, fairy tales and other forms of oral folk-lore, and literary fiction. This being my understanding of the essence of religion, I should formulate its contents as follows: religion pursues two ends; on the one hand it strives to account for the origin and organization of the world; on the other, it tends to adjust human life to the universal order. The first end is attained by the intellect, while the second is essentially based on emotions, that is on the sense of dependence of human welfare on certain powers which are at liberty to grant the necessities of life or to withhold them, to cause evil or disease among men or to abstain from hostile acts towards him. On this feeling is based applied religion or cult.

A cult presupposes a conception of powers, and the knowledge how to coerce these powers.

In the religious conceptions of the peoples I have studied these powers comprise certain classes of supernatural beings. To facilitate the understanding of these powers I apply to them the terminology adopted in recent times by English anthropologists, although these terms do not always perfectly correspond to the character of one or another of the supernatural beings. The supernatural powers are: anthropomorphic deities; spirits in the sense of the animistic theory, that is souls or spirits which animate objects or dwell in them but may also lead an independent existence; the phenomena of animatism, that is, conceptions of inanimate objects as living beings; spirits hostile to man. Finally I must include in this classification inanimate objects designated as fetiches.

Supernatural powers can be controlled by means of incantations, conjurations, sacrifices and prayers.

In a study of the varieties of supernatural beings or powers we are led to consider their origin and mutual relations. Do they constitute links in an evolutionary chain or are they genetically unrelated? Does each class represent a certain phase of the spiritual development of the people; or finally, does the conception of all of these classes of powers begin to develop simultaneously at the period when the struggle for existence rises into the consciousness of man.

We are wont to solve these problems theoretically, for observations of the religious life of even the most backward peoples reveal the presence of complex beliefs and of a developed ritual. Some argue that the Australians practice magic¹ but not religion, but, as will be seen further on, I do not separate magic from religion but regard it as one of the elements in religious consciousness. Possibly that aspect of cult which is designated as magical has received among the Australians a predominant development, and has come to overshadow the other sides of religious consciousness. But even here are discovered beliefs in souls and totems, while among the Warramunga the mythical water-snake Wollumqua, which is one of their totems, is made the object of a religious cult as a deity.²

With the religious conceptions of the Chukchee as a basis, my friend Mr. Bogoras has attempted to construct a general scheme of religious evolution; but it seems to me that what he regards as stages are not links in a historic chain, but coexistent elements which we find in the religions of even the most primitive peoples.³ All of these elements, moreover, are also found in the "higher religions", namely in those based on revelation, that is, some form of communion with the deity on the part of chosen individuals, rather than those based on a philosophical, that is, hypothetical conception of a deity as an individualized conscious power governing the world.⁴

Are not the rosary, ikons, relics, the cross and votive offerings in Roman and Greek Catholic churches equivalent to what we call magic? The most extreme monotheism such as that of the Hebrews does not more than push to the foreground the Creator-Jahvah, for the angels, evil spirits and souls have preserved their significance as supernatural agents.

This is not the place to enter into a quantitative and qualitative evaluation of any particular religion from the point of view of the elements indicated above; suffice it to note that if these elements constitute the essence of the higher religions as well as of the religions of primitive peoples with which we are familiar, there is no reason to doubt that in the early stages of culture the potentialities of all these religious elements already existed, in a semi-conscious or subconscious form. The seeds of religion as a whole, as a complex series of elements, must be sought in the first attempts of living organisms to adjust themselves to their environment or *vice versa*. These attempts comprised activities that took more than one direction.

¹ See J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, Third Edition, Part I, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*. Vol. I, p. 234.

² See Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* London, 1904, p. 226. On the other hand Thomas regards the beliefs of the Australian tribes as religion, giving different data on the gods and spirits of the Australians (N. W. Thomas, *Natives of Australia*, London, 1906, pp. 211-228).

³ See Waldemar Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, Vol. VII of this series, p. 277.

⁴ Theology, in making use of philosophy to prove the truth of one or another religious conception, is guilty of a contradiction, for it attempts to attest the concrete and clear knowledge of revelation by means of the vague and hypothetical conceptions of philosophy.

The phenomena of death, dreams, hallucination, or all of these combined have furthered the development of concrete conceptions of the soul and of spirits. All hypotheses in this field are necessarily uncertain, but the beginnings of religion must certainly not be sought in any of the above phenomena, but in the sentiment of apprehension aroused by phenomena the causes of which are not understood.

Whatever the character of the transition from unconscious to semi-conscious and conscious religion, the study of even the most primitive tribes reveals the presence of concrete religious conceptions involving the elements enumerated above. The conception of a Creator or Supreme Being we find among all peoples. The Central Australians seem to constitute an exception, but on this subject the last word remains to be said. Andrew Lang's assertion that the conception of a Supreme Being appertains to the religions of primitive peoples seems to me fully justified;¹ such at least is the outcome of my own observations among the Yakut, Tungus, Koryak, Yukaghir, Kamchadal and Aleut. This idea has aroused the criticism of some lay ethnologists among Lang's compatriots; on the other hand, theologians seized upon this idea, seeing in it a proof of primitive monotheism which in later periods became obscured by the intrusion of animistic and magical conceptions. To admit this theological conception is to endorse the spiritual retrogression of mankind. Without entering here into a more detailed criticism of these conclusions, we must grant that as long as this idea of a Supreme Being has been discovered, a certain place must be given it in the system of beliefs. In some religions this idea is more prominent, in others less so. Thus we find among all peoples a certain attitude towards the souls of the dead, but among some peoples this attitude has taken the form of ancestor cult, which is lacking among others.

The concept of animistic spirits certainly occurs even among the most primitive savages. Spirits may be subdivided into several classes: souls which animate organisms; spirits dwelling in objects, as "owners"; spirits controlling animals; spirits which are not associated with objects, such as the evil and other vagrant spirits.

The term animatism introduced by Marett,² is very serviceable. It may be taken to embrace all conceptions of life directly ascribed to all inanimate objects. While making no positive assertions, Marett suggests that animatism may have constituted a stage preceding that of animism. But observations on the religious life of most backward peoples reveal the existence of animistic and animatistic concepts, side by side, or even intermingled to such an extent that often the same concepts are disguised under different terms. Thus, among the Yukaghir, the conception of the "owners" of rivers, mountains, etc. as supernatural beings is fairly well developed; on the other hand, as we shall

¹ See A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion* I, II, 1884.

² See R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*, London 1907.

see further on, they are often addressed at sacrifices as "the Owner of the River," "Owner of the Mountain-chain," but also as "River-Father" and "Mountain-Father." Nevertheless, some conceptions exist which correspond strictly to what was designated before as animatism. A considerable number of such conceptions were referred to in my work on the Koryak.¹

We shall see further on that in the romantic legend of the mountain-chains the actors are mountains and summits, thus fully justifying an animatistic interpretation. But if one remembers that primitive man constituted himself the standard of all things, it becomes clear that no sooner did he attain to the realization of the dual nature of his being, consisting of body and soul, than he proceeded to endow all objects with a separate life principle. The versions of primitive animatism given by travellers may often be due to the inaccurate mode of expression used by the savage whose words correspond but roughly to his thoughts. When I confronted a Koryak or Yukaghir with the direct question whether the sacrifices on their journeys were addressed to the mountain itself or to its "owner," that is, a spirit, they found it difficult to answer. Evidently this question had never arisen in their minds.

I may touch here also on the place occupied by magic. According to the opinion of professor Frazer, magic preceded religion, but he also holds that it was incompatible with religion and that the latter arose when magic was recognised as false.² If that were so, how explain the fact that magic coexists with the higher religions? Frazer allies all forms of magic with science, for in magic, he contends, definite causes lead mechanically to definite results, but he neglects the third element in magic, the supernatural element which is religion. Thus, for instance when a Yukaghir suffering from urinal obstruction, looks on the river bank for a stone with a hole, and urinates through the hole believing that it will alleviate his affliction, he does not interpret the process as a mechanical effect of the hole in the stone on the free passage of urine, but believes that some power produces the result by analogy. Only such observations of primitive man as facts coinciding in time, or phenomena related as direct cause and effect, without any religious coloring, express the pure experience of primitive man and lie at the root of science. Here are two illustrations:

When the Yukaghir observes in the fall that the needles begin to fall from the larch trees, he concludes that the fish will soon begin to descend the river. These are two events coinciding in time. The Yukaghir knows that after rains the rivers flood their banks. In this case direct mechanical causality is involved. Magic, in my opinion, is related to science but in the form of a religious element, for, while both aim at the same results, the methods of

¹ See W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, pp. 33-46.

² See J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough; a Study in Magic and Religion*, Third Edition, Vol. I, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, pp. 220-243.

magic are quite different. Magic thus presents a method of mysterious, hence supernatural influence of one phenomenon on another, an influence, moreover, which is not binding. Its efficacy depends on the will of a mysterious supernatural power, but also on the intermediary between that power and man, the shaman. The shaman's conjuration does not always prove efficacious. On the other hand, the believers regard prayer as efficacious, hence they must hold the realization of the prayer as more or less incumbent on the deity.

The description of Yukaghir religion will show that it contains an ethical element. In the religions of peoples of higher culture morals, following the trend of civilization, have received a higher development; on the other hand, morals, no less than other sides of spiritual and social life, which were once absorbed by primitive religion, now claim independent recognition on the basis of scientific data.

CLASSIFICATION OF SUPERNATURAL BEINGS. Supernatural beings, spirits and amulets constitute the elements of religion and objects of cult. The cult consists of methods of controlling the elements of religion and the relations of man to the latter.

In this chapter I propose to analyze the elements of the ancient Yukaghir religion in the sense in which I understand that term and to the extent to which it was possible to reconstruct the religious system of the Yukaghir in its present state of degeneration.

The supernatural beings may be subdivided into beneficent deities and spirits hostile to man. This classification must nevertheless not be regarded as absolute. Beneficent beings may also do harm to man if his actions do not meet with their approval. This is precisely that ethical element the presence of which in primitive religion is denied by many authors. On the other hand, evil spirits do not always do harm to man. Thus shamans not infrequently make use of evil spirits to cure men and to fight other evil spirits.

BENEFICENT SUPERNATURAL BEINGS. *The Supreme Deity of the Yukaghir.* The Supreme Deity is called Pon, which means "Something." This Supreme Deity must not be regarded as analogous to the Supreme Deity of the religions of civilized peoples. It was a deity of a most vague and indefinite character, a deity that controlled all visible phenomena of nature. Thus Pon-yu'leč means "something got dark," that is evening has come; Pon-emí'děč means "something became black," that is night has come; Pon-o'möč means "something has become good," that is it has become good weather; Pon-tí'boi "something makes rain," that is, it rains. The texts which I have recorded reveal no cult addressed to this deity. Nor are to-day any prayers addressed or sacrifices made to it. In the Tundra dialect Pon is called Cu'kun, for instance, it rains, Cu'kun-tí'wai.

Father-Fire. Father-Fire in Kolyma-Yukaghir is Me'mđeye-Ečí'e. The word me'mđeye means flame or fire. Although the name of this deity does

not occur in my texts, the Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma state that it was a beneficent deity, residing in the sky. Evidently it was the deity of fire in general. Fire on the hearth is designated by another term: ʎo'čil or yegi'le. ʎo'čil is a modern term which also means fuel and, more generally, any material for a fire or the hearth. Yegi'le is an ancient word. Sacrifices were made to this deity and prayers were addressed to it. The following prayer addressed to the deity has been preserved.

Me'mdeye-Eč'i'e mi'tul a'mdeget polu'dek.
 Fire-Father us from death save.

Aurora Borealis. The aurora borealis, poi'n.aṅulkon, that is, something whitish, is a light which emanates from Father-Fire, when the sky opens. No one may look at the aurora borealis. Its shifting rays carry off to the sky any one who looks at it. There is a story about a boy who, disregarding his father's warning, looked at the aurora borealis; he was carried off to the sky, and the sky closed upon him.

The Sun. The Sun, Ye'loje or Pu'gu (an ancient word) — in the Tundra dialect, Ye'rpeyeñ — was regarded as a beneficent being, the protector of the oppressed, the guardian of justice and of morality. In the myths and traditions the sun always appears as a moral element.

In many Yukaghir traditions referring to the old relations of the Yukaghir with the Chukchee, it is pointed out that no wars occurred between the Yukaghir and the Chukchee, as the two peoples were regarded as brothers, and if they killed one another, the Sun would grow dark. On one occasion a Yukaghir "strong man," contrary to the custom prohibiting war with the Chukchee, was forced into a fight with Chukchee warriors. As a son-in-law it was his duty to protect the house of his father-in-law, a Chuvantzi, against an attack by the Chukchee. It was winter. In the course of the battle the Yukaghir brave repeatedly ran to his tent in order to melt the blood which was freezing on his spear. The Chukchee warriors waited for him to come out, and did not attack the tent. According to a Yukaghir-Chukchee custom, warriors during the progress of fighting did not molest the tents, where the women and children were staying. While the Yukaghir brave was warming his spear, his wife, who was a Chuvantzi, desirous to suppress in her husband the feeling of kinship with the Chukchee, showed him their child, wrapped in furs, which, she claimed, had been killed by the Chukchee while the brave was in the heat of the fight. The Yukaghir furiously attacked the Chukchee and kept on fighting until he fell dead. When the Chukchee while undressing him recognized by his belt, worn by the Yukaghir in a distinctive way, that they had killed a Yukaghir instead of a Chuvantzy, they turned their appeals to the Sun: "Look, o Sun, what we have done, we have killed a brother." This story was recorded by me on the Yassachnaya river, without text,

and I referred to it in the introduction to texts published by the Russian Academy of Sciences.¹ Subsequently I recorded a variant of the tradition from a russianized Yukaghir, Vasilij Vostryakov, on the Omolon River. I shall reproduce it here because it gives a striking presentation of Yukaghir custom and psychology.

"There was a Yukaghir, a strong and agile man. The best shot and warrior among the Omolon people. He had two bows. One tight one, for hunting, with hard hitting arrows. No one except himself could use this bow. The other bow was loose, for war, so it could be easily tightened and so the arrows could be sent flying in rapid succession. No one could make him loosen his grip on the bow. This brave fell in love with a Chuvantzy girl and went to her parents to work for her. At that time those Chuvantzy were attacked by the Chukchee. The Chuvantzy also had a strong man, the brother of the Yukaghir's wife. But he was out hunting. The Chukchee called for the fighters, but all the Chuvantzy turned to flight. Only the Yukaghir remained with the women and children. Although it was not customary for a Yukaghir to fight the Chukchee, it was his duty to defend the hearth of his father-in-law. He took along his loosely strung bow and went out to meet the Chukchee. He himself evaded all arrows while his own arrows killed many people. The Chukchee realized that such a man was hard to kill and began to aim at his bow. For a long time they were not able to hurt it but finally one arrow cut the bow-string. The Yukaghir ran to the tent for his tightly-strung bow. He searched and searched, but nowhere could he find it. "The fleeing Chuvantzy must have carried it along with them," he thought, "how shall I fight." Suddenly he looked about and noticed that his child was not there. The mother had purposely hidden her under a reindeer hide. "Where is my girl-child?" he exclaimed. "The Chukchee have killed her," answered the wife. The Yukaghir grabbed his spear and ran out. He threw himself upon the Chukchee, and hit left and right, while the spears thrown at him only hit the air, so cleverly he evaded them. Now he stood on the ground, suddenly he walked on the heads of the Chukchee hitting all the time. Many people he killed. His spear was covered with blood. The blood was frozen to the spear, and he could not strike with it any more. He ran to his tent to melt off the snow and frozen blood. Once more he asked his wife: "Where is my girl-child?" She answered: "The Chukchee killed her." Again the Yukaghir ran out to the field of battle, again he hit with his spear, many people he killed, but his strength left him. The Chukchee were many, he was alone. He lay down on a heap of killed warriors and said to the Chukchee: "Friends, I have shed much of your

¹ See W. Jochelson, *Materials for the Study of the Yukaghir Language and Folklore*, collected in the Kolyma District (Publications of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Petrograd, 1900, p. viii). In Russian.

blood, may the Sun pardon me, put an end to me, I shall die with a cover."¹ He was killed. The Chukchee began to undress him. When they lifted his bone armor and saw his Yukaghir knife-belt, they howled: "Had we known, that this was a Yukaghir, we should not have fought. Are there such strong men among the Chuvantzy? Look, o Sun, for we have killed a brother."

In one tradition which depicts a battle and subsequent reconciliation of two Yukaghir clans, sacrifices were made to the Sun with prayers to him not to be angry on account of the fight and with promises not to fight any more.

But the Sun is angered not only by the shedding of the blood of kin but by the killing of men in general. Thus, in one tradition, a Yukaghir strong man, having killed in a fight many Lamut, comes running to his tent, takes leave from his younger sister whom he was defending against the Lamut, and says: "Now I shall return no more, too many Lamut have I killed, the Sun will be angry with me." He went out to the Lamut, and permitted himself to be killed.

In another tradition, while making peace with the Lamut, the Yukaghir said: "Let me promise the Sun that we shall kill one another no more." The Sun also punishes for incest. The tale of the "Moon-Face" relates to a man who wanted to marry his sister. She reprimanded him saying that the Sun would become angry.² The Sun also appears as the protector of the oppressed. In this connection the following tradition is characteristic.

"Many people lived in one place. Among them was a young hunter, married, with a child. There also was an old man and an old woman, without children. They had no one to hunt for them. The hunter gave the old people part of his produce. Thus, when he killed an elk, he would give them one leg. But the old man was not satisfied with this. Once the sun was setting. The old man lifted the edge of his tent and said to the sun: "Sun, rise a little. I have something to tell you." The sun rose. The old man said: "Sun, you know how the hunter offends me. Cause him to eat what his child eats." The old man was making his request in form of a riddle. The following day the hunter went out to the chase, and met an elk. He drove it past his tent, stopped and called to his wife to bring some water. She brought out some water, but he did not take it. He became crazy, seized her by the breast, and cut off the nipple, swallowed it and ran on after the elk, but soon he fell down and died."

In explanation of the real meaning of the old man's request to the sun, it must be noted that in all Yukaghir myths of cannibals and also of heroes, those who taste of the blood of a kinsman invariably die. That was the death the old man asked for the hunter when speaking to the sun.

¹ By "cover" is meant the mask with which the ancient Yukaghir covered the faces of the deceased. In war, the killed enemies on whom the warrior fell, were regarded as his cover.

² See Part I of this volume, p. 83.

The Czar was called pu'gud-ani'je, that is "Of the Sun the Ruler." An eclipse of the sun, ye'loje-me'taič, forbodes the death of the Czar. Thus it was in 1894, say the Yukaghir, when Alexander III died. An eclipse of the moon, kini'je-me'taič, forbodes war. The rays of the sun are regarded as the loosened strings of its coat and are therefore called pu'gud-ige'ye (ige'ye = strap, string).

The Rainbow is regarded as the Sun's tongue, therefore they call it pu'gud-onorā', that is, of the sun the tongue.

The Moon. The moon, kini'je, — in the Tundra dialect ki'njeñ, — according to Yukaghir accounts, was not regarded as a deity, that is, they did not pray to it, but it was placed in the sky for keeping count of time, so that men should know when one month ends and another begins. These statements must be taken with a grain of salt. In ancient times the moon was probably also regarded as a deity. The old term for moon was e'mim-pu'gu, that is, "night-sun." Full moon in Yukaghir is ŋače-kini'je, that is, face-moon.

The Sky. The sky, Kuju', is a beneficent deity, supplying men with food. When fish appear in the lakes in great numbers, the Yukaghir say that it has fallen from heaven, although they know well enough that fish develops from spawn. When I asked how they knew fish fell from heaven, the Yukaghir told me that they often found pike (*Esox lucius*) and a river species of salmonidae called chir (*Coregonus nasutus*) in dry places. Evidently, say the Yukaghir, these fish in falling from heaven did not reach the water. I explain this phenomenon in the following way: the majority of polar lakes are connected by small rivulets which the fish follow when passing from one lake to another for spawning. In the course of the passage the fish jump over obstructions formed by stones and grass hillocks. In the summer, when the rivulets run completely dry in places, the migrating fish may find themselves caught on dry land.

In one tradition a story is told of an old woman, a widow, and a boy who were left alone on the tundra by their relatives. They possessed nothing, neither food nor shelter. The old woman appealed to the sky begging for some food. Suddenly a noise resounded, and a large bear fell from heaven. The old woman and the boy cut up the bear, ate the flesh, while the fur served them as bed. On the morrow, when the widow and her son woke up, they found themselves living in a fine tent, surrounded by many reindeer.

Qoil'. This term, now applied to the Christian God, was originally applied to the figure (skull put on a manikin) of an ancestral shaman. This idol will be discussed in the section on shamanism.

Owners. The owners (Pogi'lpe) are spirits or rather beings who control various domains of visible nature. There are three main owners. These are the Owner of the Earth (Lebie'-po'gil'), the Owner of the fresh Waters (O'jin-po'gil'), and the Owner of the Sea (Čobun-po'gil'). To these all other owners

are subject. Thus every mountain, forest, tundra, every separate place on earth, have their own owners, but they are all subject to the Owner of the Earth. The owner of the mountain is called *pien-po'gil'*, the owner of the forest — *yolin-po'gil'*; and so on. To the Owner of the Waters are subject the owners of rivers and lakes. Every river, lake or other fresh water basin, have their separate owners.

To the Owner of the Ocean are subject the owners of separate inlets, straits and other parts of the ocean.

The owners are usually married and have children, that is, they live in families. But some are single. The sex of the Owners differs. Thus the owner of the Rossokha River, an affluent of the Korkodon, is a lad, while the owner of the Korkodon river is regarded as a girl. At the mouth of the Rossokha river they often meet and live together as is customary among Yukaghir unmarried folk. The owner of the Kolyma river is a woman, for she is designated as *O'nmun-emei'*, that is, Kolyma-Mother. The owner of the Yassachnaya river is also a woman, but the owner of the Omule'vka river, — *Oibo'n* in Yukaghir, — is a man, for they call him *Oibo'n-eči'ye*, that is, Omule'vka-Father. Some owners, however, are designated as either father or mother, as, for instance, *lebie'd-ečie* or *lebie'd-eme'i*, that is, Earth-Father or Earth-Mother. Here sex may not have an independent significance but the terms "father and "mother" may apply to the owner and his wife.

In calm river bays (inlets) one may not drink any water for in these places the children of the "owner of the river" are want to urinate. I was told about a Yukaghir from the Omolon river who had drunk water from a calm inlet, after which his belly began to swell up until it burst, and he died. The shaman said that he died because he had drunk water with the excrements of the children of the "owner of the river."

A special variety of owners, called in the Kolyma dialect *mō'ye* and in the Tundra dialect *morū'*, that is, keepers, are also subject to the three main "owners." These are the rulers of various kinds of animals. They derive their power from the Owners of the Earth, the Waters or the Ocean. Thus, all the keepers figure as shepherds of the animals at the bidding of one of the main owners. Thus, for instance, the keeper of reindeer, *tolo'n-mō'ye*, or the keeper of elks, *pie'jen-mō'ye* or the keeper of hares, *čolgo'ron-mō'ye*, are subject to the Owner of the Earth, as also all the other keepers of land animals. The domesticated reindeer also has its keeper. In the Tundra dialect he is called *i'len-morū'*. When on the tundra some Yukaghir beats a driving-reindeer, the old men intercede saying that the keeper of the domesticated reindeer will be angry. Every variety of fish and all other kinds of freshwater animals have their keepers, who are subject to the Owner of the Waters, but also to the owner of the particular fresh-water basin, river, or lake, in which they happen to live.

To the Owner of the Ocean are subject the keepers of the different varieties of sea mammals, fishes and other animals.

INDIVIDUAL PROTECTORS OF ANIMALS. In addition to the general protector who controls the species, every animal has an individual protector, called *pe'jul'*. This is not the soul (*a'ibi*) of the animal but a guardian spirit. The term *pe'jul'* also means good fortune, luck. *Peju'lneye coro'mox'* means a lucky man, or a man who has a *pe'jul'*. This guardian recalls in some respect the Algonkin manitou. But the sphere of action of this supernatural agent seems to be limited. Thus the *pe'jul'* is not the immediate spirit-guardian of a man. Inanimate objects are not possessed of such a guardian, although they have *a'ibi*, that is, possess a soul or shadow. On the other hand the *pe'jul'* become very prominent in the case of animals, especially animals that are hunted. Among the Yukaghir as a hunting people, the role of the *pe'jul'* is as important as it is interesting. The *pe'jul'* is the protector and the guardian of the animal. Without his consent the animal cannot be killed. All depends on the good-will of this guardian towards the hunter, that is, man. That is why the term *pe'jul'* is equivalent with "luck." When a man has a *pe'jul'* it does not mean that he himself has it as a guardian but that he is a privileged individual with reference to the guardian-protector of some animal. This double part played by the *pe'jul'* as a protector of, as well as a traitor to the animal, is a logical situation from the point of view of a hunting tribe's psychology. Their life depends on the hunter's luck and this must become the concern of the spirits who protect the animals as well as of the animals themselves; for, in the opinion of the Yukaghir, a lucky hunt depends on the good-will of the animal's guardian-spirit but also on that of the animal itself. Thus they say "*tolo'w xani'ce e'rietum el kude'deti*," that is, "if the reindeer does not like the hunter, he will not be able to kill it." Perhaps, in this case, we are confronted with that vagueness of formulation which characterizes primitive mind. Not that he cannot distinguish who it is that does not like the hunter, the guardian spirit or the animal, but he cares little about the precise expression of his thoughts.

When the autopsy of a killed animal reveals under the hide a cartilaginous hardening, obviously of a pathological character, the Yukaghir say that that is where the *pe'jul'* is located. Usually such growths are found on the neck, shoulder or chest of the reindeer. The Yukaghir dry them and carry them about in small leather bags, as amulets.

Naturally enough, views like the above about the animals necessary for life, led to a cult of the animal, that is, to a religious attitude towards it. The killed animal is treated like a dear and honored deceased friend. Its face is covered. Girls who have reached maturity, menstruating women and women after child-birth must not go after the meat of the killed animal, for they might offend it by their unclean condition. A girl must not leave the

house when her brothers are hunting. A tradition relates how a girl disregarding the bidding of her mother, followed her sister-in-law who had gone after the "meat"¹ of an elk, killed by the girl's brother. When the women came to the dead elk, the girl uncovered the head of the elk, which was covered by snow, began to look at the elk's face, and, seeing the blackness of the skin under the eyes, thought to herself with pity: "When my older brother began to overtake the elk, the latter must have felt sick at heart, so that it began to cry." The women drove the meat home. From that time on the men could not kill any elk. They began to suffer hunger. The girl's brother, the head hunter, spent night and day hunting, but could not kill anything. He became ill from exhaustion and could not leave his bed. Then the people prevailed upon their shaman to perform, and find out the cause of what had occurred. The shaman complied with their wish, and said:

"This is the reason why our hunters are unsuccessful: when that girl uncovered the elk's face and looked at it, she thought, 'when my older brother wanted to shoot the elk, tears came to its eyes.'" — "What should we do now?" asked the people.

"That girl," answered the shaman, "you must hang, add two dogs, one male and one female, hang the three of them. Then, perhaps, things will improve." The people did as they were bid. They hung the girl and the two dogs at her sides. "It is better that one girl should die than the entire clan," said the people. On the following day the head hunter went out to the chase and killed an elk. From that time on success again accompanied the hunt.

The girl's death was an expiation of the taboo she had transgressed. The question arises: why should her pity over the animal's tears have offended the animal or its guardian spirit? She sinned because she had looked at the hunt with profane eyes, whereas "wise men," masters of primitive diplomacy, represent the death of the animal as an accidental occurrence, instead of its being the result of men's evil will. The hunter does everything possible to disguise the fact of premeditated murder, and insists that the killed animal be treated as an honored deceased friend and not as prey. When hunters part and take different directions, they do not say to one another: "You hunt at such and such a place," but they say, "You look out at such and such a place." When hunters meet, they do not ask; "What did you kill, or how many animals did you kill?" but they ask; "What did you find, or how many animals did you meet?" In this game of deception the *pe'jul'* plays his part. In the case cited above, the girl by looking at the elk's face, came into conflict with the conception of the elk as deceased; and when she told it pityingly that it had been tortured and killed, she thereby destroyed the

¹ A killed reindeer, elk or mountain-goat, although not cut, is already called *čul*, that is, "meat," instead of the name of the animal. Here the women went after the carcass of the killed elk.

illusion as to the nature of the animal's death. The poor girl had to pay with her life for her realistic attitude towards the facts of the hunt.

There can be no doubt that the primitive hunter, while perhaps not fully conscious of this deception, is nevertheless aware of it, and strives to offset it by another illusion in which he believes and which consists in the belief that if the bones of the dead animal are assembled, they will come to life again. With that end in view the bones of a dead bear, elk or deer are amassed on a platform, to prevent wild animals from destroying them and the dogs from polluting them with their jaws.

When, in times of need, the bones are needed for food, the inedible parts, such as the hoofs and horns, are resorted to. For why should not the animal be willing to sacrifice its flesh as food for the poor man, who wants to live, when the bones may become covered with flesh and revive? On this belief is founded the following conception. When the domesticated reindeer, — and among the modern Yukaghir who have made the acquaintance of horses and cattle, also the cow or horse, — see that their master whom they love suffers from hunger, they offer themselves voluntarily to be killed, having first given instructions where and how their bones should be deposited. Among the Yassachnaya Yukaghir the custom still survives to throw the inedible bones of fish back into the river in the assurance that the bones will come to life.

Thus the pe'jul', on the one hand, makes an agreement with man with reference to the killing of the animals in its control (for, after all, man does not want to starve!); on the other hand, the pe'jul' takes care that the animals should not be killed by the hunter in vain, without necessity. In the stories referring to this feature, the pe'jul' often ceases to be an individual protector and is regarded as a collective guardian of the herd or even may be identified with the mō'ye, that is, the keeper or protector of an entire species of animals. I shall quote a few stories illustrating this point.

1. On the river Yassachnaya there used to be many elk. At that time the Yukaghir fed almost exclusively on the latter, neglecting the wild reindeer. At present elk have become very rare in that district, — perhaps on account of having been exterminated or through the migrations of animals which are on record, — but the Yassachnaya Yukaghir have a different explanation for the disappearance from their territory of that important animal. "Once in spring," so goes the tradition, "the Yassachnaya Yukaghir met, while hunting a large herd of elk. The snow was deep and soft. The large animals sank in it and were easily killed. The hunters became so excited that they began to kill the elk without any count, and when they were done, they could not carry off all of the meat. The elk rotted away in the field infecting the air for a long distance. After this the elk disappeared: the indignant pe'jul' had led them away, far from the unreasonable hunters."

2. In ancient times on the Omolon river at the mouth of the Kolyma, the Yukaghir used to kill reindeer by the hundred during the so-called plavi (from the Russian pla'vat', "to swim"). In the beginning of summer the wild reindeer would migrate from the wooded area northward to the shores of the Arctic or to the proximate islands, seeking refuge from the summer mosquitos; in the autumn they would return south where the forest protected them from the frost and wind of the winter. The Omolon Yukaghir watched for the reindeer when they would cross the Omolon river in herds and killed them by the hundred from their light boats with their spears and knives. Thus the Yukaghir stored away in the fall the dried meat for the winter. Now these pla'vi on the Omolon river are no more. "Once," says an Omolon tradition, "there was a good-for-nothing evil-minded man who caught a live reindeer, skinned it and let it run again. The keeper of wild reindeer, to'lon mō'ye, was insulted by the cruelty and ridicule inflicted and let his reindeer away from the Omolon to other rivers."

3. Not far from Verchne Kolymsk, on the Zyrya'nka river, I ran in a dense forest across the ruins of a large wooden house with store-houses and servants' rooms. The Yukaghir are afraid to go there, as it is believed to be a place where the Owner of the Forest, Yo'bin-po'gil', settled accounts with over-zealous hunters. About that house I heard the following account: "This was long ago. There lived here a Russian, Petko'v by name with three sons and one daughter. They secured fur animals by means of Russian magic. As soon as the snow fell in the autumn they would place around their house and on the roof various traps and snares. Then they would walk on the snow in different directions and would make foot-paths to the western mountain-ridge, to the eastern mountain-ridge, up the river and down the river. Along these foot-paths the sables, foxes, squirrels, and other animals would run right into the snares. The Petko'vs became very rich. Merchants came to them from everywhere. Their store-houses were filled with furs. Their store-rooms were crowded with all kinds of victuals and imported merchandize. But an end came to their well-being and their abuse of the animals. Once the youngest son drove out by dog-sledge to Verchne-Kolymsk. He was returning home late. As he was approaching the rocky bank of the Zyryanka River on which their house stood he was much surprised to see that the windows were dark and no sparks were flying from the chimney. All the foot-paths from the river to their house were covered with snow. With difficulty he climbed the bank. He left the dogs on the river, having turned them so as to face Verchne-Kolymsk in anticipation of eventualities. He felt that a misfortune had occurred. He opened the house-door, and found the interior dark and windy. He took out his flint and made a fire. He lit the lamp and looked: on the beds corpses were lying. Suddenly he noticed standing in the corner something terrible and hairy. As he saw it, he ran out of

the house, jumped down to the sledge and drove the dogs back to Verchne-Kolymsk. But the hairy being, who was Yō'bin-po'gil', the Owner of the Forest, ran after him, soon he overtook him and gripped the back part of the sledge. "Now, you cannot escape me," he said, "you have exterminated enough of my animals." The Owner of the Forest touched Petko'v's chest and said, "Now, I have torn out your heart, but you will not die until you reach Verchne-Kolymsk and tell everybody, why you all have died." He actually reached Verchne-Kolymsk and died as soon as he had told what had occurred. From that time on no one hunts in the district where the Petko'vs used to live."

From these traditions and the answers of the Yukaghir to my questions two facts stand out clearly. On the one hand, the Owner of the Earth, Lebien-Pogil', and his subordinates, the Owner of the Forest, Yobin-Pogil', the collective protectors and keepers of animals mō'yepul' and the individual or group protectors, pēju'lpe, look after the well-being of the animals in their care; on the other hand, they are also friendly to the hunter as long as he observes certain regulations and kills only what he actually needs for his livelihood. In principle, these religious conceptions of the Yukaghir correspond to and compare perhaps favorably with our hunting laws and game preserves. Thus it is deemed sinful to kill an entire herd of reindeer, without leaving one or a few animals for breeding. Of interest in this connection is the account in one of my published texts, which tells of a Yukaghir who killed a Yakut family. This was a petty Yakut elder who had come to the Yasachnaya river from the south and had driven the Yukaghir from his old homestead, in order to use it as a pasturage for his cattle. The Yakut persecuted the Yukaghir and beat him. The Yukaghir and his son killed the entire family of the Yakut. Only one girl, the Yakut's daughter, ran away and hid herself behind a hillock. The Yukaghir did not follow her. In answer to his wife's objection that the girl would tell her relatives what they had done and that they also would be killed, the Yukaghir answered that even of a herd of wild reindeer one does not kill all.

While the fish are ascending the rivers, the Yukaghir permit part of the fish to pass for spawning before the rivers are finally closed by cross-weirs.

I have treated in some detail the spirits who are connected with hunting because hunting and fishing constitute the almost exclusive source of livelihood of the Yukaghir, and the beliefs referring to these pursuits may be regarded as the corner-stone of Yukaghir religion.

Among the "owners" who do not refer to the hunt, the Owner of the Fire and the Owner of the House deserve further mention.

THE OWNER OF THE FIRE. The Owner of the Fire, lo'čin-po'gil', or the Man of the Fire, lo'čin-coro'mo, is the guardian of the family hearth, who lives on the hearth and migrates together with the family. He makes the

fuel burn and is, when this happens, in the flame. Without him the fuel would not burn. His appearance is that of an exceedingly small and naked baby girl, for that Owner is addressed with the words ločid-emei', that is, fire-mother. There is no hair on his head. When the fuel burns out, the Owner of the Fire hovers over the coals and blows into them, thus originating a small blue flame. By a crackling noise the Owner of the Fire warns the inmates of the house not to migrate if a misfortune or famine is awaiting them. The wife of old Kudalas from the Korkodon whom I mentioned before, once saw on my hearth the small blue flame of the coal and said, "Now I see the Man-of-the-Fire (ločin-coro'mo). Now visitors will come to you," she added. I remarked, "We shall see whether the Owner of the Fire is telling the truth." To this she seriously retorted. "Do not talk that way. Do not tease him; he does not like it." Then she told me the following. When she was a little girl, her uncle lived on the Korkodon river. He was married to a woman from the Yasachnaya river. She had left on the Yasachnaya river her younger brother whom she loved dearly. Once she was sitting at home near the hearth on which the Owner of the Fire constantly appeared. He annoyed her. She took a splinter and threw it at him, exclaiming, "Stop! Disappear!" The Owner of the Fire disappeared. The next morning her brother arrived, but as he entered the house, he fell sick and towards the evening he died.

THE OWNER OF THE HOUSE. The Owner of the Fire is the protector of the family but the house also has its guardian, nu'mon-pogil'. This owner protects the house against the visitations of evil spirits. It is very curious that the owner of a log cabin, a form of house borrowed from the Russians, is not a spirit-protector but, to judge by the name, an evil spirit, nu'mon-yu'oye, that is "house-devil" or nu'mon-čiče'tke. The term čičetke is obviously the Russian word "sosye'dka" (the she neighbor). This is the term applied by the Kolyma Russians to the house-spirit. When dogs on the Kolyma river fall prey to the Siberian pest and paralysis of the hind part of the body sets in, people say that the "sosyedka" is riding them. When the Yasachnaya Yukaghir, in the autumn, leave their tents for the log-cabins, they rub the ceiling and the door-beam with fat, and say:

"Nu'mon-čiče'tke,	le'ñdek,	te'tke	mi'tul'	o'mojit	mo'diek'."
"Owner-of-the-House,	eat,	at your	us	well always	place."
		place		being	

Amulets. We shall see in the sequel, that in memory of dead shamans wooden images of men were hung on trees, which were called "wooden people," cān-coro'mo. The same term was applied to miniature representations of people, carved of wood, which served as individual or family guardians. These wooden people had various functions. They are the protectors of children and women, as well as helpers of travellers and of hunters. These

“wooden people” were known by the same term “paidujaye” as the bones of the shaman, for they also were swung over the sacrificial smoke of the hearth. The “wooden people” were worn sewn to the clothes or on a string under the clothes. At present “wooden people” are no longer worn, crosses and ikons having taken their place. But the memory of these amulets is still fresh. The “wooden people” were sanctified by the shaman who sang incantations over them and determined the function of the amulet.

Of especial significance among the Yukaghir were “wooden people” with pe’jul’. They were called pe’ju’l-neye cān·coro’mox’. On these “wooden people” were drawn representations of animals, birds and fishes, and the shaman by means of incantations infused into them the pe’jul’ of that animal which was represented on the “wooden person.” This shamanistic act was called pe’ju’lte, that is, to furnish the wooden man with pe’jul’. The pe’ju’lpe (pl. form of pe’jul’) the shamans received from the Owners of the Earth, the Waters and the Ocean, lebie’n-po’gil’, o’jin-po’gil’, and čo’bun-po’gil’. These owners are regarded as the keepers of the pe’jul’ and with them stay also the souls of all animals: with the Owner of the Earth — the souls of land animals and birds; with the Owner of the Waters, the souls of fishes; with the Owner of the Ocean — the souls of sea animals.

At the present time the saints of the Greek Orthodox Church to some extent rival in their cult the ancient Yukaghir “owners.” Thus St. Nicholas is regarded as the keeper of quadrupeds, St. George — of birds, and St. Peter — of fishes. These saints are appealed to for luck in hunting.

SPIRITS HOSTILE TO MAN. The evil spirits, who primarily bring disease to man, are called ku’kul’ (pl. kuku’pe), in the Tundra dialect ko’rel, which corresponds to the Koryak keje and the Chukchee ka’la. This class of spirits is also called e’ledulbon or e’yedulbon, that is, the invisible one, and in the Tundra dialect, el kuri’lioje ru’kun. These spirits may enter the body of a person, eat his inner organs and cause various diseases. They reside in the underground world, which is subdivided into two sections. In the upper section, the world of souls, ai’biji-lebie, abide the shadows of the dead, in the lower section, yōdičin.ul-xa’xa-lebie’, that is, the Land of the grand-father with the Pointed Head, live the kuku’pe (pl. of ku’kul’). Grand-father with the Pointed Head is the head of these evil spirits and the most terrible one of all. In this subterranean kingdom eternal cold and darkness reign. None but the most powerful shamans dare to descend to the second section of the subterranean kingdom.

Another class of evil spirits is called yu’oye. These spirits live on earth itself; they also are invisible. They try to harm man in all possible ways. Many of these spirits have special names. Thus, for instance, ni’nyuoye. This is an evil spirit that dwells in human garments, hidden in its folds. Obviously ni’nyuoye is used instead of n.er-yuoye, n.er is clothing, garment.

It has the appearance of an elk and causes rheumatism of the joints. This disease is usually referred to by the Yukaghir to a disrespectful attitude taken by some individual towards the dead elk. To the *yu'oye* class belongs also a spirit called *n.a'nulbon* or *n.a'nulbon-yu'oye*, which literally means, the One-who-leads-into-Sin. All infractions of taboos are due to his influence. The name of this evil spirit is derived from the word *n.a'nič*, "sin." The same spirit seduces sleeping women, with a consequent birth of monsters. It causes nervous diseases and hemorrhages of the womb.

To the same category of spirits belongs the evil spirit called *ažu'n-čejil-yu'oye*, in the Tundra dialect *aru'n-čejil-ko'rel*, which means "evil spirit that attracts by the word." This is the *echo*. It dwells on cliffs, over valleys and gorges. People who cross or pass by a cliff he catches by the word as by a strap and drags them to himself. This is why every sound is repeated, and for that reason one travels in silence in places where the echo resounds. My interpreter, *Dolga'nof*, was already somewhat skeptical towards this belief. Once, when we were ascending in boats the *Kolyma* in the company of several Yukaghir families, we chanced to pass a spot with a marvelous reflection of sound-waves. When *Dolga'nof* began to tease "the evil spirit that attracts by the word," his more credulous companions checked him. Later, when camp was made for the night, the women declared that they would not travel with him any further if he persisted in teasing these spirits.

A special class of evil spirits are the *yo'ibe*. This term is applied to all the evil spirits of other peoples. Since the arrival of the Russians, however, this term is primarily applied to spirits that cause infectious diseases brought by the Russians, such as smallpox, measles, scarlet-fever and influenza. *Yo'ibe* is obviously a derivative of *yoi-* the root of the verb "to be sick."

The *Yo'ibe* are more terrible than the local evil spirits, for against alien spirits the Yukaghir shamans are usually powerless. We shall see in the sequel, that one of the Yukaghir shamans did nevertheless undertake to cure influenza.

The Yukaghir know from experience that the diseases caused by Russian spirits are contagious through intercourse with the afflicted. They explain this circumstance, however, through a special devastating force of the alien spirits. The Russian evil spirits are accustomed to thickly populated places, but in the Yukaghir country there are only a few people, so these spirits pass from one man to another. I visited the *Kolyma* river region for the first time soon after an epidemic of smallpox. Smallpox is called by the Yukaghir by the Russian name *uo'spa* or *como'l-epie'*, "big grandmother," or *como'l-yo'u*, "big sickness." But most commonly it is simply referred to as "she," for they are too much afraid of the disease to even call it by name. In order not to offend the spirit of smallpox it is forbidden to swear at it. As soon as the news spreads that the disease is on, communication between

the settlements is interrupted and people stop calling on each other; thus quarantine is spontaneously established. Along the roads on trees good hides and other furs are hung. The Yukaghir know from experience that the Russians are very fond of good furs, therefore they think that their evil spirits must also love them. I have heard accounts of how the spirit of smallpox, accustomed to large roads and frequent houses, often wanders about and cannot find any human habitations. Then this spirit turns into a beautiful Russian girl in a red dress, who jumps into a house in which none but children are left, and elicits from them by means of presents and candy information about homesteads in the entire district. If the spirit does not find a house soon, it turns into a raven, climbs on the top of a tall tree and looks about spying for the smoke of a hearth and listening to the sound of voices. Therefore, one avoids, in the course of the epidemic, to talk loud or to make a noise with an axe or another instrument. The Betil clan was not affected by smallpox during the last epidemic, and for the following reason as told by a man of that clan. Two young men went to look over their fox traps and in one trap they found a beautiful Russian girl barely alive and with frozen extremities; this was the spirit of smallpox which, while looking for people, had lost its way and was caught in a trap. The young men, not knowing whom they had found, took her to their house, and warmed her up. When she came to, she said that she was the spirit of smallpox but that out of gratitude for their assistance she would spare their clan. She left them but kept her word. None of the Betil people did get sick.

Another Yukaghir told me how they avoided intercourse with the Chukchee among whom the epidemic had spread all over the tundra and had remained well. He went hunting with a comrade and they saw from a distance two Chukchee women sitting near a fire. The Chukchee women called them, saying; "Come join us to have some tea." The Yukaghir asked them; "From where did you come?" They answered that they had come from the sea-shore fleeing from smallpox from which all their people had died. Then the Yukaghir said to them, "We are going to hunt. You better come to us," and they pointed in the opposite direction from the one where their camp was. They themselves ran a round-about way back to their camp and ordered their wives to get ready immediately and to move further away from the place where they had met the Chukchee women.

The Mythical Old People. To the beings hostile to man belong the so-called mythical old men and old women, čuo'lije po'lut and čuo'lije-teri'ke. They are giants, — cannibals. They are so tall that they carry killed elk tied to the strings of their coats. In the stories they are represented as stupid. Men easily fooled them. For that reason they became invisible, in which form they now attack men. Instead of lice they have in their hair mice and frogs. Often people would push these giants into the fire and, when they

burn, frogs and mice run out of their bodies. They will be discussed in detail in the section on mythology. In the cult they play no part whatsoever.

The Spirits of Shamans. The spirits by means of which the shaman influences the course of events are called eiji'pe (sing. e'i'je). These are in the main the souls of animals and birds. Among these spirits is also the soul of the mammoth, xo'lgut a'ibi. The shaman is also assisted by the souls of the dead, particularly the souls of dead relatives who were shamans, a'lman-a'ibi, in the Tundra dialect wo'lman-o'no. The latter are the most powerful protectors of the shaman. Representatives of the two classes of spirits hostile to man are also at the services of the most powerful shamans. These are the yu'oye who dwell above ground and the ku'kul, evil spirits who reside underground. Further details about the spirits of the shamans will be given in the section on shamanism.

A few further conceptions of the Yukaghir may be described as animatistic phenomena. About the mountain tops and volcanoes of the Kolyma, Yassachnaya and Korkodon rivers Yukaghir tell legends as if they were living beings. I shall give here a free version of the romantic legend told about the mountain peaks at the mouth of the Korkodon river.

"Opposite the mouth of the Korkodon river on the left bank of the Kolyma, there rises a mountain the peak of which bears a resemblance to the Jungfrau of the Bernese Alps. It also is a lady. Small protrusions on the sides below the top are interpreted as female breasts. This is not, however, the Swiss virgin, hidden under the white mantle of eternal snows, but a dark-complexioned Yukaghir girl who grants her favors to many a lover. The Yukaghir call her Čomo'-čubo'je, that is, "big heart," "spacious heart." At the mouth of the Korkodon, on its right bank, there rises a peak called Larayek. This is a young man. On the left bank of the Korkodon, nearer to the Kolyma, rises another peak called Kogo'lgiye — also a young man. Both of these enjoyed the favors of Big Heart. In dark nights they would cross the Kolyma, and Big Heart would secretly receive the one and then the other lover. But at last Big Heart gave birth to a boy from Larayek. Kogo'lgiye, hearing about his rival, became enraged; he ran across the Kolyma river and, in an attack of jealousy, threw the baby into the river. Big Heart seized her cutting-board and began to hit Kogo'lgiye with it. His shouts were heard all over the river, all the peaks up and down the Kolyma river began to sway as in an earth-quake. They wanted to run to his assistance but wisely remained on their places. The child of Big Heart was carried down the waters of the Kolyma river, but ten *versts*¹ from the Korkodon, opposite the mouth of the Stolbova'ya river it stopped, and a rocky island arose there, which, in its turn, has raised a family. This island is shown on Plate VIII, fig. 2. Such is the Yukaghir explanation of the origin of an

¹ About 66 miles.

island, separated from the main chain and developed by erosion, and which is being destroyed by the influence of atmospheric agents.

Plate VIII, fig. 1, represents a cliff on the Kolyma river which bears a superficial resemblance to a man in sitting position. This cliff is said to represent a transformed hunter, who was turned into stone by the "Owner" of the Mountain in punishment for having exterminated too many mountain goats. In this instance, however, the animatistic conception is lacking.

In one of the tales quoted further on mention is made of a mountain that split open, from which emerged a stone girl with a stone nose and ears, but with revolving eyes and a human voice.

THE SOUL. Souls or shadows are owned by men and animals as well as by inanimate objects. According to the beliefs of the Yukaghir the whole of nature is animated in the sense of Tylorian animism.

I have mentioned in a general way before that the child, while still carried by its mother, is entered by the soul of one of the deceased ancestors. We have found similar beliefs also among the Koryak.

Here I want to treat in greater detail the conception of the Yukaghir of the soul, or rather of the souls of man and animals.

Although the Yukaghir believes that the birth of the child depends on whether or not the body of the mother will be entered into by the spirit of the deceased ancestor, they are nevertheless fully aware of the fact that cohabitation with a man is an indispensable factor in the birth of a child.

On one occasion I asked the old Tulya'ch on the Yassachnaya river, whether it ever happened that a woman should bear a child without the participation of a husband, and he answered me with another question: "Do pups ever come from a she-dog covering a she-dog? It does occur, however," he added, "but then the woman gives birth from a devil who visits her at night, but then monsters are born."

Numerous contradictions have crept into the Yukaghir conceptions of the soul, contradictions due to the absence of logical reasoning, as well as to the fact that many of the ancient beliefs are no longer current among the modern Yukaghir. To clear up some of these conceptions, I shall quote here from my field notes, what I learned about the beliefs regarding souls, with references as to where and from whom each statement was recorded.

Thus, the old Tulya'ch on the Yassachnaya river told me the following: "There are three souls, a'ibi. One of the a'ibi dwells in the head, the second in the heart, the third pervades the entire body. A man falls sick, when the head-a'ibi itself departs for the Kingdom of Shadows, aibiji, or escapes to the subterranean world to its relatives, frightened by the entrance into the body of an evil spirit of the ku'kul or yo'ibe category. In such cases, however, death does not follow, and the shaman may still descend to the Kingdom of Shadows and bring back the soul. The soul of man significant for life is

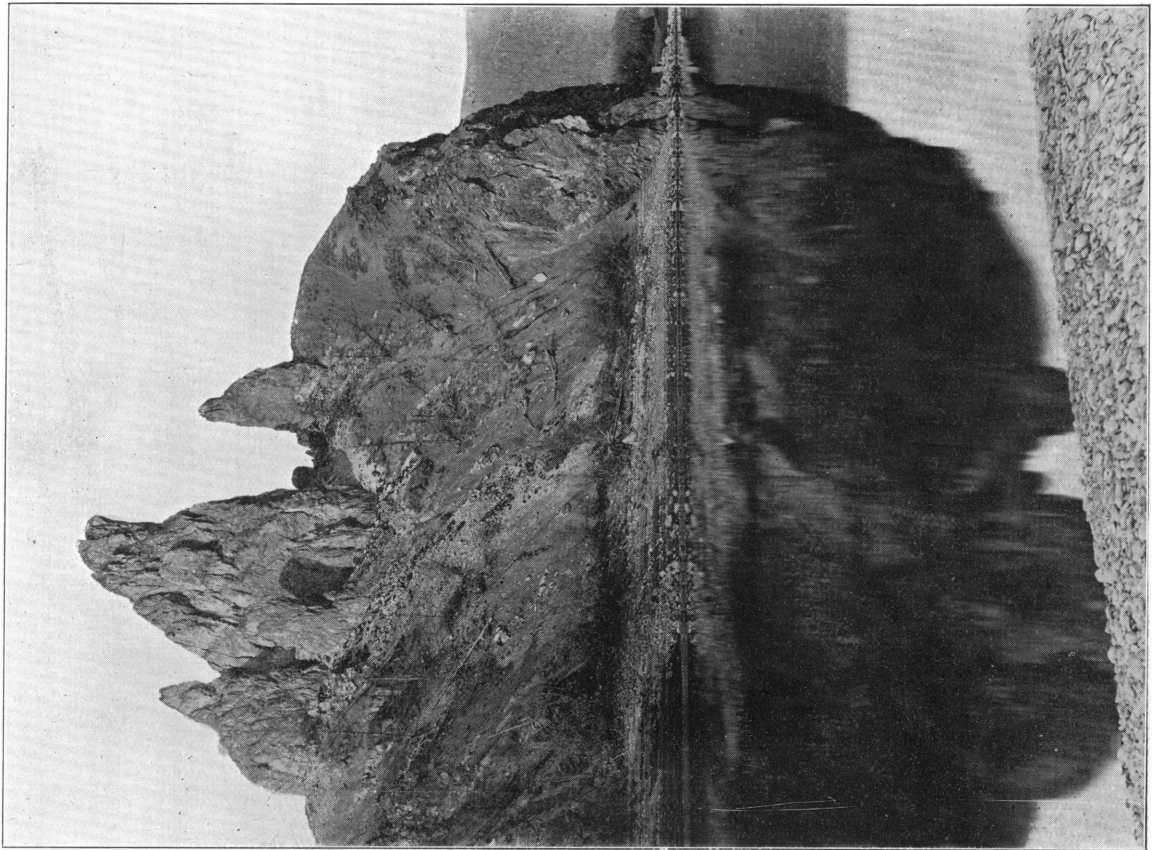


Fig. 2. A ROCKY ISLAND ON THE KOLYMA RIVER.

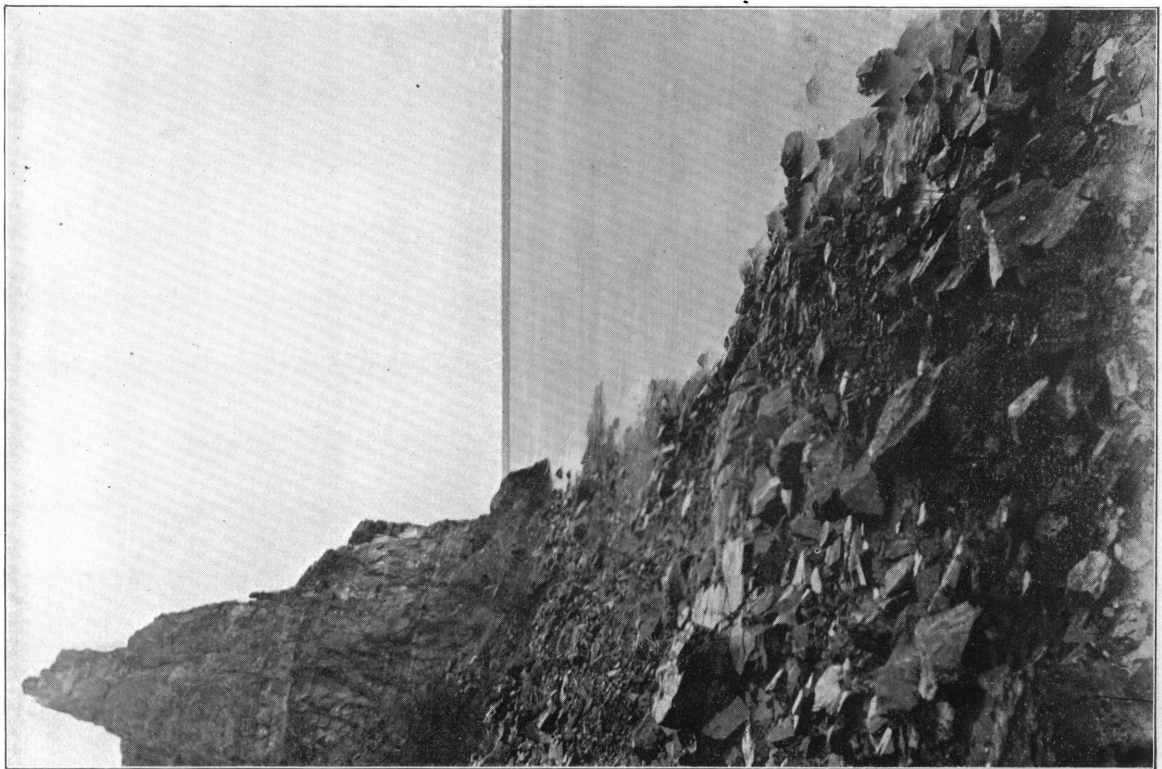


Fig. 1. ROCK BELIEVED TO BE A HUNTER TURNED INTO STONE.

the second one, the heart-a'ibi. The third soul throws the shadow on the ground. The dead have no shadows. When a person dies, the head-a'ibi leaves for the Kingdom of Shadows, as to what becomes of the two other souls, Tulya'ch could not say. The ancient shamans knew everything, the modern ones do not. Everything that lives has three souls. In appearance the a'ibi resembles its possessor, only it is not visible to ordinary mortals and is diminutive in size. Immovable objects also have a'ibi, but only one. The movement of animate objects depends on the heart-a'ibi. The word čubo'je means "heart" as well as "running" and "motion."

The following data were recorded by me from the words of the old Kudala's on the Korkodon river. Man has three a'ibi. One of these, after death, goes to the Kingdom of Shadows, a'ibiji, i. e., "land of shadows." The second hovers about the residence of the deceased. The third rides to the Upper World to Me'mđeye-Eč'i'e. The first soul, on its way to the Kingdom of Shadows meets an old woman, the gate-keeper, who asks the soul whether it has come for all time or only temporarily. Having been admitted, the soul approaches a river, at the shore of which a boat is standing. The soul unaided crosses to the other shore and joins its relatives. They lead a life similar to the one on earth. Relatives live together. All surrounding objects are also shadows or souls. Thus the tent, dog, snares are so many shadows of the same objects or beings as they have existed on earth. The souls hunt the shadows of reindeer, birds and fishes with the shadows of traps, snares, bows and rifles. The animals who are hunted by living relatives are the same ones whose shadows have already been hunted by the souls of the relatives of the hunters in the Kingdom of Shadows.

On another occasion Kudala's told me, that the second soul wanders about its habitation only for forty days, then it also rises towards the sky.

From the accounts about the three souls one might, I believe, draw the conclusion that the head-soul represents the intellect, the heart-soul controls motion, that is, the ability of living beings to change their place; while the third soul presides over the physiological functions. In shamanistic performances, in stories about contests of shamans and in other traditions of the Verchne-Kolymsk Yukaghir in which reference is made to the soul, no indication is ever made which one of the souls is meant. One might conclude that in the traditions referring to the curing of the sick only the head-soul is mentioned, for the shaman descends to the Kingdom of Shadows, where the head-souls dwell. Here, however, a maze of contradictions confronts us. When the head-soul leaves, the person, in the opinion of the Yukaghir, becomes demented; on the other hand, various other diseases are also attributed to the absence of that soul. Sleep also is caused in this way. Dreams also are due to the fact that the soul leaves the body and performs various actions while the person is asleep. Moreover, the head-soul does not usually leave of its own

accord, but on account of its fear of the ku'kul' or yo'ibe, evil spirits which enter the body of man and cause diseases. In such cases then, the absence of the head-soul is not the cause but one of the consequences of the disease, which complicates the situation. In order to effect a cure, the shaman must accomplish two things; drive out the evil spirit and make the fugitive soul return. In one of the shamanistic curative performances to be described later on, the shaman approaches the patient together with the soul brought back by him from the Kingdom of Shadows and introduces it into the diseased part of the patient, as if the local pathological process were a direct consequence of the absence of the soul. It remains unknown, however, which soul is meant. Here the third soul would have been more appropriate, for it controls the physiological functions; on the other hand, the shaman goes after the soul to the Kingdom of Shadows, where the first, *i. e.* the head-soul, resides, after death. In various ways did I try to clarify these conceptions with reference to the soul, but I always received the same answer, namely that the present generations do not know these matters, that they were known only to the ancient shamans. Not improbably, we find here the product of a mixture of ancient Yukaghir beliefs with elements of beliefs belonging to neighboring tribes. Thus, some Yukaghir told me that the third soul, after death, remains on earth, unless a ticket standing for "the right of way" is placed in the coffin of the deceased. Such a ticket is placed on the forehead of the deceased, according to a Greek orthodox custom. Coughing and phlegm in diseases of the lungs and other colds are ascribed to the fact that the kuku'pe (pl. of ku'kul') are incessantly entering and leaving the body. This conception, however, I have found to be of Yakut origin. According to the belief of the Koryak as well as the Chukchee, man as well as other objects have only one soul. But, with reference to the Chukchee, Bogoras relates that sickness may be due to the fact that the evil spirits, kelet, steal part of the soul. The soul then, in the opinion of the Chukchee, is divisible.¹ But besides the chief soul pertaining to the whole body, the Chukchee believe that there are special "limb-souls" for the hands and feet.

What puzzles me in the question about the souls of the Kolyma Yukaghir is that their accounts about the three souls are not reflected in the Kolyma dialect. We find in that dialect one term, a'ibi, for all three souls. Among the Yakut, as we shall presently see, the soul, kut, also appears in three forms, but here each variety has a special epithet. When, however, we turn to the Tundra dialect, we find separate terms for the three souls. It cannot be said, however, that the explanations I received of their functions were complete. One soul is called nu'ñniñ. This is the one which travels to the Kingdom of Shadows, called nu'ñniñi, *i. e.*, "The Land of Souls," or yō'bun-

¹ See Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, Vol. VII of this series, p. 332.

ru'kun-burube', "The Residence of the Dead." The second soul is called e'hereñ; after death, it goes to heaven. The third soul, ono' or ana', is the one that throws the shadow. The last named soul is the property also of inanimate objects. Ono' either remains on earth or goes to heaven.

It must be noted that e'hereñ in the Tundra dialect also means "breath." In this sense the Verchnekolymsk Yukaghir use the word lu'če, to which they do not attribute the properties of a soul. Ono' on the Tundra means "shadow," and one might believe that the shamanistic e'iji are just such shadows or wandering souls, for in speaking of shadows of animals or of dead shamans the term ono' is often used instead of e'iji. Thus, for instance, xa'nid-ono' means the eagle-spirit, wo'lmad-ono', the spirit of a deceased shaman. In the Kolyma dialect, this will be xa'nid-a'ibi and a'lmad-a'ibi, that is, in all three forms of the soul, the term a'ibi is used.

The Kolyma Yakut who are at present neighbors of the Yukaghir have several terms for the concept "soul;" first, tın, i. e. breathing. The Tundra Yukaghir have a corresponding term, e'hereñ. In the Kolyma dialect of the Yukaghir language there is a word corresponding to the Yakut tın in the word lu'če, breath, but lu'če is not considered as a separate soul. Lu'če is the name of the function of the heart-soul, i. e. cubo'jed-a'ibi.

Secondly the Yakut have the terms kut and sür. According to the explanation of the Yakut shaman in the settlement of Kresty on the Kolyma river, sür dwells in the head and kut appears in three forms. One of the kut is the external, visible shadow, the second kut abides between the skin and the body and the third, the internal kut resides near the heart. When the last kut is lost, its owner must die.

Troschansky,¹ in his very interesting work on the Yakut beliefs says that according to the Yakut the soul tın also possesses certain qualities of life. If for some reason the body loses its kut, it may still conserve some degree of vitality. For instance life remains in the body during sleep, fainting and other unconscious states while the kut is absent. When it returns the body revives completely. Only when the body begins to decompose can it be said that tın has left the body altogether, and the returning kut is no longer able to revive it.

While the soul tın is not peculiar to man, but is found also in animals and even plants, only men and animals have the kut. The latter appears in three forms, or, according to Troschansky, it consists of three elements: buo'r-kut, the earth-soul, salg'n-kut, the air-soul, and ije'-kut, the mother-soul. The three forms of kut perform different physiological functions, while the soul sür controls psychical activities, and abides in the head.

I do not wish to embark here on a discussion of the speculations of Troschansky in regard to the role of the Yakut souls. I merely wish to

¹ Troschansky — The Evolution of the "Black Faith" (Shamanism) of the Yakut. Kasan, 1902.

point out that the Yakut concept of three souls may have influenced the ideas of the Yukaghir. The concepts of the Chukchee concerning the divisibility of the soul belong to the same group of ideas.¹

I have stated that long before birth the soul of some deceased relative enters the child. While it is not stated which of the three souls enters, it may be inferred that the head-soul (*nu'ñniñ* in the Tundra dialect) is meant, because it goes to the Land of Shadows, whence it returns to enter the child.

I have not been able to discover when and how the other two souls (*a'ibi* of the Kolyma Yukaghir and *e'hereñ* and *o'noñ* of the Tundra Yukaghir) are assumed to enter the child.

According to the statements of the Yukaghir and to their folk-tales, the deceased relatives in the Land of Shadows are not always willing to permit souls to return to earth. They release them only out of sympathy for their living relatives. But when the latter do not fulfill their obligations towards the deceased they do not send back any souls. In such a case the shamans go to the Land of Shadows in order to request the dead to send some soul or souls to their living childless relatives. Sometimes, when the deceased are not willing to grant the request of the shaman, he takes the souls by force and puts them into the wombs of pregnant women, but children whose souls have been secured against the will of the shadows do not live long. At the first opportunity the soul escapes from the body and returns to the Land of Shadows. Generally, however, the deceased are devoted to their living relatives. Usually old people say before dying into whose children their souls will enter. In order to learn the identity of the deceased relative whose soul has entered the newborn child, the Yukaghir used to practise divination by lifting the bones of a dead shaman. The Yukaghir tried to separate from the ground the bones of the dead shaman while enumerating different names of deceased relatives. They believed that the bones became easy to lift when the diviner named the deceased relative whose soul had entered the child. At present another method is used. They say that the child smiles when the right name is mentioned. When the child begins to speak it is able to tell whose soul has entered it. It will remember some well known event of its former life. Often some other circumstance, such as the likeness of the child to a certain deceased relative, the common possession of some physical defect or bodily peculiarity identifies the deceased relative who has been reborn.

The name of the deceased relative who has entered a first-born child is applied indirectly to its parents also, for as soon as the name of the first-born child is established, the parents are known as father or mother of so and so.

According to Troschansky, the Yakut believe that the soul *kut* is led into the body of the child by the goddess *Ayisi't*, the protectress of women in labor. *Ayisi't* is one of the creative deities.

¹ See Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, Vol. VII of this series, p. 332.

A cult of the dead did not develop among the Yakut. It may rather be said that the relations between the spirits of the deceased and the living members or their family are hostile. Only the polar Yakut of the district of Kolymsk, who came to the extreme north not very long ago, borrowed from the Yukaghir the belief in reincarnation of the souls of the deceased in the newborn children of their relatives on earth. It is an interesting case of the mutual influence of two tribes in the sphere of religious beliefs. We have already seen how deeply the religious ideas of the Yakut have influenced the beliefs of the Yukaghir. Here we have the case reversed. The polar Yakut have borrowed from the Yukaghir the belief in the reincarnation of the souls of the dead in the newborn children of their tribe. This belief is quite unknown to the southern Yakut who form the greater part of the Yakut people.

In 1897, during the general census of the population of Russia, I was the enumerator for the Districts of Kolymsk and Verkhoyansk. Once I spent the night in the house of a Yakut elder. Hearing him call his boy Baibal,¹ i. e. Paul, and knowing from the census that his name was Ivan and not Paul, I asked my host why he did not call his son by his own name and he replied, "Well, his real name is Paul and not Ivan, although he was baptised Ivan." Then he told me that Paul was the name of one of his relatives who died in 1888 during the epidemic of small-pox, and whose kut had entered his newborn son. They became aware of this in the following manner. When the boy began to speak his first words were: "Many people were on the Djargata'ch² and we all died of small-pox, starting to the other world on only one horse." Then they remembered that in 1888 this relative Paul and other Yakut of the village Djargata'ch had died of small-pox, and that on their graves only one sacrificial horse had been killed, so that the souls of all the deceased were obliged to ride to the Land of Shadows on the shadow of only one horse. From that time on they began to call the boy Paul, which they regarded as his real name.

It may be noted here that the Russianized Yukaghir and Chuvantsy, on the lower Kolyma call themselves not by their Christian names which they received in baptism, but by some other names or nicknames. For instance the Christian name of a man known as Nicholas is really Michael. The purpose is to conceal the names from sorcerers and witches in order to make ineffective their evil charms. This custom is not of Yukaghir origin. They borrowed it from the Yakut or Russian settlers. The Yakut often give their children obscene names, for instance, "Dog's Buttocks," in the belief that evil spirits will not be attracted by such objects.

¹ Yakut pronunciation of the Russian Pavel.

² Name of the lake and also of the village on its shore where we stayed for the night.

VII. — RELIGION. SHAMANISM.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON YUKAGHIR SHAMANISM. Yukaghir shamanism does not differ essentially from that of other Siberian peoples or of primitive peoples in general. Shamans are men who through the assistance of special spirits can influence the course of events, cure the sick, foretell the future, and do harm to their enemies. Yukaghir shamanism, however, no less than the shamanism of other peoples, had its own distinguishing traits.

Together with other aspects of Yukaghir religious life, Yukaghir shamanism, under the influence of neighboring peoples, has lost much of its ancient character, preserving but a few of its typical traits. At the present time the shamanistic rituals of the Yukaghir have become mingled with those of the Yakut and the Tungus and in describing their rituals I shall have to touch upon the shamanism of the Yakut and Tungus.

While the shamanism of neighboring tribes has brought about changes in the character of Yukaghir shamanism, the influence of Russian intruders, — the reference in this case is mainly to the priesthood, — led to the decay of Yukaghir shamanism or forced it to hide, as it were, underground. The missionaries instituted cruel persecutions against the shamans, their shamanistic regalia were taken from them, their long hair was cut, and many shamans were subjected to arrest and cross-examination. In the neighborhood of Russian settlements, where priests reside, shamanism since ancient times is practised secretly. On the other hand the missionaries themselves believe in the powers of shamanistic spirits but think them to be devils. In case of sickness some of the missionaries are want to turn to the shamans. To a large extent the view of shamanistic spirits as devils is also held by the aborigines in place of their ancient beliefs about shamanistic spirits. Now the latter are opposed by the Christian Yukaghir to the saints and ikons, as devils to beings representing the pure principle. As we shall see lateron, the modern Yukaghir, Yakut or Tungus shaman, before starting the ritual, takes off his cross and turns the representations of the orthodox saints with their faces towards the wall, to prevent them from frightening away the shamanistic spirits.

THE ANCIENT YUKAGHIR SHAMAN. The shaman is called a'lma from the verb a "to do" (in the Tundra dialect wo'lmañ) or írkeye, that is, "the trembling one," from írkei, "to tremble." The latter term suggests the

nervous make-up of the shaman. A'lma occupies a special place in the social system of the Yukaghir. He was the protector and priest of a definite group of relatives or of a clan. But he was not a professional shaman, in the sense of modern days. A'lma attended to the sick of his group, offered sacrifices, prayed to the gods for successful hunting and other benefactions, and had intercourse with the supernatural world and the kingdom of Shadows. The ancient Yukaghir shaman represented his clan. Every Yukaghir clan traces its origin to some shaman. From the merging of the ancestor and the shaman in one person there developed the cult of the shaman-ancestor.

To illustrate that cult I shall quote here a free translation of a Yukaghir text dealing with the ancient Yukaghir practices relating to their dead shamans, a text which I recorded in October 1896, on the Korkodon river, from the Yukaghir Samsonov:

"Our ancient people, when a shaman died, used to separate the flesh of the corpse from the bones. For that purpose they put on gloves and masks. Then they took iron hooks, and having caught the flesh of the corpse, drew it to them and cut it off. It was considered a sin to touch the corpse with bare hands, or to look at it with uncovered face. Thus they separated the flesh from the skeleton through its entire length. Then they made drying frames and hung up the flesh outside, to dry in the sun. After the flesh had been dried, the relatives of the dead shaman divided it among themselves. Then they made a tent of larch-tree rods, and each of them put his share in the middle of the larch tent separately. Then the relatives of the shaman killed dogs as offerings. They did not kill bad dogs; they killed only good ones. Then they added the killed dogs to their portions of dried flesh. After that they left the tent with the shaman's flesh and the offerings.

Then they divided the bones of the corpse, and after having dried them, they clothed them. They worshipped the skull of the shaman. They made a trunk of wood and set on it the skull. Then they made for it (for the idol) a jacket and caps (two caps, — a winter and a summer one). They embroidered the coat all over. For its face they made a mask, with openings for eyes and mouth. Over the embroidered coat they put a coat of fawn-skins; and over that, a blanket of soft reindeer-skins.

Then they placed the figure in the front corner of the house. Whenever they were going to eat something good, they first threw a piece of it in the fire, and held the figure over the smoke. This they did at every meal; and thus they fed the figure, which they worshipped like a god."¹

The figure with the skull of the shaman was called *xoil'*, that is, by the same name as the Yukaghir call now the Christian God, *ikons*, and saints.

¹ The text of this tale with a grammatical analysis was published in my "Essay on the grammar of the Yukaghir Language," pp. 141-152 (*Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Vol. XVI, Part II, March 1905).

When travelling the figure with the shaman's skull was carried in a wooden box. In some districts, for instance, on the Omolo'n, the xoil' was placed in a small wooden compartment and kept on poles or trees, after the manner of elevated graves of beloved relatives. Before a trip, a hunt, or a war expedition, the mummy was taken out of its wooden receptacle and smoked over the fire, into which fat was thrown. It was prayed to for help, and it was asked to decide whether the proposed undertaking should be carried out. Then the figure was placed on the ground and lifted three times. If it was easily lifted, the success of the enterprise was assured. If, on the contrary, the figure proved so heavy that it could not be lifted, so relate the Yukaghir, the project was given up. On some occasions the omen pointed towards partial success, that is, the xoil' proved not altogether light or could not be lifted at once in the three prescribed attempts. Then the old men held council and decided what to do.

The skull of the dead shaman with the figure was kept by his own children who were recognized as the priests of the ancestral cult. To one of the sons, usually to the eldest one, the shaman's spirits were passed on. While still alive, the shaman initiated one of his sons into the mysteries of shamanism.

Other relatives received other bones of the dead shaman. These bones were kept in embroidered covers and were called pa'idijaye, that is, "that which is being swung," from the verb pa'idu — "to swing," as they were swung over the smoke of the sacrificial fire, into which fat and other food offerings were thrown. If the families related to the dead shaman lived separately from the shaman's children, the pa'idijaye took the place of the xoil'.

The flesh of the dead shaman, cut into strips, was dried in the sun; in some places instead of special drying-frames, the branches of trees were used for that purpose. The flesh was dried in order to be preserved. If the flesh of the shaman began to decompose and became putrid, his surviving relatives became ill. In some districts, as, for instance, on the Korkodon river, the tents in which the strips of the dried flesh of the shaman and the sacrificial dogs were stored, was surrounded by earth and turf, and over the mound three boards were placed in the form of a tripod. On one board was suspended a wooden representation of a reindeer, on the second that of a dog, while to the third a reindeer-antler was tied. The Korkodon Yukaghir, the old Sansonov, who gave me this information, could not explain the meaning of these representations, but they obviously were symbolic sacrifices. After every deer or elk hunt the antlers of the slain animals were placed on the grave-mound. Pieces of dried shaman's flesh were sewn into bags of water-proof smoked hide and worn under the clothes as amulets. These amulets protected the traveler on his journey and brought luck in hunt and war.

In the spring of 1897, as a member of the Yakut expedition,¹ I visited the village of Ustyansk at the mouth of the Yana River. At that time an old priest, Nicolai Vinokurov, was residing there. The Yukaghir of the Verkhoyansk district belonged to his parish. Having spent twenty years in that locality, he knew many things which escape the notice of a traveler who spends but little time in the country. Five years before my visit he had still seen a Yukaghir with an amulet of shamans flesh. According to Father Nicolai, the Yukaghir of Verkhoyansk continued to cut up their dead shamans until recently. For that purpose they would erect a conical tent of willow-rods and store in it strips of the shaman's flesh cut from the bones. Then all the relatives of the deceased shaman approached the tent walking backwards and picked with wooden spears the spread out pieces of flesh. Whatever piece one would pick up for luck, he would take. The internal organs were most sought for. Of especial value was the heart as the symbol of courage. The liver was also highly prized. Each one would dry the piece he had picked up, tie it to a board carved in the shape of a man with legs, and wear it for protection. A few years before our meeting, Father Vinokurov had seen on the shore of the ocean east of the Yana river a half-destroyed tent, in which formerly shamans were cut up. The Yukaghir who accompanied him were afraid to approach the spot. These Yukaghir belonged to the Omolo'i clan, which, as we saw before,² has forgotten its own language, having first adopted the language of the Tungus, along with which it now uses the Yakut. Notwithstanding the fact, however, that they have on the whole lost their ancient ethnic traits, they have preserved certain Yukaghir socio-religious ideas.

The Alaze'ya Yukaghir told me that according to tradition their ancestors used to place the cleaned bones of dead shamans on platforms, and carried with them for divination their dried flesh.

The Yukaghir of the Indigirka river, who are now under the influence of the Tungus, told me that in ancient times the bones and flesh of the shamans were regarded as protectors and that the same applied to pieces of garments soaked in the blood of a cut-up shaman. If there was not flesh enough for some relative, he would receive a piece of the shaman's clothing soaked in his blood.

THE WOODEN MAN. In memory of their shaman-ancestors the ancient Yukaghir used to hang representations of a human figure on trees near mountain paths, near the mouths of rivers, or near hunting grounds. These representations were called *cān-coro'mo*, which means "wooden man." The same term was applied to the small wooden amulets of which we spoke before.

¹ The Yakut Expedition, 1894-1897 was fitted out by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society at the expense of Mr. Sibiriakov.

² See Part I of this volume, p. 46.

In the wooden man suspended in the honor of the shaman dwelled the spirit of the deceased, and it was addressed as the ancestor. But how can the spirit of the shaman be in the Kingdom of Shadows (aibiji), and at the same time dwell in the figure with the skull (xoil'), reside in the wooden man, and be reincarnated in some descendant? This is a contradiction in religious thinking, which may not, however, be regarded as characteristic of primitive man. Perhaps we deal here with different souls of the shaman; but the Yukaghir do not give a clear account of such topics.

In remote places may be encountered even to-day wooden images of human beings suspended from tress. One such wooden man was pointed out to me in 1895 by a Yukaghir from the Nelemnaya river. It was suspended from an old larch tree standing on a cliff called Shaman's Stone, which is situated on the high bank of the Kolyma river opposite the mouth of the Popova river. It was very crude, made of a log five feet long. A shallow notch represented the neck separating the head from the trunk. The mouth was indicated by a deep line. The eyes consisted of two holes in which two stones were stuck. The belly was represented by a trough-like excavation, under which the trunk was split to indicate the feet.

When I visited the Kolyma river the Yukaghir treated such wooden people with skepticism, even calling them shaita'n, from the Russian word satana (satan). Notwithstanding this, they would make halt when travelling past the figure referred to before, would start a fire and throw into it tallow and other offerings. Here is a sample of a prayer addressed to the wooden man in the course of the sacrifice.

Mit	xa'xa,	o'llel	yegi'lege	ne'lieme,	le'ñdek,	keči'mebon	o'llel.
Our	grand-	here	this	into the fire	(I) have put	eat	(what) I brought, here it is.
	father						
Peju'lget-le	mie'bik,	cube'neñide	titāt	te'tu!	legi'tienut.		
Luck	give,	if alive (I) shall	then	you	feed (I) always		shall.
		be,					

Having found out the whereabouts of this wooden man, I decided to go there in order to take the figure with me. But I deemed it wise not to reveal my intention to my Yukaghir guides. This happened towards the beginning of winter. It was necessary to drive from the Nelemnaya river south for about seventy versts. In view of a shortage of dogs among the Upper Kolyma Yukaghir I went on horseback using Yakut horses. We reached the mouth of the Popova river in two days including one night rest on the snow. The second night we stopped at the mouth of the Popova river, in a log-house at which the Yukaghir usually stop when hunting. I was accompanied by a Kossak, two Yukaghir (my interpreter and the chief of the village, both of the Hare Clan), and a Yakut, the owner of the horses. The following morning we crossed the Kolyma river towards the cliff on which the idol was suspended. Then I told the Yukaghir that I intended to take the wooden

man along with me. They did not protest, although the idea did not at all appeal to them.

"You are taking it yourself. We are not giving it to you," said the chief, as if he were bent on disclaiming all responsibility for my actions. "Our ancestor will, of course, be angry, but we have nothing to do with it."

We made a fire and drank some tea. In the course of the meal I gave the chief a piece of sugar and some biscuits, urging him to throw them into the fire and ask the wooden man not to be angry with us. The chief threw the offerings into the fire and said half-jokingly, half-seriously:

"Mit xa'xa Ista'ry¹ te'tkeje lu'či kou'dedilem omo'če ču'ndrele
 "Our grandfather Istary you Russian carry away wants (with) good thoughts
 ko'beik'."
 go."

When I brought the wooden man to the Yukaghir village on the Nelemnaya river some of the women went into nervous fits. I put the figure on the roof of the chief's house with whom I lived. His wife told me that at night she would be afraid to go out of the house. Another old woman forbade the children to enter that house, in order not to incur the anger of the wooden man. In a few days a young Yukaghir returned from the hunt and told that while in the woods and, as he pretended, without knowing that I had brought the wooden man with me, he had the following dream. A man in silver garments came to him and said, "I am your ancestor. Nine generations did not molest me, respected me; now I am being taken away no one knows where; get up and tell all, that the one who first pointed me out, the one who took me down and the one who carries me off, all shall suffer."

I tried to calm the wife of the chief, tried to persuade her that the grandfather will fare better with us than with them, that he will hang under glass in a warm room of a large royal house, that he will be fed, and that people will come to look at him as well as on other wooden men who hang there. Unfortunately, this wooden man was not destined to reach the museum. When my collection acquired in the course of the Sibiryakov expedition reached Yakutsk from Kolymsk, the idol was not there. The Yakut drivers must have lost or destroyed it on the way.

Another similar idol was hanging at that time at the sources of the Popovka river in memory of another ancestral shaman. Unfortunately, I was prevented from reaching it by the deep snow in the valley of the Popovka. But here is the tale, referring to that shaman-idol told me by a descendant of the shaman, Grigoriy Spiridonov.

The shaman was called Tabuckan. He had a daughter who was married

¹ "Istary," from the Russian Stariy, "the old one," the name of the ancestor.

to a young man from the Korkodon river. Following the old custom the son-in-law was living in the house of his father-in-law. Once the shaman sent his son-in-law to set out traps for foxes. This was in the autumn and the young man went up the Popovka river in a boat. At that time the Yukaghir were still having wars with the Lamut. They lay in ambush for one another. The young man suddenly heard the sound of Lamut singing on the rocky bank of the river. He left the boat and began to approach quietly, following the voice. "I am going to kill the Lamut," thought he. He ascended the bank and saw sitting on the branches of a willow tree a man in a dress made in Lamut style, of skins of reindeer yearlings. His belt was made of silver, of silver also were his eye-pieces, his neck-band and the bracelets on his arms. The man was swinging on the branches and sang Lamut songs, without noticing the Yukaghir. The latter strung his bow and let fly an arrow. The song came to an abrupt end, and the man fell to the ground. The Yukaghir ran to the spot where the man had fallen, but there was no one there. Only his arrow was there covered with blood. The man shot at by the Yukaghir was a subterranean Lamut devil. Wounded in the back, he disappeared underground. The Yukaghir picked up his arrow and ran to his boat in terror. He jumped into the boat and continued his journey. When darkness fell, he stopped for the night. The following morning he could not rise, his back ached, his spine was broken. He crept to his boat, with difficulty he tied logs to both sides of the boat to prevent its capsizing, lay down on the bottom, and permitted the boat to be carried downstream. He reached the mouth of the Popovka river, where his people lived, and told his father-in-law of what had occurred.

"Why did you shoot at the Lamut devil?" said his father-in-law, "you broke his spine, and now he has done the same to you."

The shaman knew what had occurred. He began to apply medicine to his son-in-law but could not cure him. Then he said, "I shall go to the underground world, shall cure the devil, then my son-in-law will also recover." He went to the lower regions, but not as a soul only, as is done by other shamans, but in the body. There he cured the Lamut devil and then only his son-in-law began to improve. After this the shaman made a wooden man and hung it on the tree where the Lamut devil had been sitting.

To this wooden man offerings are taken for the spirit of the deceased shaman and the idol is also the protector of the trail.

THE MODERN YUKAGHIR SHAMAN. The transformations wrought by the influence of Russian culture in the religious, social and economic life of the Yukaghir, appear most markedly in Yukaghir shamanism. In those districts where shamans still occur, they have lost their clan affiliations and have become ordinary professional shamans, like the shamans of the Tungus and Yakut whose main function is the curing of the sick. Even in matters pertaining to

the hunt, the very source of Yukaghir life, the significance of the shaman, as a priest and mediator between the spirits controlling the animals and the hunters, no longer exists. It is easy to see why the medicinal functions of shamanism should have been best preserved. All men are subject to sickness and death; rational medical assistance, on the other hand, cannot be had. The only recourse in such cases is the shaman who knows how to fight the evil spirits, the sources of disease.

THE DRESS OF THE SHAMAN. What the dress of the ancient Yukaghir shaman was cannot be ascertained with accuracy. According to the old men of the Yukaghir, the dress of the ancient shaman differed from ordinary dress only by more embroidery and leather tassels, such as occur on women's dresses.

The cut of the dress of the modern Yukaghir shaman, as well as that of modern Yukaghir dress in general, is borrowed from the Tungus, as will appear in the section on material culture. The metallic parts and the pendants of the shaman's dress have been borrowed mainly from the Yakut. For comparative purposes I shall describe here the shamanistic dresses, secured by me for the American Museum of Natural History, which include modern Yukaghir as well as Tungus and Yakut specimens.

Fig. 1 *a-b* ($\frac{70}{8440}$) represents a shaman's coat (*i'rkeyen-ma'gil*) of the Tundra Yukaghir, back and front views. In the front, as all upper garments of the Tungus, the coat has a longitudinal cut and both borders of the coat are tied over the apron with leather straps.

This coat is particularly interesting for, aside from the Tungus cut, it approaches in appearance the coat of the ancient Yukaghir shamans. Metallic parts are scarce, while the figures of men and animals are absent. Two iron circles on the back represent the shamanistic sun, *i'rkeyen-ye'rpeyeñ*, and the shamanistic moon, *i'rkeyen-ki'njeñ*. The tassels on the back represent the feathers (*pu'gačeñ*) of a bird; the fringe at the bottom represents the tail (*la'xil'*), while the sleeves stand for the wings (*ū'yeñ*). The entire coat thus represents a bird's skin by means of which the shaman is able to fly. The coat is made of the soft skins of reindeer yearlings, with the fur turned outside. The straight straps are made of soft dressed reindeer leather, the round bushy tassels are made of fur rings of different colors strung on leather straps. The rings are made of the fur of reindeer legs. Some fur rings are painted dark red and are made of the fur of a newly born reindeer.

Fig. 2 ($\frac{70}{5620}$) represents a shaman's hat (*wo'lman-mo'ho*) belonging to the coat described above. It is made of the fur of reindeer calves, embroidered with painted elk hair and decorated with strips and bits of skin of different colors, placed in parallel lines around the hat. All around the hat hang fur tassels ending in a leather fringe. To the top of the hat are sewn two fur horns. It seems to me that this feature of the hat must be borrowed from the Tungus shamans. Almost all shamanistic hats of the Tungus which I

have succeeded in seeing, were furnished with horns made of iron in place of leather.

On the leather horns of this hat representations of human faces are embroidered in sinew thread; these faces are called wo'lmad-o'no, that is,



Fig. 1 a-b. Back and front of a Yukaghir shaman's coat.

shadow or soul of (deceased) shaman, in the Kolyma dialect — a'lmad a'ibi.

The apron of this dress, which is represented on the drawing Fig. 3 ($\frac{70}{5620}$) has no figures attached nor any other decorations besides tassels and a fringe, which are also found on the aprons of women. This dress, to which must

be added a drum and a drum-stick,¹ I secured from the shaman of the Alaseya clan, Yegor Shamanov. He sold it to me after much persuasion on the part of the chief. When the deal was concluded, he passed the money over to the latter and in silence left the tent, where the purchase was arranged. As I was informed later, he was crying because he had been deprived of the hereditary shamanistic dress, in which he saw the main source of his shamanistic power.

I have said before that the shaman's coat represents a bird's skin with the help of which the shaman can fly, transforming himself into a bird. This idea is in perfect accord with the mythological accounts of the Chukchee, Koryak, Kamchadal, Aleut, and Indians of the northwest coast of America, which speak of heroes who put on bird-skin coats and are transformed into birds. It may be of interest in this connection to quote here the contents of a myth about an ancient shaman of the Yukaghir Goose clan who was flying about with the birds. When he was getting ready to fly with the storks, he first of all took out his human ventricle and intestines and gave them to his wife for safe keeping. Then he put on his best, that is, shamanistic gown, went out into the yard, shook himself, rose into the air, joined the storks and himself became a stork. The following spring he came flying back home in the form of an eagle, but he could not take off his bird-coat, which was sticking to his body. His men, becoming aware of him, said, "Here is our shaman who has come back." He shouted to them, "Make a fire in the yard." The people made a fire. The shaman burned his feathers off over the fire, and became a man again. It transpired that his wife during his absence had lived with another youth, and had torn the shaman's stomach. When the shaman heard of this, he ordered a reindeer to be killed, and put the reindeer's

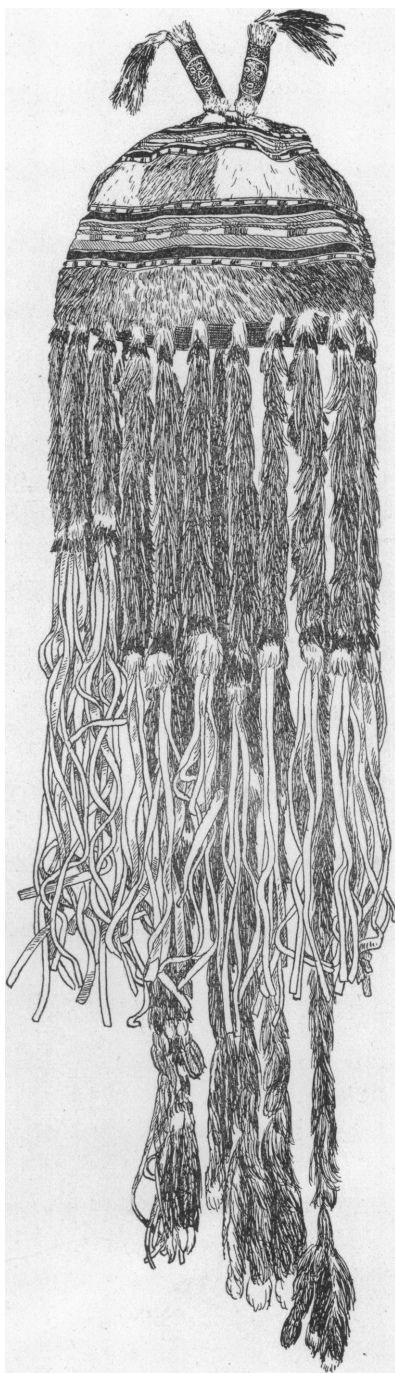


Fig. 2. Head dress of a Yukaghir shaman.

¹ The drawings of the Yukaghir drum (*a'lman-ya'lgil*) and the drum-stick (*ya'lgin-pa'idiye*) as well as their description, have been given in my work on the Koryak, Part I, p. 56, Fig. 20 (8778).

stomach in place of his own. He left the house and went with the reindeer to eat moss. He said, "The reindeer stomach is not good." He returned home, took out the reindeer stomach and threw it away. The people said to the shaman, "You must insert a human stomach." But the shaman answered,

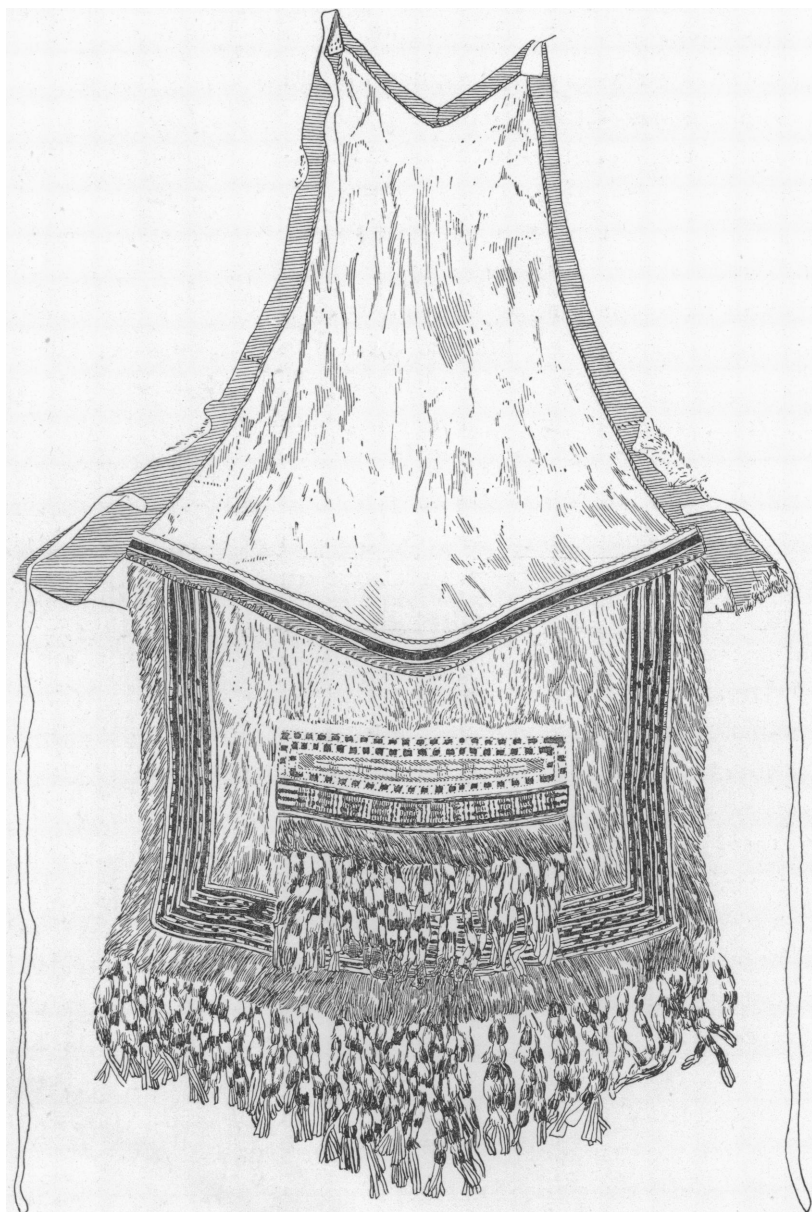


Fig. 3. Apron of a Yukaghir shaman's costume.

"No, do not do that, it is a sin. I shall try a dog's stomach." A dog was killed, and the shaman took its stomach. When one of the men went out to defecate, the shaman ran after him and ate his excrements. "No," said the shaman, "it is painful to live this way." He threw out the dog's stomach

and with the words, "Now an end has come to my days," died. The following morning the shaman's wife and her lover, when lying together in bed, became stuck to each other and could not get up. Thus they died in tortures.

The second Yukaghir shaman's dress, which I secured on the Kolyma tundra from the Yukaghir shaman, Ivan Tretyakov, consists of a coat, an apron, and a hat. Iron and copper pendants on this costume indicate the influence of Yakut shamanism, although some figures have an independent Yukaghir meaning.

Fig. 4 ($\frac{70}{8335}$ and $\frac{70}{8336}$) represent a shaman's apron, wo'lman-n.u'gun-ru'kun, in the Kolyma dialect, a'lman-nige'yebun, and a coat (front view). The apron reaches up to the neck.

Seven metal pendants are sewn to the front of the apron along the middle line. These represent, from the top downward: First of all a copper man, wo'lman-o'no, that is, shadow or soul of (deceased) shaman. Under this figure is drawn the wo'lman-čončugoje, that is, the shaman's iron heart, a symbol of courage, of daring. Under the heart there is sewn on to the apron a double-headed shamanistic eagle, kīn-yō'nei-wo'lman-čī'yēñ. This is one of the e'iji, that is, a shamanistic spirit. Čī'yēñ is an eagle with white wings, which flies south for the winter (*Thalassaëtus pelagicus* Pall.?).



Fig. 4. Front part of a coat and an apron of a Yukaghir shaman.

Under the double-headed eagle there is an iron representation of another variety of eagle which spends the winter on the Kolyma river and is called in Yukaghir xañi'leñ. This eagle represents another shamanistic spirit. The iron figure next under it representing a bird is a third shamanistic spirit,

wo'lman-ca'lgañ, that is, a shamanistic diver. These three birds were, according to the explanation of the shaman himself, his main spirits. The two iron plates at the bottom of the apron are called wo'lman ni'niye, in the Kolyma dialect a'lman i'rin cara'ye, which means the shamanistic supporter of the stomach. As we shall see in the section on material culture, a "supporter of the stomach" — i'rin-cara'ye —, made of copper or iron, is found among other decorations on almost all women's aprons. Usually, one or two human faces are carved on this metallic plate. The supporter of the stomach, on the woman's apron, is not a mere decoration; it is a special helper of women, which protects them against pains in the abdominal region, gastric pains as well as those associated with menstruation and child-birth. It is quite possible that the original meaning of this pendant was exclusively a religious and magical one. The Tungus name for this decorative amulet of women is a'ñn.apun.

Among the decorations of women's aprons there frequently occurs a bow-shaped metallic plate with notches and other decorations; this plate is sewn to the upper part of the apron under the chin and is regarded as a protector and amulet against diseases of the throat and colds in general. Such plates are also found on the aprons of shamans. All these are phenomena which reveal the tendency of shamanistic dress to resemble the dress of women. I refer to this at another place in greater detail. This tendency is also responsible for the decoration of the shamanistic apron here reproduced, a decoration which like that of the common woman's apron consists of leather tassels and fringes. The fringes of the shamanistic apron are called wo'lman-n.u'ñnrukun-n.ele'ye, while the tassels made of many-coloured pieces of fur of reindeer calf legs sewn into rings, are called in the Tundra dialect ne'ñileñ and in the Kolyma dialect — ye'ñičeni, which means "variegated" or "many-coloured." The sinew-thread embroidery is called in the Tundra dialect wo'lman-n.u'ñnrukun-limeleñ, in the Kolyma dialect a'lman nige'yebun-cori'le, which means embroidery on a shaman's apron. Li'meleñ or cori'le means embroidery, drawing, and also writing.

On the shaman's coat (front view) there are the following accessories and pendants, as indicated in Fig. 4. The fringe at the sleeves is called ū'yen pu'gačeñ, in the Kolyma dialect ti'bid-a'mun-puge'lbiye, which means "wing-feathers." The iron plate at the right shoulder represents the clavicle, in the Tundra dialect na'ndamun, in the Kolyma dialect — ce'rbe-da'mun. A similar plate is attached to the left shoulder. The broad strap which, passing under the arm-pit, hugs the left shoulder, and the iron plates on the sleeves and on the sides of the coat will be seen to better advantage in the next figure.

Fig. 5 ($\frac{70}{8836}$) represents the back view of the shaman's coat of the preceding figure. Of the two metallic disks sewn to the coat in the middle of the back, the larger one which is of iron, is called irke'yed-ye'rpeyeñ, that

is, the shaman's sun; the other, smaller one, which is made of copper, is called *irke'yen-ki'nje*, that is, the shaman's moon. Under the collar on the back is sewn a plate with holes which represent the shaman's stars, *wo'lman pa'gajid-i'ci*. All the celestial bodies here enumerated light the shaman's path on his way to the subterranean world.

Under the stars, on the straps which pass over the shaman's shoulders and under the arm-pits hangs a bent piece of iron in which an iron toggle revolves; to the latter a long strap is tied which ends in a sling for the hand. This entire appliance of the coat is called *mo'inubed-ige'ye*, that is, "the strap that holds back." The shaman's assistant (*no'gdiye*) holds the strap by the sling, to prevent the spirits from carrying off the shaman himself, when his soul departs in order to proceed to the Kingdom of Shadows.

The iron plates and pipes on the back are called *ču'mdamunjō*, in the Kolyma dialect *yobo'god-amun-lu'dul*, that is, the spinal irons. Leather straps, to which the iron plates are attached, represent the vertebrae, *ču'mun-ma'lgil'*, in the Kolyma dialect *yobo'gon-ma'lgil'*. *Čumu* and *yobo'go* mean in the Yukaghir dialects "back," while *ma'lgil'* means — "member," "joint," "link."

Seven iron plates at the sides, under the sleeves, represent the ribs, *n.ugo'red-amu'npe*, that is, "side bones." On the left side one plate is missing.

Of the two iron braces attached to each sleeve, the larger one represents the humerus, *ni'ñid-a'mun*, in the Kolyma dialect *pe'ijen-n.ugo'jed-a'mun*. The other, smaller one, represents the fore-arm (that is, the ulna and the radius together) and is called in the Tundra dialect *laden-a'mun*, in the Kolyma dialect *n.u'god-a'mun*.

Of the meaning of the fringe and the tassels on the back of the coat,



Fig. 5. The back part of the shaman's coat Fig. 4.

I have spoken when describing the preceding shaman's dress, which lacked the iron pendants representing the different parts of the skeleton. Whether these bones represent parts of the bird or of the human skeleton is a question which may be answered when the coats of the Yakut shamans are studied. There can be no doubt that the iron pendants were borrowed from the Yakut.

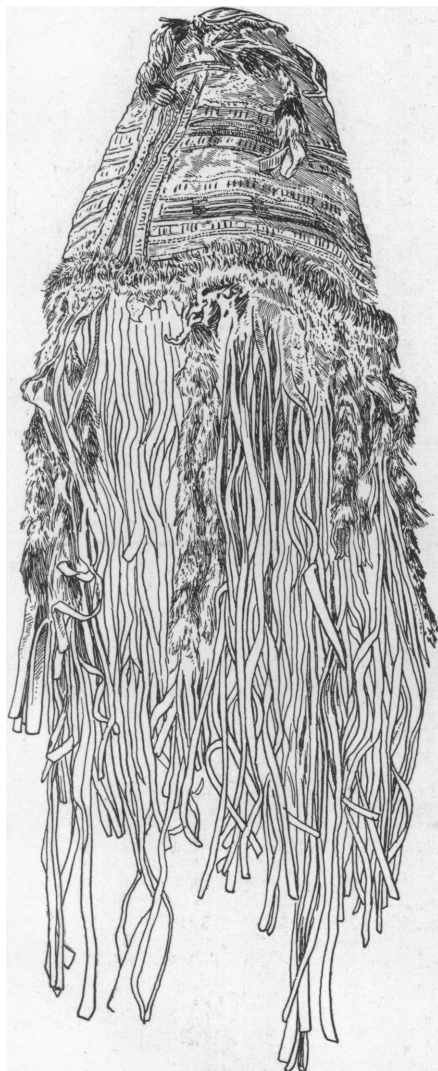


Fig. 6. Cap of a Yukaghir shaman.

The description of their shamanistic dresses follows further on.

Fig. 6 ($\frac{70}{8341}$) is a wo'ľman-mo'ňo, in the Kolyma dialect a'ľman-mo'go, that is, shaman's hat. It is embroidered with dyed hair of reindeer or elk mane and with sinew thread. It is trimmed with dyed fur of a young reindeer and decorated with a fringe of straps and tassels, made of the down of a new-born seal.

The Dress of Yakut Shamans. The Yakut influence on the dress of modern Yukaghir shamans is obvious. A description of the dress of Yakut shamans, while possessing its own scientific interest, will also help us to elucidate the influence referred to above.

I succeeded in securing for the American Museum three dresses of Yakut shamans. Two of these were secured in the Yakutsk district, east of the city of Yakutsk, while one was obtained on the Kolyma river.

Fig. 7 ($\frac{70}{8673}$) represents the coat of a Yakut shaman's dress, oyu'n kira'r taňasa' (shaman's rite coat). It is a back view. It was bought in the Meginski ulus¹ of the Yakutsk district from the Yakut Slyeptsov, who furnished the explanation of the different parts of the coat. Slyeptsov himself, however, was not a shaman. His explanations do, however, agree in a general way with the descriptions of Yakut shaman's dresses furnished

by other investigators, primarily Pekarsky and Vasilyev.² Unfortunately, I

¹ The Yakut tribe is divided into uluses. Every ulus consists of a certain number of naslegs and every nasleg is divided into gentes or father-sibs. All these tribal divisions occupy certain territories called by the names of the divisions.

² See E. K. Pekarsky and V. N. Vasilyev, *The Coat and Drum of the Yakut Shaman* (in Russian). Publ. of the Ethnographic Section of the Russian Museum of the Emperor Alexander III, vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1910; and V. N. Vasilyev, *Shaman's Dress and Drum among the Yakut* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1910. *Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*, viii.

do not have in my possession any separate drawings of the pendants belonging to this coat. I shall describe them as they appear on the illustration. The coat is made of badly tanned calf hides, the fur turned inside. During the shamanistic performance, the shaman puts the coat on the naked body. On the top above the shoulder-blades there is sewn across the back a strap of thick bull's hide, to which iron and copper pendants and small rattles are attached. Similar straps are sewn on further below across the entire back.

All the flat iron plates, lancet-like in shape, are called *čilliri't* and *čilliri't-kisa'n* and represent, according to Slyeptsov, the feathers of the bird which, in each particular instance, appears as the shaman's spirit.¹ *Kisa'n* is a general term for iron pendants. Pendants in the shape of iron conical hollow tubes are called *köndö'i-kisa'n*. The meaning of these pendants Slyeptsov could not give.

Copper bells, small rattles, and little bells, in the form of bivalvular shells, on the back, are called *xobo'-kisa'n*.

Under the upper pendants (*kisa'n*), in the middle of the back, we see three iron disks. The upper disk with a hole is called *oibo'n-küsäña'*. *Oibo'n* means "ice-hole," through which the shaman descends to the lower



Fig. 7. Back part of a Yakut shaman's coat.

¹ Vasilyev and Pekarsky give for these plates the terms *bisiya'-kisa'n* or *bali'k-kisa'n*, that is, knife-pendant and fish-pendant.

world, the world of evil spirits. The symbolic meaning of this disk clearly corresponds to that of the drum in Yukaghir shamanism. The real meaning of the term *küsaña'* is unknown, but, according to Pekarsky, this word is applied to all kinds of disks on the shaman's dress.

The other disk with a hole is called *kün-küsäña'*, that is, sun-disk. It represents the shaman's sun, which must light his path during his journey to the subterranean world.

The third disk without hole in the middle is called *yi-küsäña'*, that is, moon-disk.

The iron chain on the back, attached to the rings, which are sewn on to the coat under the arm-pits, is called *täsi'n*, that is, "bridle." By that chain the assistant holds the shaman, to prevent the spirits from carrying off the shaman himself, when his soul departs for the lower regions or towards heaven. We remember a similar feature on the coat of the Yukaghir shaman, who gave it a similar interpretation. There can be no doubt that originally the bridle is of Yakut derivation. The strap fringe at the bottom of the coat and at the sleeves, called in Yakut *bitiri's* represents bird feathers, like the iron plates referred to above.

The elongated iron strap on the upper part of the sleeve in the back is called *tabita'l timira'*, that is, upper-arm-iron. It must be noted that *tabita'l* means in Yakut the humerus of birds. Below the *tabita'l*, between the elbow and the wrist, there is sewn a bow-shaped iron plate, called *xari-timirä*.¹

Xari' means in Yakut human forearm bones. It appears that the representation of the upper arm is called after a bird's humerus, while the representation of the bones of the forearm is called after the corresponding human bones. However, Pekarsky and Vasilyev adduce for the plate representing the upper arm also another term, *akima'l*, which really means human humerus. About the lower plate, representing the forearm, Vasilyev states that one shaman did not call it *xari*, that is, human forearm bones, but *xotogoi'*, that is, bird's stroke feathers. If these pendants on the sleeves represent parts of the skeleton of the deceased shaman, it is curious to note the confusion of bird and human bones. I agree with Vasilyev that no contradiction is involved in such confusion. If we assume that the Yakut shamanistic coat, like that of the Yukaghir, represents a bird's skin, with the help of which the shaman becomes transformed into a bird, then, at the moment of transformation, the shaman is a bird-man. According to my interpreter, the shaman rises to the upper world by means of his coat, whereas he descends to the lower world through the ice-hole disk. On the other hand, some of the Yakut gave me different interpretations of the iron pendants of the coat which

¹ V. L. Prikloonsky in his "Three Years in the Yakut Province" (in Russian), *Shivaya Starina*, IV, p. 43, 1891, (Living Old Time) calls the fringe on the sleeves of the Yakut shaman's coat *äliä'* and translates the word as "hawk's wings."

represents the bones of the skeleton. These iron pendants are said to serve as a kind of armor in the fight with hostile shamans and spirits. A similar explanation was given me by Slyeptsov of two iron plates, sewn on in place of the shoulder blades and called *sarín-timirá'*, that is, shoulder-irons. These iron shoulder blades protect the shaman in conflicts with more powerful shamans.

On the sleeves of the coat at the top there are transversal bent iron plates, one at the bent of the elbow, the other at the edge of the sleeve. These plates represent the elbow-joint and the wrist. At the sides of the coat below the elbows we find on both sides several iron plates running parallel to each other. They are seven in all. Four are sewn on at the right side, as may be seen in the illustration. It appears that the end of one plate has become loose and that the plate hangs on one strap. On the left side there are only three plates. All seven plates are called *oyogo's-timír*, that is, iron ribs. It is hard to explain why on the Yakut shaman's coat we find only seven ribs represented, while on the Yukaghir shaman's coat, there are, as we saw before, fourteen ribs, seven on each side. But on the Yakut shaman's coat, described by Vasilyev and Pekarsky, there also was a representation of only seven ribs. With reference to the form and cut of the Yakut shaman's coats it is highly important to know whether they have in front an apron or chest-protector, such as are to be found on the Tungus and on modern Yukaghir shaman's dresses. Thus the coat, described by Vasilyev, to judge by the photograph, has no separate apron, and the front borders of the coat are held together by buckles. Nor does Syeroshevsky mention the apron as part of the Yakut shaman's dress.¹ On the other hand, on the coat described by Pekarsky and Vasilyev there is a special chest-protector, *tüsülük*, sewn to the left border of the coat. The first named authors probably overlooked this feature. The dress may have belonged to a Yakut shaman, but its cut is certainly Tungus. Among the Yakut aprons and chest-protectors never occur on either man's or woman's dress. Plate IX, Fig. 1, gives a photograph of a Yakut shaman taken by myself on the Kolyma as early as 1895. Here a separate apron may be clearly seen under the straps on the rim of the coat. But the cut is not Yakut. The representation of shamanistic birds on the apron recalls the apron belonging to the Yukaghir shaman's coat described before, while on the sides of the coat itself we find seven ribs on each side.

The front of the Yakut shaman's coat of Fig. 7 is shown in Fig. 8 ($\frac{70}{8678}$). It has no special breast piece. There may be seen a seam between the left part of the coat and the breast part, but in my opinion this front piece is not the remainder of an apron. It is simply a piece of skin added on because of the shortness of the material. However, the fastenings in the front of the

¹ See Syeroshevsky, *The Yakut* p. 98.

coat are not in the middle as they ought to be, but nearer to the right hand, and thus the breast piece looks like a chest protector.

The front part of the other Yakut shaman's coat Fig. 9 ($\frac{70}{8861}$) shows the genuine cut of the Yakut shaman's dress. There is no breast piece at all. The front borders are held together by tying strings.

Fig. 10 ($\frac{70}{8861}$) shows the back view of the coat Fig. 9. The coat is



Fig. 8. Front part of the shaman's coat Fig. 7.

made of calf hides. There are only two iron discs. The upper one without the hole in the middle called *yi-küsäña'*, represents the shaman's moon. The lower disc with a hole in the middle called *kün-küsäña'* that is, the sun disk, representing the shaman's sun. Of the iron pendants (*kisa'n*) and small bells in the form of bivalvular shells (*xobo'-kisa'n*) are representation of shaman's spirits. The triangles on the shoulders represent shoulder-blades. The triangles

below the discs are called *öyu'n-sulu's* that is, "shaman's stars." The iron straps on the sleeves represent the arm bones. On this coat are missing the representations of ribs and the "bridle" by which the assistant holds the shaman preventing the spirits from carrying him off.

On the left and right borders are representations of human figures cut out of copper. These are the most important representations on the shaman's



Fig. 9. Front part of a Yakut shaman's coat.

coat because they represent special spirits, protectors of the shaman, called *ämägä't*. One of them is called *küla'r-ämägä't*, that is, the laughing Emeget, the other, *jas-ämägä't*, that is, the copper Emeget. According to the explanation given by Vasilyev and Pekarsky, the copper Emeget is a representation of the head of the *yör*,¹ that is, the wandering souls of the dead who have become evil spirits. The laughing Emeget is missing in the description of

¹ The souls of men which have been eaten by evil spirits are themselves transformed into evil spirits called *yör*.

these authors. But instead of that figure, there is on the coat described by them a representation of another Emeget called *irä'r-ämägä't*, that is, the raving (mad) Emeget. It represents one of the upper evil spirits which causes madness. Under these Emegets there are a few iron figures in the form of lancet like plates called *čilliri't*, that is, shaman's feathers.

The Yakut shaman's dress from the Kolyma river, to which I referred before, was secured by me in the Rodchevo village not far from Verchne-

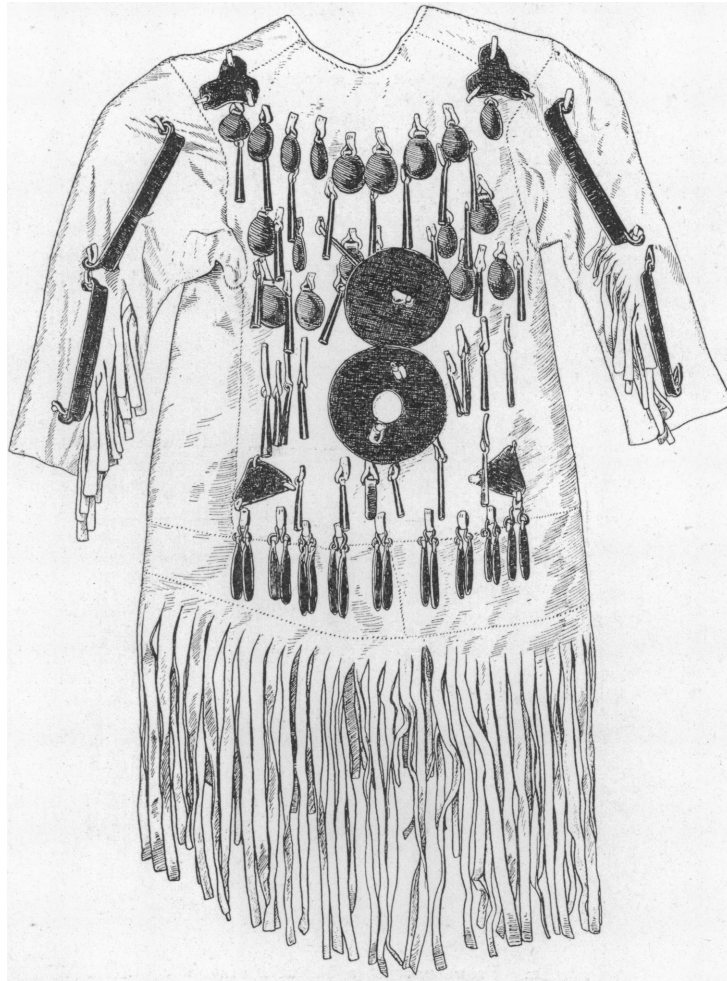


Fig. 10. Back part of the coat fig. 9.

Kolymsk. That dress has an altogether distinct cut which I have not met elsewhere and which does not tally with any of the descriptions in the literature on Yakut shamanism. Fig. 11 ($\frac{70}{8529}$) represents the coat from the back, Plate IX, Fig. 2, represents it from the front.

The peculiarities of the cut, the absence of metallic pendants, which characterize Yakut shaman's dresses in general, may be explained in part through Tungus influence, and in part through the high cost and difficulty of

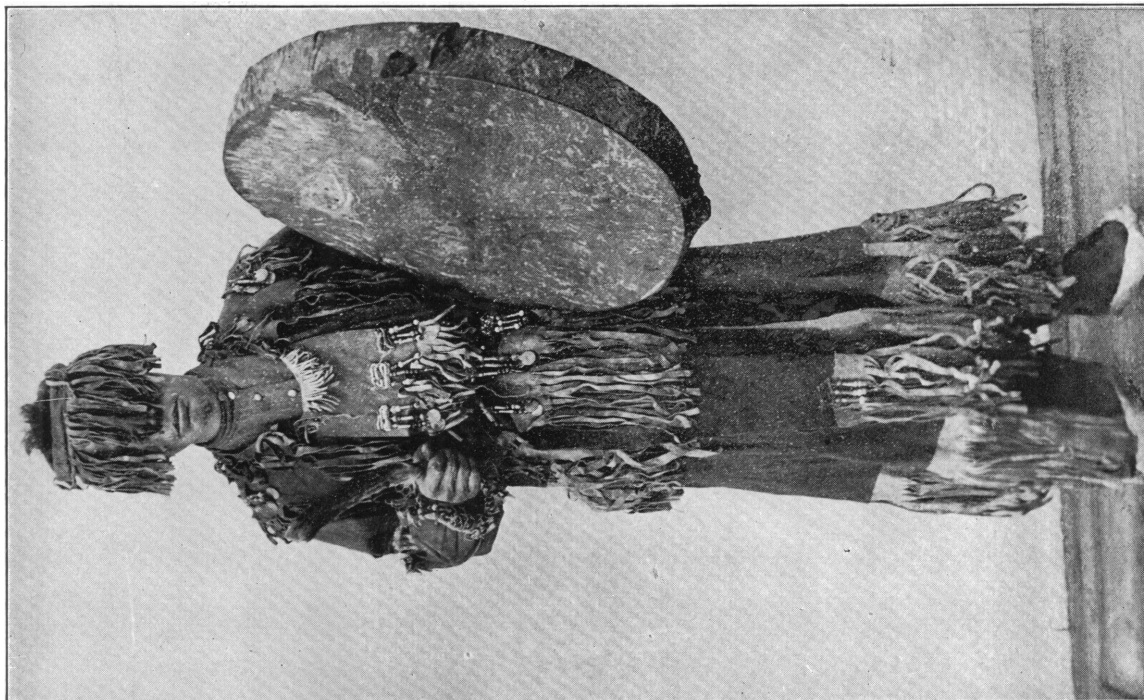


Fig. 2. A YAKUT SHAMAN OF VERCHNE-KOLYMSK.



Fig. 1. A YAKUT SHAMAN OF SREDNE-KOLYMSK.

securing iron and copper in the north of the Yakut province. The coat is made of dressed reindeer hide, instead of the calf hide usually employed for Yakut shamanistic dresses. The lower part of the coat is not sewn to the upper part, but is fastened to the latter by buckles under the fringe at the belt, so that the coat may be lengthened or shortened in accordance with the size of the shaman. The sleeves are not whole but consist of longitudinal strips of hide sewn to the shoulders and to the leather rings at the elbow and fist. This coat is not worn over the naked body but over the ordinary dress.

The pendants, *kīsa'n*, on the coat consist of tassels with strung beads and of copper tubes with copper disks sewn to their ends. A longitudinal strip on the back, with tassels, which ends in a tail, represents the vertebrae, *tonoho's*. The tail consists of an iron arrow with the iron pendants at the sides, called *jil kīsa'n*. The fringe around the coat represents feathers, just as on the Yukaghir shaman's coat. In front of the coat the apron is visible, which is sewn to the left border as a chest-protector while it is tied to the right with straps, and is not put on separately, as is the case among the Tungus and Yukaghir. In this respect the arrangement of the apron is like that of the shaman's coat, described by Vasilyev and Pekarsky as a Yakut coat. On the dress itself there are no iron figures which are characteristic of



Fig. 11. Back part of a coat of a Yakut shaman from the Kolyma river.

Yakut shamanistic coats. Instead, tin disks were hanging down from the edge of the inner side of the drum which belonged to that dress. These disks took the place of the ice-hole-disk, *oibo'n-kūsāña'*, and sun-disk, *kün-kūsāña'*, which are usually sewn to the back of the coat. Inside the drum there were also tin representations of birds; a stork, *kital'k* and two varieties of wood-

cocks, called in Yakut *čökčöñö'* and *kurrika'čči*. Representations of birds, as stated before, were placed on the apron of the Yukaghir shaman's coat and on those coats of Yakut shamans which had chest-protectors.

On the outer side of the rim of this drum there were five elevations. They serve as resonators for the sound of the drum but also have a symbolic significance. According to the Yakut shaman from Rodchevo, the two upper elevations on the drum here discussed represent horns, the two middle ones, on

the sides, represent ears, while the fifth elevation, the lowest one, stands for the chin. In the fact that the upper elevations are called horns we must see Tungus influence.¹ I have stated before that among the Tungus the drum appears as the shaman's reindeer, among the Yakut as his horse.

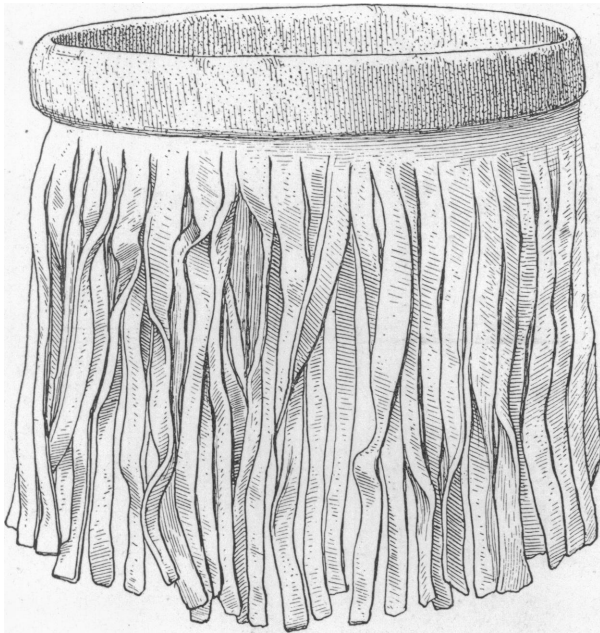


Fig. 12 *a* ($\frac{70}{8530}$) represents the headdress belonging to this shaman's dress. It consists of a wire ring, decorated by a fringe made of reindeer leather. Fig. 12 *b* ($\frac{70}{8531}$) represents the leather foot-wear of the shaman. The hat as well as the foot-wear are indispensable accessories of the Yukaghir shaman's

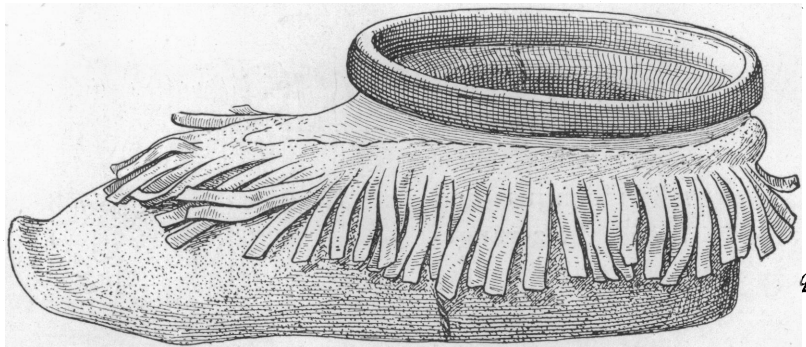


Fig. 12 *a-b*. Headdress and foot-wear of a Yakut shaman on the Kolyma river.

dress. Every shaman invents some distinguishing peculiarity of his own. As far as the headdress is concerned, the Yakut shamans either dispense with a hat altogether, letting their long hair fly loose over the face, or they wear

¹ About the elevations on the Yakut shaman's drums as well as about drums in general see W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 55-59.

women's caps. The hat with a fringe should rather be regarded as characteristic of the Yukaghir and Tungus shamans. Not all Yakut shamans use special dresses in their shamanistic performances. There are some shamans among the Yakut who perform without a special dress, and even without a

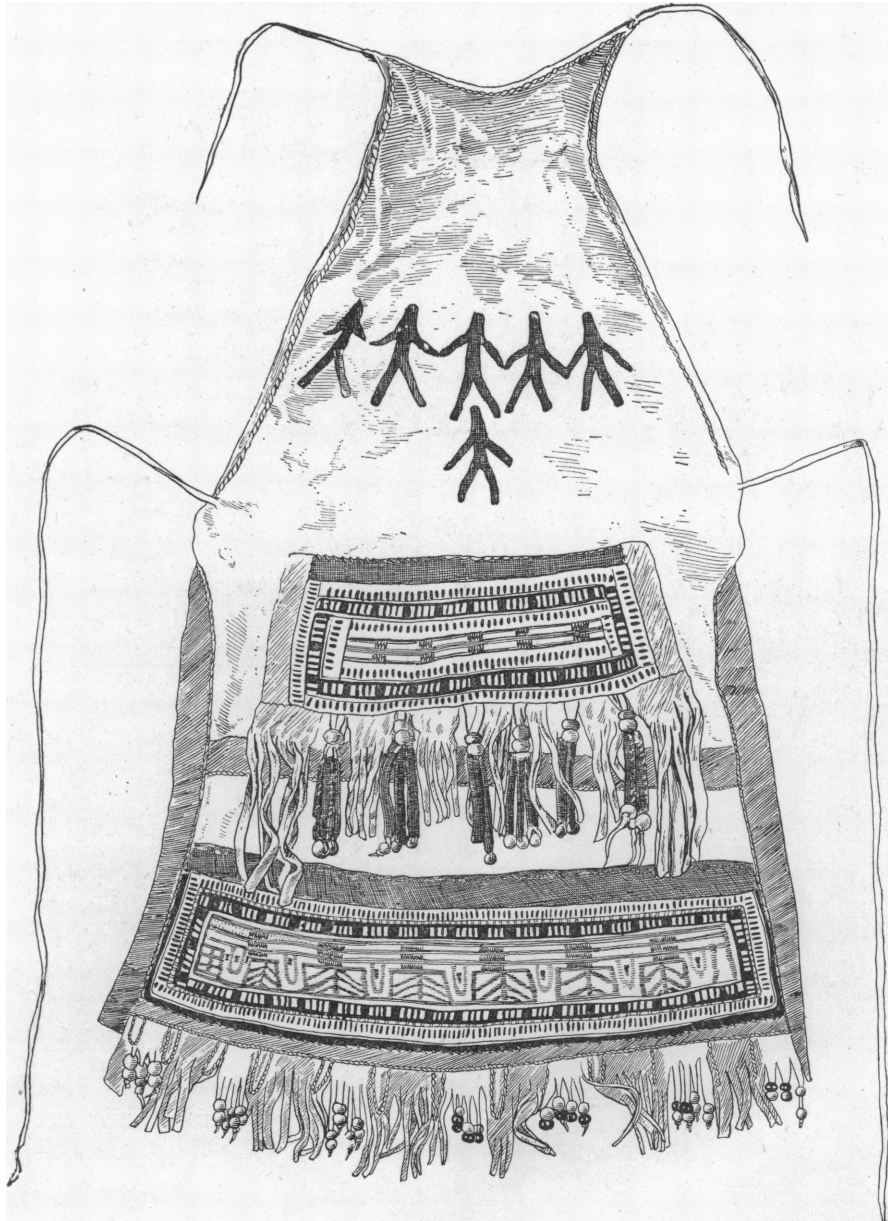


Fig. 13. Apron of a Tungus shaman.

drum. On the Kolyma river I met such a shaman, by the name of Konon. He is represented on Plate X, Fig. 1. Konon is blind. He was often called in to cure the sick and was regarded as a powerful shaman. But he told me himself that he did not have the main emege't. Instead of a shaman's

coat he dressed in a woman's coat, *sañiya'x*, while instead of a drum, he used as a horse for his journey to the subterranean world a willow with three branches, to which were tied hair from the tail of a white horse. This willow is called *jalbr'r*. It may be seen on Plate X, Fig. 1. On his head Konon used to wear a woman's cap made of ermine skins. Before the shamanistic performance, the assistant tied the shaman around his chest and shoulder with a strap, *täsi'n*, the end of which he held from behind, while the performance was in progress.

The Dresses of Tungus Shamans. The Tungus shamanistic dress to be

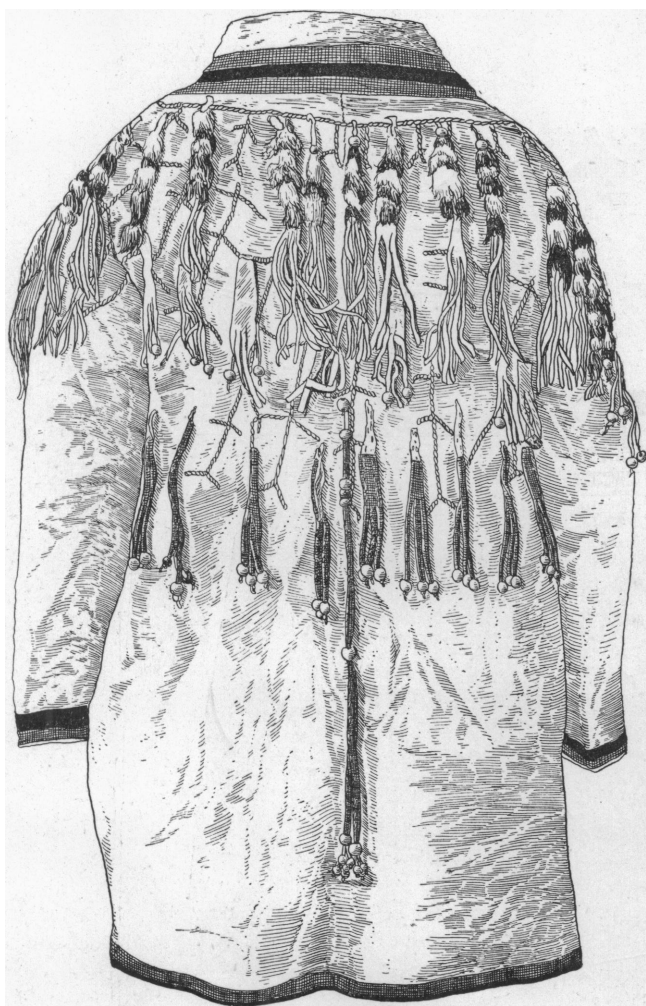


Fig. 14. Back of a Tungus shaman's coat.

described here, was secured by me on the shores of the Ochotsk sea from Tungus who come in contact with the Koryak but never or seldom meet the Yakut. These dresses differ materially from those of the Tungus shamans of the Yakut province. The dress of the latter differs from the dress of the Yakut shamans only in having separate aprons and a headdress with tassels. The metallic pendants are identical with those of the Yakut shamans. In the shamanistic dress of the Ochotsk Tungus the metallic pendants are almost completely absent.

Fig. 13 ($\frac{70}{5165}$) represents a shaman's apron, *nel*, made of reindeer hide. On the chest there are figures of men cut out of cloth, which are called *be'yikanča*, "dolls" (literally, "representations of human figures"). They are the helpers of the shaman and are called in Tungus *nu'lura*. Excepting

these sewn-on figures the shaman's apron differs in no way from an ordinary woman's apron. We find the same appliqué decorations, embroideries, fringe and tassels, called *u'rdan*.

Fig. 14 ($\frac{70}{5166}$) represents a Tungus shaman's coat (back view). The conventionalized figures of human beings, embroidered in sinew thread, represent



Fig. 2. A TUNGUS SHAMAN PERFORMING.



Fig. 1. A YAKUT SHAMAN PERFORMING WITHOUT CEREMONIAL DRESS.

shamanistic spirits, called ye'ndriče. The tassels on the back are called čó'roļon, from čō'ro, "poles," which form the foundation of the lower, cylindrical part of a Tungus tent. In front on the borders of the coat, which may be seen on Plate X, Fig. 2, there are no decorations, figures or pendants, except the leather strings.

Fig. 15 ($\frac{70}{5163}$) represents a shaman's cap, ā'wun, furnished with iron horns of the wild reindeer, the spirit-protector of the shaman, called ge'lken. This is a special name for this spirit alone. Shamanistic spirits in general are called hō'yin. This term corresponds to the Yukaghir e'iji. Conventionalized figures of men and animals embroidered in sinew thread, — among the animals are the wolf and the snake, — represent another class of shamanistic spirits which are placed on both sides of the cap and are called ye'ndriče.

Plate X, Fig. 2 represents the Tungus shaman from whom the dress was secured, in his attire and with a drum in his hand.

Fig. 16 ($\frac{70}{5164}$) represents a shaman's glove left, mā'na (paw), made of reindeer leather with claws on the fingers and tassels over them made of hair of a reindeer leg. The glove symbolizes the bear, the shaman's spirit, called mā'lgı. On two fingers conventionalized figures of men are embroidered in sinew thread, which represent spirits, ye'ndriče.

The shaman could not explain the meaning of the ornament in the middle of the glove, embroidered in dyed thread, reindeer hair and sinew thread.

Fig. 17 ($\frac{70}{5167}$), *a* and *b*, represent Tungus shamanistic leggings. They

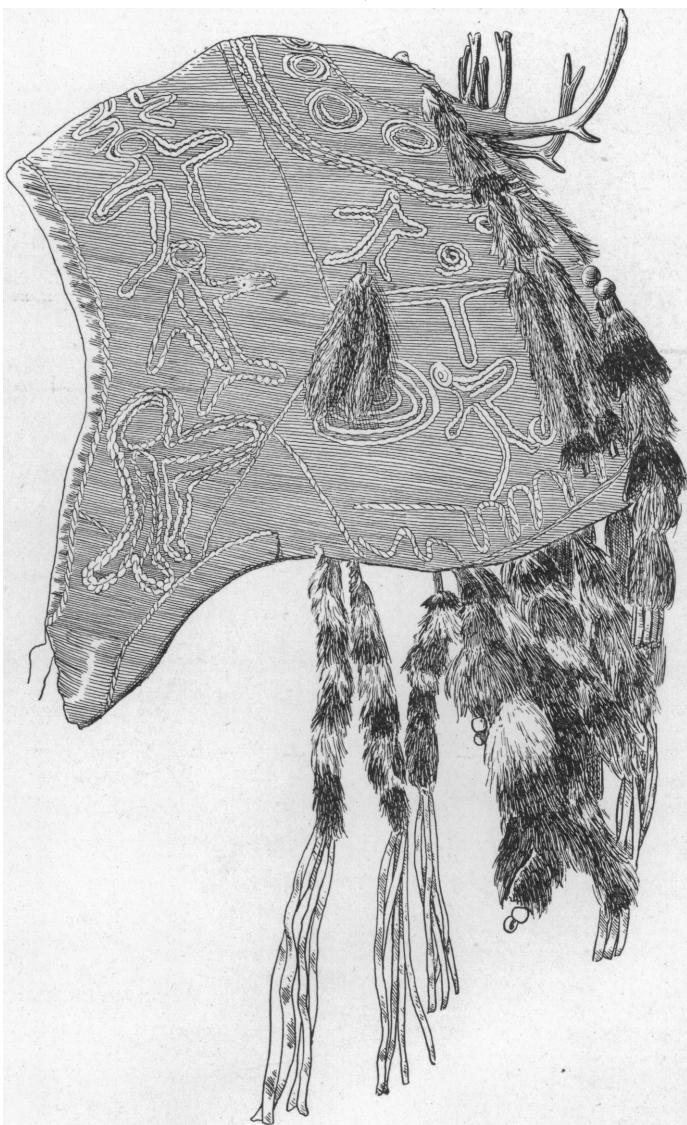


Fig. 15. Cap of a Tungus shaman.

are devoid of all decorations, excepting leather pendants to the ends of which beads are sewn. The foot-wear is made of smoked reindeer hide, the soles being of sealskin. The piece of skin placed on the instep is painted black on one boot, and yellow on the other. Insertions between the instep and the soles are colored in reverse order.

Figs. 18, 19, 20 and 21 ($\frac{70}{5772}$, $\frac{70}{5772} b$, $\frac{70}{5773}$, $\frac{70}{5772} c$) represent a coat,



Fig. 16. Glove of a Tungus shaman.

apron, cap and one boot belonging to a dress of another Tungus shaman. The coat and apron lack representations of spirits, and are decorated merely by rows of embroidery, fringes, and iron tubes such as are found on the Yakut shamanistic dresses.

The cap is furnished with reindeer antlers, similar to the preceding ones, and with conventionalized representations of men. Two of these figures are appliqué. The heads of these two figures are represented as circles embroidered in beads. The shaman's boot is made of reindeer leather and is embroidered in dyed reindeer and elk hair. The tassels are made of the down of a new

Fig. 17 a-b. Footwear of a Tungus shaman.

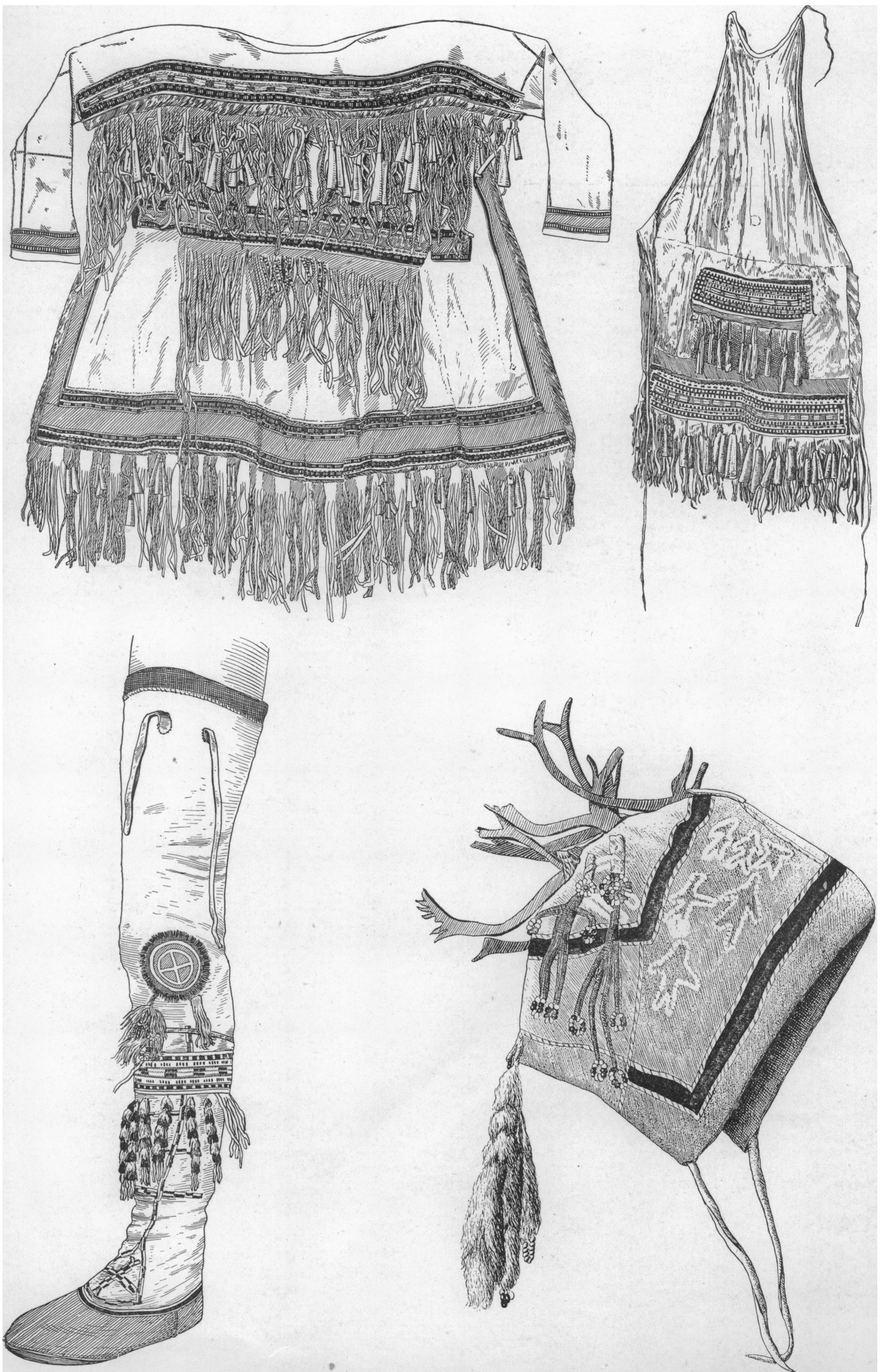


Fig. 18-21. Coat, apron, cap and boot of a Tungus shaman.



Fig. 22. Back of a Tungus shaman's coat from the Anadyr river.

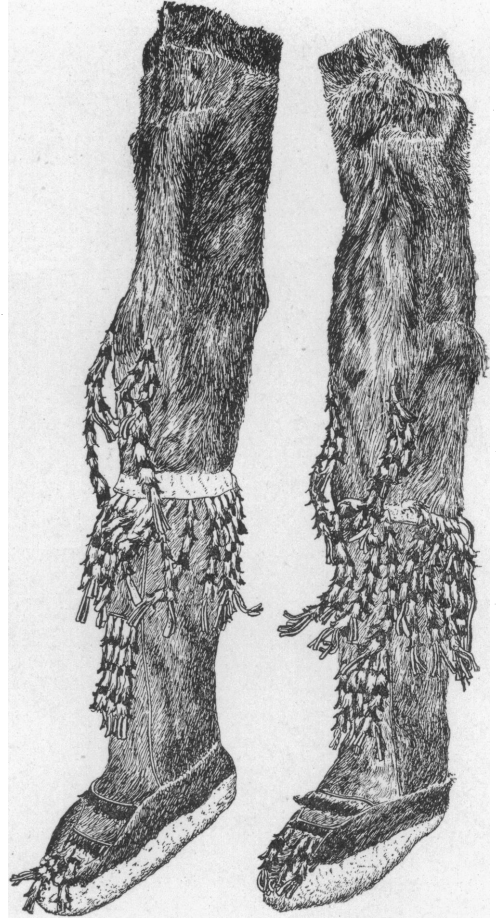


Fig. 24 a-b. Boots of the same dress.



Fig. 23. Front of the same coat.



Fig. 25. Cap of the same dress.

born reindeer. The appliqué embroidery with a cross and the cross embroidered on the instep have a merely decorative significance.

To the description of the Tungus shaman's dress I wish to add illustrations of the back and front of a shaman's coat of the polar Tungus to the east of the Kolyma river. This specimen was procured by Mr. Bogoras in Markova on the Anadyr river. On the back of the coat (Fig. 22 $\frac{70}{5620}a$) to the left figures of men are seen, representing the shaman's spirits. In the middle is embroidered a figure representing the vertebrae. The meaning of the crosses on the right side can be explained only by imitation of the ceremonial dress of the Russian priests. The tassels and fringes are made of skin straps covered by colored fur rings.

Fig. 23 ($\frac{70}{5620}c$) shows the front of this coat with human figures on the left side and crosses on the right.

Fig. 24 ($\frac{70}{5620}d, e$) represents a pair of fur boots belonging to the same shaman's dress, ornamented with tassels and fringes. Fig. 25 ($\frac{70}{5620}e$) shows the shaman's cap and Fig. 26 ($\frac{70}{8384}$) his apron, without metallic or other pendants, except four fur tassels.

THE CLASSES OF SHAMANS. All investigators of the Yakut agree that in ancient times they had two kinds of shamans, black and white, or abasi'-oyuna', that is, the shamans of evil spirits, and ayi'-oyuna', the shamans of creative deities. As I was told by the northern Yakut, the black shamans brought

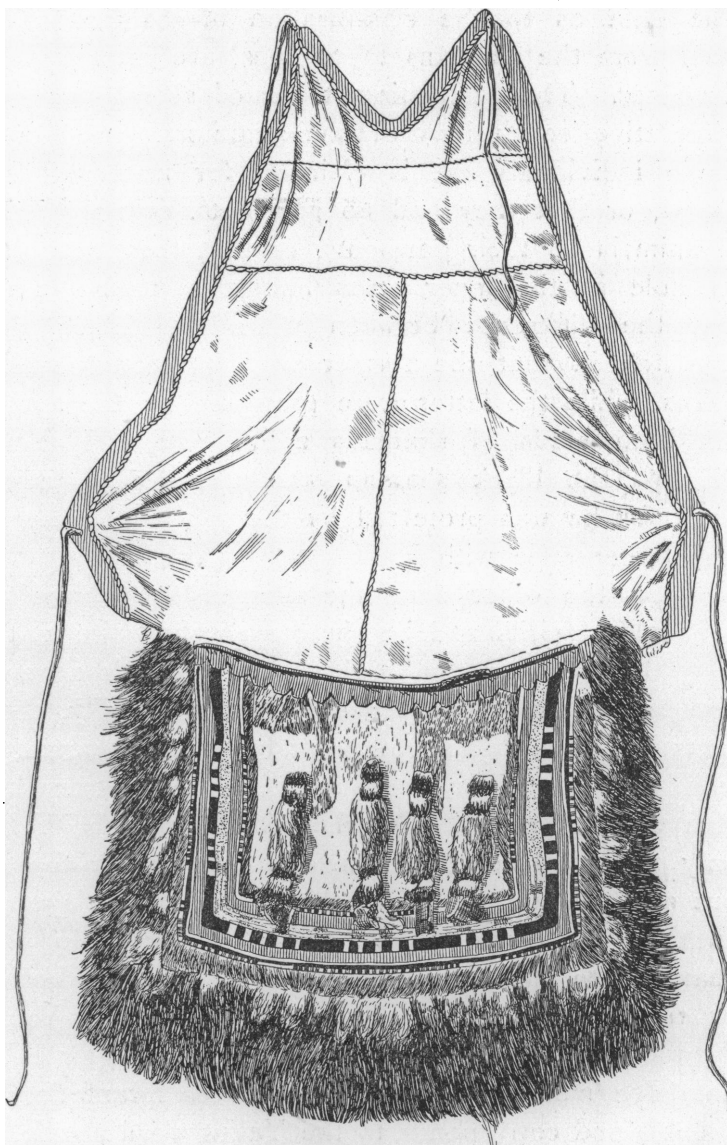


Fig. 26. Apron of the shaman's dress Figs. 22-25.

disease to men, while the white cured them. At present all definite differentiation is lacking. Modern Yakut shamans practise their art mainly to cure people; on the other hand, they are feared as men who are able to do harm. The data as to the classification of shamans obtained from the Yakut and even from the shamans themselves, are rather confusing and contradictory in character. The interesting topic of shamanism is still further obscured by speculative conclusions of some authors, based on the isolated statements of single individuals. It is claimed, for instance, that white shamans had no drums, or that they had no garments, or no figures of animals, or no figures of animals on their garments, or that they had no emeget or that there was no hole in the inner cross handle of their drums. My personal opinion is that the difference between white and black shamans among the Yakut consisted in that the former were protected by the abasi', that is, the evil spirits, while the latter were protected by the ayi', that is, benevolent spirits, but both kinds of shamans could cure with the assistance of their spirits. Perhaps the black shaman was regarded as more powerful than his white rival, for he was protected by the spirits who caused disease and could therefore better cope with it.

On the other hand the shamans may have as guardians both evil and benevolent spirits and be simultaneously white and black shamans.

My notes on the division of Yukaghir shamans into good and evil are also somewhat vague. Speaking theoretically, the Yukaghir a'lma as representative of the clan, could not be an evil shaman, at least not with reference to his consanguineous group. On the contrary he was the protector of the clan and its priest. On the other hand, the Yukaghir shamans control not only the good spirits of the e'iji category or the souls of deceased shamans, but also the evil spirits of the ku'kul and yu'oye categories who often appear as their helpers. Besides, the a'lma may do harm, for instance, to rival shamans, to aliens, and in general to persons who are hostile to him personally or to the individuals of his kin. What the Yakut call abasi'-oyuna', black shaman or shaman of evil spirits, the Yukaghir call antaja'ye. Etymologically antaja'ye means "one who pronounces incantations" (from the root a'nta, "to speak") and corresponds to the Yakut word apta'x, but the Yukaghir designate by the term antaja'ye evil shamans, wizards.

The Yukaghir on the Korkodon and Yassachnaya rivers told me, that in ancient times they had no antaja'ye, that they were evil men, for they brought ruin to people. The antaja'ye, they said, made their appearance among them after the advent of the Lamut and the Russians. The Lamut especially have many wizards. The Omolon Yukaghir, on the other hand, spoke to me of the antaja'ye, as of an ancient institution. An Omolon Yukaghir, Vasiliy Vostryakov, characterized to me the a'lma or shaman and the antaja'ye or wizard in the following way. The power of a'lma is in his

guardian spirits, the power of antaja'ye is in his word, that is, in incantations and charms which no power can resist. But the charms were secrets, else every one could have used them. Thus, for instance, the ancient antaja'ye could by a word stop the blood in a man's blood-vessels; the man would suddenly grow pale and his blood-vessels would contract.

The Yukaghir of the tundra, evidently under the influence of ideas of the Tungus with whom they have mixed call the evil shaman *leu'nujeböje wo'lmañ*, "eating shaman," that is, "the shaman who eats men." Such a shaman does only harm to people and kills them. When an "eating shaman" dies, he is placed at burial with his face turned downward, so as to prevent him from doing harm after death.

Mr. Bogoras found on the Large Anui river a shamanistic board with drawings. One half of the board was painted black, the other red. On the black half, which represented night, were drawn animals which represented the spirits of the black shaman; on the red half which represented day, were drawn the animals which are the spirits of the white shaman.¹ From the fact, however, that among the animals of the black half of the board was the Yakut animal, the horse, — not known to the Yukaghir before the advent of the Yakut, — also the dog and the mammoth, which are not regarded by the Yukaghir as evil spirits, it appears obvious that the Anui Yukaghir have borrowed the idea from the Yakut with whom they have become mixed.

WOMEN-SHAMANS. Next to the division of the shamans into good and evil, the function of woman in shamanism is a most interesting problem. At the present time no women-shamans occur among the Yukaghir; nor are any known to exist among the Yakut among whom shamanism is preserved better than among the Yukaghir. So far as the Yukaghir are concerned, women-shamans are nowhere mentioned in their folk-lore, but there are references to women who assist the shamans in their performances. Thus, in one text, the wife of a shaman prepares the drum for her husband. In that tradition, however, the shaman described is a Lamut. I have met a woman-assistant of a shaman on the Korkodon river. But that shaman also was not a Yukaghir, but a Tungus who stayed among the Yukaghir. His wife, the daughter of a Yukaghir shaman, before the beginning of an incantation, took away the shaman's knives and other weapons, to prevent him from hurting himself. In the course of the shamanistic frenzy, he had the inclination to cut himself with a knife, by order, he claimed, of the spirits. In the course of the incantation, she supported her husband when he dropped to the ground, that is, when his soul descended to the lower world. Before the end of the incantation she would strike her husband on the head with her cutting-board, in order to induce the spirits he had conjured to leave him, now that they

¹ See W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, Vol. VII of this series, p. 327.

were no longer needed. The presence at Yukaghir shamanistic incantations of virgin girls who are believed to attract spirits of the male sex, must also be taken in the light of woman's participation in incantations.¹

On the other hand, a menstruating woman or a woman after child-birth must not touch shamanistic objects. Even her presence in the house while an incantation is in progress, is regarded as an impediment to the appearance of spirits. Nor is there any trace left of the participation of women in the so-called family shamanism, which survives among the Koryak and Chukchee, and which gave woman the control of the shamanistic ritual in the family and placed in her charge the family drum. But from all this it appears that among the ancient Yukaghir each family had its family drum, although the shaman was not regarded as a family priest but as a representative of the clan to which the family belonged.

During his travels in the district of the Anui river, Mr. Bogoras found traces of drums in almost all deserted houses of deceased Yukaghir of the Omok clans, so that his Russian companions expressed the opinion that all these Yukaghir must have been wizards.

Among the Yakut, women participated in the rites of both, family and professional shamanism. Accordingly there exists a special term *udaha'n* for the woman-shaman as distinct from the male *oyu'n*. Some Yakut traditions attribute more power to the *udaha'n*, the female shaman, than to the *oyu'n*, the male shaman. Troschansky² adduces the statement of a Yakut to the effect that among his people the *udaha'n* was more ancient than the *oyu'n*. On this basis Vitashevsky reaches the generalization that in antiquity matriarchate existed among the Yakut.

A particular aspect of shamanism known to us as transformation of men into women and *vice versa*, was known among the Koryak and the Kamchadal, and still occurs among the Chukchee. This phenomenon is reflected in the tendency of the Yukaghir, Yakut and other shamans to assume an external resemblance to woman. I have previously referred to this phenomenon in my work on the Koryak.³ This tendency as well as the idea of a complete transformation or change of sex may be explained by the fact that shamanism was genetically connected with the family, that family shamanism has preceded professional shamanism, and that the first shamans were women. This is possible, notwithstanding the fact that woman at certain periods is unclean and distasteful to shamanistic spirits. This explanation must, however, be regarded as merely a probable assumption, which it would be hard to prove at the hand of material so far available. Equal probability must be granted to the alternative assumption that the sexual transformation of shamans or

¹ See further on, p. 198 note 4.

² See V. F. Troschansky, *The Evolution of the Black Faith (Shamanism) of the Yakut*. Kasan 1902.

³ W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Vol. VI of this series, Part I, p. 53.

the tendency of shamans to externally resemble a woman, is deduceable from the attitude of primitive man towards everything that is abnormal as supernatural and possessing special powers.

It will prove of interest to consider here the following episode from a Yukaghir tradition about a Lamut shaman. When a Koryak broke the shaman's arm with an arrow, he took hold of his wife's apron and, while continuing his performance, struck his broken arm with the apron, and the arm was cured. Here, apparently, transpires the idea of a medicinal power of the apron because it belongs to a woman.

THE DRUM. In my work on the Koryak I have among other drums described also a modern Yukaghir drum.¹ Its longitudinal axis is 88 cm. long. It is difficult to say what were the characteristics of the ancient Yukaghir drum. The iron cross inside the drum which serves as a handle and the small rattling attachments make one think that the form and mechanism of the modern Yukaghir drum have developed under Yakut influence. The Omolon Yukaghir told me that their ancient drum was of the Koryak type with a handle inside made of sinew string. To judge by the drawing in Steller's work on Kamchatka, the drum of the ancient Kamchadal was oval in form with a longitudinal stick inside the drum as a handle.²

Among the Paleo-Asiatic tribes the Chukchee alone have a drum of the Eskimo type, with an external handle like that of a hand-mirror.³ It is possible, therefore, that the form of the modern Chukchee drum was borrowed from the Eskimo.

The Yukaghir term for drum *ya'lgil'*, means "lake," through which the shaman descends to the subterranean world. *Yalgi'ne* means "to have a drum" as well as "to act as a shaman." *Yalgite* means "to give a drum to some one" or "to force the shaman to perform." *Yalgi'negi* means "to have a drum for some one," that is, "to act as a shaman for some one," or "to cure some one by incantations." These derivatives from the stem *yalgil* clearly indicate that the drum is indispensable in Yukaghir shamanism. At the present time only professional shamans among the Yukaghir have drums, but in olden times the drum was a necessary accessory of every household, as is still the case among the Koryak, for the drum was not only part of the family cult, but a musical instrument as well, an accompaniment for dancing and the singing of lay songs.⁴

¹ See W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 56.

² See G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, (Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1774) p. 284, three plates representing Kamchadal shamans.

³ See W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Part I. pp. 57, 58.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 55.

VIII. — RELIGION. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES.

THE CURING OF THE SICK. The shamanistic performances of modern Yukaghir shamans are restricted in the main to medicinal activities, that is, the conjuring of spirits with whose assistance the shaman removes from the patient's body the evil spirits who cause disease, or restores a soul that has escaped.

I shall describe here three performances of Yukaghir shamans; from the Korkodon and Yassachnaya rivers and from the Kolyma tundra.

Shamanistic Performance on the Korkodon River. I visited the Korkodon Yukaghir for the first time in October 1896. I lived in the earth-lodge of old Samsonov nicknamed Nelbosh. When I asked him who was the shaman on the Korkodon, he answered that they no longer had any shaman. The last Korkodon shaman, according to him, was his eldest son, who had died shortly before my arrival. In case of necessity, they made use of Tungus shamans. One such shaman, he pointed out to me, was his son-in-law, the Tungus Athanassy, nicknamed Mashka who, in 1901, had served me as a guide on my way from Gishiga to the Korkodon river. Nelbosh, in accordance with my wish, agreed to reproduce the shamanistic rite of curing the patient as it had been practised by his son. Subsequently, when in 1901 I visited the Korkodon region for the second time and did not find Samsonov alive, the Korkodon Yukaghir told me that the old Nelbosh himself had been their clan shaman. While trusting me to some extent, he had kept that fact from me, fearing that I might tell about it to the priest at Verchne-Kolymsk, of whom he stood in mortal fear.

From the ku'ruł', that is, a storage-house on high poles, a drum was produced. He made the hat with fringe out of reindeer hide which I gave to him. He had no special shamanistic coat. He put on a woman's coat with a fringe and metallic decorations. We have noted before that among the Yakut also there were shamans who wore at shamanistic performances ordinary women's coats, instead of the special shaman's coat. The drum was an old one, of the Koryak type, without a metallic cross inside.

Samsonov let his long hair fly loose, put on the fringed hat, sat down on the floor on a reindeer skin and began quietly to beat the drum. Then he began to emit sounds imitative of animals and birds thus conjuring the spirits of these animals, his protectors.¹ Then he sang:

¹ The details regarding these onomatopoeic expressions will be given when dealing with the tundra shamans.

Met' cān-la'rxul' ke'lkuope me'ko ku'deñik če'ñbeñot me'tlāget' egi'eñik
 (Of tree-root, (my)ancestors near place your- of help being from my side get up,
 my selves,
 met abu'čāpe xa'n.badaxče ye'ñečuope migi'loxtai-ñik.
 my spirit-girls " " here lead.

In free translation, this will read: "My fore-father, my ancestors, stand near by me. In order to help me, stand near me, my girl-spirits, xa'n.badaxče and ye'ñečuope, bring here."¹

After this the shaman again began to beat the drum, then, with the assistance of his helper, he stood up and, approaching the door, opened it and began to take deep breaths, thus breathing in the souls of ancestors and other spirits he had conjured. Then he returned to his place, again squatted down on the skin, shook the drum and said:

"Met' po'lin.uo, n.u'oduope, le'meñin mi'tul egu'rpecmit?"
 "My children, (my)descendants, why us you torture?"

Thus the spirit of his fore-fathers spoke through the shaman. Then the relatives of the patient, who were present, said:

"Coro'molox' n.o'rod-oji'ga či'čuoyil, xa'jjudin te'tul ege'tei."
 "Man in (a) pool (of) water drowns, in order to see you they have placed."

Do this the shaman replied:

"Ai'bigi n.e'rgunjeike ču'gogele ege'rie-le'lum."
 "Soul his (of) Kingdom of on the way his went it appears."
 Shadows

In free translation this reads: "The soul of the patient, it seems, has travelled along the road to the Kingdom of Shadows." Thus spoke through the shaman the spirit of the ancestors. The relatives of the patient, that is, the people present, answered to this:

"Ki'mjeck, to'nbel el yo'ulečlelek!"
 "Be strong, strength do not spare!"

Then the shaman stopped beating the drum, put it down near by, and remained motionless, lying on his stomach on the reindeer skin. This meant that the soul of the shaman had left his body and through the drum as through a lake, had descended into the Kingdom of Shadows. The shaman lay motionless for a long time, and those present were waiting for his awakening. As to what becomes of the soul after it leaves his body, Samsonov, after the performance, told me the following:

¹ Abu'čape, xa'n.badaxče, ye'ñečuope, are ancient Yukaghir words, used only in shamanistic songs and ceremonies. Abu'čape are e'iji, that is, shamanistic spirits, of the female sex. Every shaman has his favorite spirit-girls. Xa'n.badaxče and ye'ñečuope also represent categories of shamanistic spirits. Samsonov could not explain to me the meaning of these words. Xa'n.badaxče really means the edge of the palm, a name anciently applied to the Yakut, while yeña was a Yukaghir clan on the Omolon. Perhaps these words mean Yakut spirits and spirits of the yeña clan. We know that shamans often have spirits of alien clans and peoples.

performance was his appeal in Tungus, in the beginning of the performance, to his angel, that is, the Russian saint Athanasy, whose Christian name he bore, that he should send to him his Koryak spirits. However he did not pray to the Russian saint, but rather ordered him. This man was of large size, healthy appearance, and possessed of enormous strength; at the same time he was psychically unbalanced and abnormal. He was a bad husbandman, while on the hunt he was outdone even by boys; his main sources of livelihood were his profession and donations from relatives. Every summer he would travel from the Korkodon to the Gishiga district to his relatives to beg for driving reindeer which, however, he would use for food in winter.

My impression was that after the first sounds of his drum, he already fell into a state in which he was no longer responsible for his action. Only his wife, who served him as assistant, could control him. His main Koryak spirit was making various demands on him. Thus, his wife repeatedly handed him his lit pipe and he inhaled the smoke for the spirits. She repeatedly held to his mouth a piece of burning birch-bark which he swallowed together with the flame. This was the food of the Koryak spirit. Only one demand his wife did not comply with, the demand to hand him his knife. Before the performance she searched her husband and left nothing sharp on him or in his pockets. The Koryak spirit was insisting that he should cut his abdomen, cut open his chest, promising to heal him later on. I had not observed among any other Siberian people a shamanistic performance quite so furious and stormy. Indescribable screams, cramps all over the body, jumps, big and small, kept on for two or three hours. I, as a spectator, was so exhausted, and my nerves were so unstrung, that I could not do any more work that evening. The peculiarity of this shaman was that he did not seem to be afraid of his spirits. The following episode characterizes his fearlessness and his furious temper: In 1901, while he was my guide from the shores of the Ochotok Sea to the Kolyma, he was riding on horse-back at the head of my caravan. The time set by him for the arrival on the Korkodon had long since passed, but our movement forward was continuously hampered by swamps and innumerable lakes around which we had to travel. My Yukaghir interpreter told me that Athanasy, while on horse-back, was very angry and swore at God for having created so many lakes and swamps to torture him.

The conclusion of his performance was as follows: To make the Koryak spirits leave him, his wife knocked him several times on the head with her tailoring-board and gradually he calmed down. Then, in order to prevent the spirits from reentering the shaman, — for, according to his wife, they were still hovering all about him, — she put her nursing astride his neck. Then Athanasy became quite calm and told me that he had seen my path and that I should happily return home.

Unfortunately, I could not take notes of his performance, for Athanasy asserted that he did not know the language spoken by his Koryak spirits and that he, in general, used to forget the words of his spirits, even those spoken in Tungus.

The details of the Tungus and the Yukaghir shamanistic performances were very different. Nelbosh would sing with deep feeling, but in a low, drawn out voice, as if lulling somebody to sleep, and producing an atmosphere of quiet sadness. The motions of his body were smooth and rhythmical. Even the manner of beating the drum was markedly different. The Yukaghir shaman struck the drum in the centre, struck it regularly changing only the tempo, while the Tungus threw the drum stick about wildly and without order, from one edge of the drum to the other.

When I met Athanasy in 1901, he told me that he had driven away his Koryak spirits, and that he no longer conducted shamanistic performances. Once his wife was not careful enough, and, in the course of a performance, he wounded himself in the abdomen with a knife. The spirits did not at once heal the wound, and it troubled him for a long time afterwards. Athanasy also accused his spirits of not having fulfilled towards him another obligation. The Koryak shaman, Yulta, who had passed his spirits on to him, always used their services to secure tea and tobacco. Athanasy assured me of having seen with his own eyes how, while the Koryak shaman was performing, cakes of brick-tea and bundles of leaf tobacco were flying towards him through a hole in the tent. To Athanasy, on the other hand, the spirits had never supplied these expensive products. That is why he had ceased to be a shaman. But he remained the same unbalanced and wildly neuropathic individual, that he had been before, although he looked well externally and was physically a strong man.

Shamanistic Performances on the Yassachnaya River. Shamanistic performances on the Yassachnaya river were described to me by the old Spiridonov, nicknamed Tulya'ch,¹ which means "woolly." He was married to the widow of the then recently deceased shaman Kere'ke-po'lut', that is, "Koryak-Old-Man" who was the son of a Koryak and, as a son-in-law, had gone to live among the Yassachnaya Yukaghir. Not all the spirits of this shaman were Yukaghir. The main e'iji was Yakut, and spoke through the shaman in Yakut. Tulya'ch had repeatedly witnessed Kere'ke-polut's shamanistic performances and had been his assistant. It was even said that the spirits of the deceased shaman had gone over to him. Here is Tulya'ch's account of how Kere'ke-po'lut' used to cure the sick.

The one who invited Kere'ke-po'lut' had to bring his drum. It was oval in shape and covered with the hide of a two-year old reindeer. Inside the

¹ Tulya'ch is a Yakut word, for further facts about him see p. 156.

drum a wooden disk with a cross of reindeer sinew, served as handle. Before the arrival of the shaman the relatives in the home of the patient heated the drum. After his arrival, his assistant (no'gdiye) handed him his coat, hat and drum. After holding the drum for a while, he began to beat it and to emit sounds in imitation of the hare, cuckoo, stork, owl, diver, wolf, bear, and dog, who all belonged to his spirits.

Then he began to sing:

"Yegi'led-eme'i, tet n-a'n-bojele te'nbeñox! ¹

"Fire-mother, (by) your warmth strong will be!

Nu'mod-eme'i, ² tet n-umdeje mi'ebele e'rče e'le uku'teilek."

(of) House-mother, (by) your strong custom evil not endure."

The shaman stops drumming for a while, rises to his feet, turns his back to the door, walks to the centre of the house, and sings:

"Cād-emei'pe, lebie'd-eme'i, ču'mut ča'ñbañot egi'eñik."

"(Of) Woods-mothers, (of) Earth-mother, all protection in order to be stand up."

The shaman turns to the patient and says:

"Emei'ñojex! me'tul yo'uleirek, tet lebi'eñin xonk'."

"You are our mother (on) me have pity, (to) your place go away."

This the shaman says to the evil spirit that has entered the patient. If the sickness is infectious like smallpox or measles, which were introduced by the Russians, the shaman says:

"A'ñļu-lebi'e-la'ñdet ke'ļu eme'i, me'tul yo'ulereik! Mit kude'ye

"(Of) Russian country who has mother, of me have pity! Our clan
from the side come

tí'temieje mie'bele n-e'pugojienuñi, me'tul yo'ulereik', met aju'be lebie'ge
with such custom became reconciled, on me have pity, my words on ground
el lo'udelex."

not throw
(that is, listen)."

The shaman again turns to the door and says:

"Me'tul ča'ñiepul, m-e'ke ku'deñik!"

"My protectors, near appear!"

The shaman half opens the door and inhales his spirits (e'ije) in deep and noisy breaths. Then he turns to the interior of the house, holds his hands like claws, rolls his eyes upwards, so that only the whites are seen, sticks out his tongue, curling it under the chin, and, without uttering a word, walks to the centre of the house and sits down on the ground. Having sat down, he straightens his hands and pulls his tongue in. With his eyes still turned upwards and a blown up belly he sits there, and already one of the spirits speaks through him:

¹ This is an appeal to the Owner of the Fire. In this case the Owner appears as a female personage.

² That is, Owner of the House.

"A'lma, le'meñol ko'de ni'emik'?"
 "Shaman, what for me did you call?"

The shaman's assistant answers:

"Čomo'l-epi'e, mi'tul' čañucti'ledin ni'ei, tiñ mit čoro'mogoļo
 "Great-grandmother, to us to help to force called (we), this our man
 (you) in order,
 le'me ti'te ogu'rpecum, uba't yu'otem, mo'ditem tabu'ngeļe
 who so tortures perhaps will see, will hear (the
 conjured spirit), this
 mo'nut', ni'ei."
 saying, called (we)."

The spirit through the shaman answers:

"Xo'botañ e'yedulbon ukei'delle ogu'rpecum, met yu'ome."
 "The lower one invisible who came out tortures, I see now."

The shaman's assistant says:

"Čomo'l-epi'e, eji'tek', ko'ñdek'!"
 "Great-grandmother, liberate, have pity!"

The spirit answers:

"Me'tin ei'meduoļ čomo'l-la'dane me'tul legi'teñik, imu'munubol
 "To me in recompense with good incense me treat, with stupefying
 a'ñļu-uļe'gele e'njecmik."
 Russian grass (tobacco) feed."

The assistant places incense on the coals, blows on them, and places them on something near the shaman, who with wide open mouth inhales the smoke of the incense. Then the assistant throws the incense into the fire and hands the shaman his pipe. The latter takes it into his mouth. The assistant brings the burning fish-oil lamp and closing with the hand the shaman's eyes, — for the latter must not look at fire, — lights his pipe. Having smoked, the shaman rises, approaches the patient and begins to seize the sick part with his teeth, thus trying to produce the evil spirit who causes the sickness. The latter is obdurate, he protests, but the shaman, being held from behind by the clothing by the assistant, and with the help of his spirits, after a desperate struggle, extracts the evil spirit. The shaman falls backwards into the arms of the assistant, shakes and trembles, and finally sits down on the ground. Through the shaman speaks the evil spirit (ku'kul') extracted from the patient:

"Tā, a'lma, me'tin i'n-gan-boje pomu'rken-ul po'in-el ni'mejiče
 "Well, shaman, me five rouble white bitter
 o'jile e'njeck. E'n-jeculgene, tiñ coromo po'nit'. Me'lutdege
 water treat. If you treat this man (I) shall leave. On chest its
 that is, whiskey)

pojerxo'nje . emi'beye n-a'ŕle ke'iñik, pugo'je ne'lieñol ke'iñik.
 sun having (that is, with the white spot) black fox give perspiration in order to wipe give.
 Ta'ñnugi coro'mo ponit'."
 Then man I shall leave."

The assistant and the relatives of the patient answer together:

"Čomo'l-epi'e, yo'uleik, o'yelgeŕle keik'."
 "Great-grandmother, have pity, term give."

Ku'kul' answers (through the shaman):

"Ya'lmacte kini'je pemege'idege me'tin ebi'beye n-a'ŕle
 "Third month when will be over (to) me black fox
 ke'iŕlukene, tiñ coro'mo po'nit'."
 if you give, this man (I) shall leave."

The people and the assistant say:

"Ei, čomo'l-epi'e, yo'uleik'! Tet čubo'jed-ige'ye yo'uxagen,
 "Oh, Great-grandmother, have pity! Your heart artery let hurt,
 tet' kuđe'je alā'gen! Ke'itei, ke'itei!"
 your liver let melt! We shall give, we shall give!"

Then the shaman rises, goes to the door, puts his head outside the house, exhaling loudly emits the evil spirit (ku'kul'), and faints in the arms of the assistant. The assistant (no'gdiye) grabs the shaman by the nose, and he comes to. The assistant again gives him the drum. Turning to the door, the shaman beats the drum and sings:

"Eme'i, eči'e, e'le yoda'ilek', tet ču'go nukk', tet lebie' nukk'
 "Mother, father, do not return, your road find, your country find,
 yo'uleik."
 have pity."

Turning again, the shaman approaches the patient, blows on him, and massages the afflicted part. Then, leading his spirit protectors (a'ibipul', ei'jepul') to the door he quietly beats the drum and sings:

"Tí'netañ ku'kul čugo'gi to'uñik' e'le n.a'čedeigen. Kí'mjecñik."
 "Of this evil spirit road close not that he should Be strong."
 return.

The shaman sits down on the ground, his face turned towards the entrance and quietly beats the drum, thus taking leave of his spirits. Then he seizes the drum-stick and with the left hand throws it behind him, over the head, to the ground, while with the right hand he takes off his hat and also throws it behind him. The assistant carries them away. Then the shaman begins to dig the right eye with the index of his right hand, and, pretending to throw the eye on the ground (as if he had dug it out), he says:

"A'ŕga-ŕañdet no'udik'!"
 "From lower side watch!"

Then he digs at his left eye and as if throwing it upward, says:

“Pu'de-ļañdet no'udik'!”

“From upper side watch!”

Then, still sitting on the ground on the skin, the shaman screams like a diver. Water is handed to him, he drinks, and sprinkles it about himself. Thus the performance ends.

I shall make a few comments on this performance. What the Yakut spirit spoke through the shaman, the shaman Kere'ke-polut' himself pronounced in Yakut,¹ but Tulyach dictated it to me in Yukaghir. In this performance the influence of Yakut shamanism is clearly discernable.

Shamanistic Performances on the Kolyma Tundra. The third Yukaghir shamanistic performance I witnessed and recorded among the Tundra Yukaghir, not far from the Yakut settlement Menakhtakh, in the tent of the chief of the Alayi Yukaghir clan. This was in January 1902 while the Jesup Expedition was in progress. The name of the shaman was Tretyakov. I bought from him the dress in which he performed. He wore it for the last time, was very excited and went through the performance with exceptional passion.

The drum of his shaman's dress has been reproduced and described in my work on the Koryak,² while the coat and hat have been described in this volume on pp. 173 et seq.

The ritual took the following course. It consisted in the curing of a patient. In the centre of an enormous cylindrical tent the fire-wood was smouldering on the hearth. The inmates of the tent and the guests were sitting on their haunches around the hearth. The sleeping tents on the edge of the large tent were barely visible in the darkness. The breath of men, the steam of tea-pots and kettles, which stood near the fire, and the smoke of the pipes, threw a thick veil over the weak light from the hearth.

The assistant of the shaman came with the drum. A place near the hearth was assigned to him. He sat down. The owner of the tent went to the shrine on the front wall of the tent and turned the ikons of the saints of the Greek-Catholic church with their faces towards the wall. The assistant of the shaman handed to the host the empty tobacco-pouch of the shaman. The owner of the tent filled it with tobacco and returned it to the shaman's assistant. The latter took a tobacco leaf out of the pouch and threw it into the fire as an offering to the Owner of the Hearth. Then he extracted from the bag the drum and began to dry it over the fire, in order to stretch its head, and try out the sound of the drum.

The shaman appeared and, without saying anything, sat down near the hearth. The assistant gave him his own place and handed him the tobacco-

¹ I have published the Yakut translation of the Kere'ke-polut' shamanistic performance in the Russian edition of Yukaghir texts, published by the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1900, p. 118.

² See W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Part I, p. 56, Fig. 20.

pouch. The shaman, with sombre mien, began to smoke. This lasted rather long. Having finished smoking, he took off the copper cross, which he was wearing on his breast, as a Christian, and passed it over to his assistant. The latter walked to the ikons which had been turned towards the wall, and suspended the cross under them. There also were hanging the crosses of girls and women who were having their menses. These women, while the shamanistic performance was going on, removed to the next tent. The shaman rose, and the assistant helped him to put on his coat, apron and hat. The shaman tied all the straps on his coat, apron and foot-wear like a man preparing for a long journey

The assistant handed to him the tuned drum. He sat down with his legs crossed on the reindeer skin, his face towards the entrance, and began to beat the drum, first slowly and quietly, then stronger and more rapidly. Then he began to conjure the spirits of animals by clever imitations of sounds. I shall reproduce here in as nearly phonetic spelling as possible these sounds in the order in which he made them, indicating the birds or animals, conjured by the sounds.

1. ga, ga, ga, ga imitation of diver (ca'lgen).
2. čok', čok', čok' " " snipe.
3. turrri, turrri, turrri " " another variety of snipe.
(in Yukaghir čirmi'die)
4. kurrr, kurrr, kurrr " " another kind of čirmi'die.
5. ku'ku, ku'ku, ku'ku " " cuckoo (kukuno'do).
6. pil', pil', pil' " " eagle (xa'nil').
7. ki'ñirik, ki'ñirik, ki'ñirik " " stork (u'dil').
8. ō - ō - ō - ō " " wolf (eu'reye-ru'kun).
9. gōō - gōō - gōō " " bear (xa'ičitege).

Then he again beat the drum more quietly and, turning towards the hearth, sang :

"Mala'ilekun waga'lek' waga'n-el met lu'kunburube kiyi'je, eji'tek'!"
 "Eight winds as winds having (of) my place owner, help!"

This is an address of the shaman to the Owner, Kiyi'je, of the given place. In free translation, this will read: that is, "Owner of my country, having eight corners of the world, help." Winds and the cardinal directions are synonymous in Yukaghir. Then he continued to sing:

"Ni'meleinil ule'gen can-kiyi'je, eji'tek'! Čo'wud-i'wa pucki'yin
 "(Of) decorated grasses (and) trees owner, help! Sea-mother seven
 čawa'lek awi'nei, ma'a'ilekun ye'rxelek' no'godegi'nei, toro'yene'lek'
 snow-mounds as covers having, eight ice-sheets (ices) as beds having, black foxes
 wa'gannei, na'ukle'lek' cogu'nei, no'rnik'lok' onni'enei, čo'wud-i'wā
 as collar having, arctic foxes as foam having, cub foxes as waves having, Sea-mother-
 kiyi'je eji'tek'! N-a'waye ayi' xa'ičie ya'lmije wara'dirnei eji'tek'
 Owner help! Light-Creator-grandfather, three bridles having, help,

čo'mboňolek', el-kuri'lioje-ru'kun . mar-ayi'yinām. N.a'waye ayi' xai'čie
 liberate, the invisible one offends. Light- Creator- grandfather;
 čo'mboňolek'! Xai'čie, la'čin-morū' tet mo'lil' gugu'je tuň elkuri'lioje-
 help! Grandfather, (of) Fire Owner, your inner warmth (from) that invisible-
 ru'kun mo'lil' pu'gu'jelek' eji'tek'!
 one (by your) warmth help!
 inner
 Met' ni'me po'mmir vo'icedogol' ču'ormorcidagane' wa'gineñ o'golk,
 Of my house around lower poles if tempest will be, firm stand,
 met' ni'medoi wa'gineñ o'golk, met' wo'lmañol wi'yepul co'mbiyiñnik!
 my fundamental firm stand, me a shaman having made help!
 tent-poles (spirits),
 Tuň e'lkurilioje-ru'kun! met o'rn-el mo'rik', met arū' mo'rik'. Tuň
 That invisible-one! my scream hear my words listen. This
 go'de, tuň ya'mjiye go'de po'nik! El kuri'lioje-ru'kun, tet lu'kun-burube'
 man this patient man leave! invisible, your place
 me-ni'em. N-awa'ye ayi' xai'čie ā'lguden yu'očigan čireca'gan!
 calls (you). Light- Creator- grandfather below loose let him drown
 (the evil spirit)!
 Ni'meleinil' u'e'gen cān kiyi'je, čo'mboňolax. N-a'waye ayi' xai'čie
 Decorated grasses (and) trees owner, help. Light- Creator- grandfather,
 met o'ndel mo'yorač, tuň elkuri'lioje-rukun tet n-a'waye aga'ralek'
 my incantation comes to an end, this invisible one (with) your light breath
 la'igudeñ cu'ceik! Ayi' xai'čiek tuň elkuri'lioje-ru'kun aga'regi
 back out throw! Creator grandfather this invisible one breath his
 lai'gudeñ cu'ceik, tuň go'de aga'regi čiče'gereik."
 back out lead, of this man breath lengthen."

This Yukaghir performance for the cure of a patient has the peculiarity, that the shaman does not descend to the Kingdom of Shadows, as is the case in the preceding performance. According to the beliefs of the Yukaghir the soul of the afflicted individual goes to the deceased relatives, or it is itself the victim of evil spirits from whose claws it must be freed.

The appeal of the shaman is directed to the good deities; to the different Owners (kiyi'je), and to the Light Creator, n-awa'ye ayi', who is a Yakut deity (in Yakut — uruñ-ayi'). Yakut influence is discernible in the address of the shaman to the Owner of the Earth, who has, according to the incantation, eight cardinal directions, which, in the Yakut incantations, usually correspond to the eight sides of the Yakut yurta, while the tent of the modern Tundra Yukaghir is circular, without sides, like that of the Tungus. But further in the text the reference is no longer to the posts of the Yakut yurta, but to the poles of the tent.

The poetic form of the shamanistic performance also reminds one of Yakut descriptions.

Finally, in this performance, as well as in the preceding one, the soul of the deceased shaman and the souls of ancestors in general are not mentioned, although on the coat there is a representation of the spirit of the ancestral shaman. Furthermore, in the beginning of the performance, the shaman

conjures the souls of animals, that is, his e'iji, but there is no further mention of them, as if they were called up by the shaman for show and not for assistance. For help against the "invisible" the shaman appeals to the good beings, the Light Creator, the Owner of the Earth, the Owner of the Grasses and Trees, and the Owner of the Ocean.

SHAMAN FORTUNE-TELLERS. Divination by means of the bones of dead shamans has been described before. Living shamans, with the assistance of their spirits, also warned against danger and foretold the future. At the present time, however, the Yukaghir shamans seldom foretell the future, and the inquirers also have come to be skeptical. Thus Ivan Tretyakov, whom I have mentioned before, was regarded as a good fortune-teller on the tundra. He went through a shamanistic performance for my benefit in order to foretell the outcome of my journey. Having conjured his spirits, that is, after repeated onomatopoetic screams, he stopped beating his drum and permitted one of the spirits to speak through him, as follows:

Tuñ	ani'je	čugo'gi	yu'o,	o'moč	tu'de	nu'moñin	ke'ltei.
(Of) this	leader	road his	(I) see,	happily	in his	house	he will arrive.

According to traditions the ancient Yukaghir first practised divination by means of the bones of the dead shaman, and then made the living shaman interpret the verdict of the bones. Thus the Yassachnaya Yukaghir claim to have known beforehand of the advent of the Russians.

I shall quote here in free translation the beginning of the Yukaghir text of the tradition about their meeting with the Russians.

"Once lived the Yukaghir, with stone axes, with bone arrows, with knives, made of elk ribs, and with driving sledges. When summer came, they would travel in canoes and on rafts. Thus they lived. Now winter came to an end, summer came. The Yukaghir made ready to travel down the river. They had made rafts and canoes. They had with them the bones of the dead shaman. They threw tallow into the fire and, swinging the bones over the fire, said:

"'Bones of our shaman, look at us, we are about to start travelling, tell us what awaits us: good or evil?' Having swung the bones, they put them on the ground near the fire. After a while they tried to lift them, but could not move them from the spot.

"'Well, what do the bones of our shaman foretell?' said the Yukaghir. Notwithstanding the warning they started out down the river. But their rafts were shattered on the way. They came out to the bank and put up their tents. When darkness fell, the old men prevailed on their shaman to go through a shamanistic performance. 'Try to see,' they told him, 'what precisely it is that the bones of our dead shaman foretell.'

"The shaman did their bidding and said: 'This is what the bones of our

shaman foretell. You will meet a new people, but use nothing sharp (that is, no weapons) against them. The people are numerous.' The old men asked the shaman: 'How soon shall we meet them?' — 'On the third day they will appear,' answered the shaman. The old men asked, 'What appearance have the new people?' — 'They have hair about the mouth, and in dark garments from head to foot these people are.'"

On the Yassachnaya river I recorded another similar tradition about a shamanistic divination, but in this case it was given to me by a Yukaghirized Tungus and referred to the prognostication by a Tungus shaman of the impending encounter between his people and the Russians and Yukaghir. Here is a free translation of the tradition:

"Our Tungus were warlike. No sooner would they meet a new or unknown people, then they would begin to fight. We had a great shaman. He knew beforehand everything that was going to happen. When he became old, he killed a fat reindeer, and invited to his place all the people. After the repast, he began to beat his drum, and said, 'Now, in three days I am going to die, but I shall tell you now what will happen with you after I am gone. Here I see it: you will meet new people, wonderful people. Their reindeer are also wonderful. Our reindeer have feet with two hoofs, while theirs have one semicircular hoof. On the neck and in the back they have long hair. They have no antlers and are terrible to look at. The people themselves have high noses, white eyes, and hairy faces. Over the shoulder, on a leather strap, they will carry long shining knives, and on the back a fiery iron bow. When you meet these people, do not fight them. There are too many of them, and you cannot get the better of them. Now I am looking and I can see how many people you will meet. One end of the crowd can be seen, the other cannot. Now I see a large house. Near it there are many people. All hold in their mouths little sticks with thick smoking ends. The smoke will be very thick. The smoke will taste very well. There will come from the house one man in garments as luminous as the sun, and he will put around your neck glistening amulets on a red ribbon. This man will take the place of a shaman for you. On their reindeer these people sit not as we do, but with their arms akimbo, nor do they sit on the withers, but in the middle of the back.

"Listen, for the last time I am speaking to you. Again I see new people. The same kind of people as we are, but talking a different language, a very difficult language. You have never seen them before; their hair is like yours, but they drive on dogs and sit astride wooden deer.¹ These people also do not molest, do not fight with them. With these people you will become as of one blood and you will use one language.'

¹ Yukaghir sledges.

"The shaman died, and after his death everthing happened as he had prophesied. We met the Yukaghir and came to live with them on the Yassachnaya River and now we talk their language. Then came the Russians and baptised us all."

THE PART PLAYED BY THE SHAMANS IN HUNTING. In addition to curing the sick, foretelling the future, and making offerings, the Yukaghir shaman also functions as an intermediary between the hunter and the deities who control the animals hunted. Thus the clansmen prevail upon the shaman to institute a shamanistic performance, so that he may travel to the Owners of the Mountains, of the Earth, the Rivers, Lakes, the Ocean, and to the Keepers of the separate species of animals, and beg them for a plentiful supply of animals during the hunt.

In ancient times these rituals were mainly performed as part of the summer games.¹ But similar rituals also took place at the opening of each hunting season. Unfortunately the modern Yukaghir remember but little of these rites. After a preliminary sacrifice the clan shaman and the old men asked the skull or bones of the dead shaman whither and how to travel. Then the shaman went through his performance, in the course of which his soul journeyed to the various Owners to ask for shadows or souls (a'ibi) of animals.

Even now these rituals have not completely disappeared. Thus the shaman Nelbosh from the Korkodon, described to me the shamanistic performance before a hunt in the following terms. The performance starts in the same way as does the ritual for the curing of the sick. Towards the middle of the performance the shaman falls down unconscious. His soul does not go to the Kingdom of Shadows but to one or another of the deities who control the game. For instance, he described to me a visit of his soul to the Owner of the Earth, as follows:

"The soul of the shaman, having approached the house of the Owner of the Earth, half-opens the door, but does not enter, fearing to insult the Owner of the Earth by its persistance. The shaman is herein supported by his guardian spirits." The shaman, that is, his soul, says through the open door:

"Lebie'n-po'gil'! tet uo'rpe me'tkele te'tin yu'oñam legu'teyeboñin."
 "Earth-Owner! your children me to you sent for some food for the future."

If the Owner of the Earth loves the shaman, he gives the soul of a reindeer doe, if he does not love (e'rietem) him, he gives the shadow of a bull.

"A'lma mi'ntem tabu'ngele; mi'ndelle ke'çitem."²
 "Shaman will take that (reindeer); having taken will bring (home)."

¹ See part I of this volume, p. 126.

² In my notes I find a record in Yukaghir not of the entire account by Nelbosh, but only of its most characteristic parts. I am rendering the account here in the same form.

That is, the shaman then comes to, rises to his feet, beats his drum and dances with joy. Then he sings to his spirit-protectors (e'iji), who helped him in his journey to the Owner of the Earth.

"Me'tul o'moč xonni'teñik, e'rčebon nogdi'yiñik, me'tkele kude'deñitem."
 "Me well lead, from evil protect, (else) me will kill (evil spirits)."

Then the shaman approaches the head hunter and hands him the soul of the reindeer. The hunter does not, of course, see the soul, for only shamans can see it. The shaman places it on the head of the hunter, and, tying it with an invisible bandage, says:

"Unu'ñek' n-uñ-etel, u'nuñ n-u'ñ-edeu'ne mi'langi xonk, tā
 "River will stand, river when will stand (there) on the right go, there
 bank of it

nu'ktemik'."

you will find (that is, the reindeer)."

The next day, in the morning, the head hunter will go to the river and there, on the right shore, a reindeer will come to meet him. He will shoot and kill it. If the Owner of the Earth gave a shadow of a doe the hunter will kill a doe, for this will be the same reindeer whose soul was brought by the shaman. Then throughout the entire hunting season the hunters will have luck in following the reindeer. If, on the other hand, the Owner of the Earth gave a bull, the hunter will only kill that bull, and there will be no more game. This happens when the Owner of the Earth does not like the shaman.

If the shaman, without asking the Owner of the Earth, himself takes the souls of animals, with the assistance of his spirits, then, if that shaman should come to the house of the Owner of the Earth, the latter will give him nothing. This fact was rendered by Nelbosh in the following sentence:

"E'rčed a'lma lebie'n-pogi'lñin xo'ntei, tabu'ngele e'rienunum
 " A bad shaman, to the Earth Owner if he comes, (then) him happens does not like
 e'le tad'i'nui oļu'nubodogo e'riem."
 not gives because steals (souls) does not like."
 (that is why he)

The Owner of the Earth punishes also in other ways the shaman who steals the souls of animals. He kills his child or some other of his relatives. At times he kills the thief himself. On the Yassachnaya river there lived a shaman, who stole the shadows of animals from the Owner of the Earth. In retaliation, the latter would kill the shaman's children. Only one of his daughters remained alive who, when she married, had no children.

My Yukaghir interpreter, Aleksei Dolganov, told me about his deceased uncle, Gerasym Dolganov, in whose family he had been brought up, that he had been on good terms with the Owner of the Forest, Yo'bin-po'gil'. When he needed fox furs for the Russian merchants, he would go to the forest with offerings in the form of tobacco for the Owner of the Forest

himself and toys for his children, and begged the Owner of the Forest to make his fox-hunt successful. He would also add that he did not ask for much, but for as much as the Owner of the Forest cared to give. The latter always complied with Dolganov's request. Suddenly, from the depth of the forest, fox skins began to fly through the air in the direction of Dolganov. The thrower of the skins remained invisible, while the skins disappeared at Gerasym's feet. These were the souls of the foxes whom the Owner of the Forest was presenting to Gerasym. And behold! When Gerasym would later visit his traps, he would find in them as many foxes as he had seen skins flying through the air. Thus Dolganov was in need of nothing. Tea, tobacco, and other imported articles were always plentiful in his home.

With the coming of the polar spring, that is when the frosts decrease and the days grow warmer, the Verchne-Kolymsk Yukaghir leave their winter habitations and in groups leave in different directions to follow the elk and the reindeer. Each group includes one good hunter, on whom the livelihood of the group depends. They make an arch of two trees and a cross-bar, tied with willow-branches. The entire arch is covered with offerings consisting of ermine, squirrels, and hare skins, many colored rags, ribbons, dyed reindeer and elk hair, and other decorations. Before starting on the journey, the elder of the clan or the shaman addresses to the Keeper of Wild Reindeer (Toľo'bo-Mo'ye) the following prayer:

"Tolo'bo-mo'ye, eči'e, yo'ulaik, čubo'je aik mi'tul el kude'deļek',
 "(Of) Wild reindeer father, have pity, heart give us not kill
 Keeper, (that is, courage)
 mit agu'rpel' yu'ok! Yo'logude mi'tul xo'do e'njemik' ta'bun
 (on)our suffering look! Before us as you have fed, this
 el-poni'lek'."
 do not stop."

Then all members of the clan, dressed in travelling clothes, with staffs, hunter's snow-shoes, and fully armed, pass under the arch. First walk the old men, then the hunters, then the women and children with the dogs and sledges, laden with tents and household utensils necessary in travel. Having passed under the arch, the separate groups walk off in various directions.

In ancient times, when elk were plentiful in the Verchne-Kolymsk district, a prayer was addressed to the Keeper of the Elk, Pi'ejen-Mo'ye. The elk used to be so plentiful, that wild reindeer were neglected. At present elk are very rare, and wild reindeer are the principal game hunted.

FIGHTS BETWEEN SHAMANS. Shamanism, as a profession, has its rivalries, and not infrequently shamans are hostile to one another, try to hurt one another or to cause death with the assistance of their spirits. At times the shamans fight for glory, as in a contest, in order to show off the power of their spirits. Among the Yukaghir we find numerous legends about fights

between shamans, mainly, however, between Yukaghir and alien shamans. Each tribe is proud of their shamans, at the same time cases occur in which the shamans of another tribe are appealed to for assistance. I have heard of several instances of Yukaghir appealing to Yakut and Tungus shamans and *vice versa*. This calls forth competition. The fight between shamans is called *n-eayi'nuñi*, that is, they shoot at one another, or *n-eleu'nunuñi*, that is, they eat one another. These are obviously metaphorical statements for that invisible war which the shamans wage against one another by means of their spirits.

I shall quote a few legends dealing with contests or fights between shamans.

1. There lived two Yukaghir shamans. The one said to the other, "Let us try and dig through the rock. We'll see who will dig through first." One had a male dog as a spirit, the other a female one. They sent their dogs to dig the rock. They were digging side by side. The he-dog dug to the middle but could not go any further. Then he entered the dugout passage of the she-dog, and came out after her. After this, the vanquished shaman proposed a flying-contest. They put on their coats and both flew off, having turned into storks. When they reached the ocean, they became men again. They entered a house standing on the beach. There they found a woman with two daughters; this was the wife of the Owner of the Ocean, Čo'bun-Po'gil'. The women received the shamans as guests and gave them food. When the time came to go to bed, the shaman who had the she-dog as spirit lay down with the girls under the edge of the tent cover, for such was the Yukaghir custom. The shaman who had the he-dog as spirit, lay down with the hostess. She told him, "You better go to sleep with the children, under the incline of the tent; I am married, my husband does not like that."

He, however, did not heed the warning, and remained with her. The following morning, when the other shaman woke up, he found his comrade dead; the Owner of the Ocean had killed him. But the shaman who escaped, also soon found his fate. After he had left the tent of the wife of the Owner of the Ocean, he met a headless man with one eye in the middle of the chest. His mouth was under the arm-pit. The shaman, having spent the night with the one-eyed man, arose when his host was still asleep. He took the iron boots of the one-eyed man and with them rose into the air. The one-eyed one awoke immediately and began to beg the flying shaman to return his boots, as without them he would have to die. But the flying shaman did not heed the appeal of the headless one. Then the latter lay down on his back and with a scream threw his glove into the air. The glove hit the flying shaman, tore off a piece of his coat, and returned to the headless one. He swallowed the piece of the coat. Then the flying shaman began to beg the headless one to return to him the piece of his coat, adding that he would

then return to him his boots. But the headless one replied, "It is too late now, it is long since we have done harm to each other." Then the flying shaman said, "Well, then you shall not move from this spot; you shall die right here." The headless one retorted, "And you shall go home flying, the expectant wife and children will meet you, they will be glad, but on the morrow you shall die, you shall not awake from your sleep."

The headless one was also a shaman called *čobu'de-e'imunde-a'lma*, which means, "Of-Ocean-from-the-other-side-Shaman," that is, the Shaman beyond the Ocean. The other shaman went home flying. His wife and his children were glad to see him, but he said to his wife, "Do not rejoice, I shall not live long." On the morrow, when the inmates of the house arose, he was dead.

2. A girl became ill. Her father called a Yukaghir shaman and a Lamut shaman to cure her and said, "To the one who cures my daughter, I shall give her as wife." The Yukaghir shaman was guarding his daughter against hostile shamans by keeping her soul under the ice of the sea. For that reason she was crazy. The Lamut shaman performed, but could not cure her. The Yukaghir shaman performed, and cured her. From that time on these two shamans became hostile to each other. They began to "shoot" at each other, but could not do any harm. Then the Yukaghir shaman said, "If while living I cannot kill the Lamut shaman, then I shall die and after death I shall kill him." The Yukaghir shaman died. Before expiring, he sent word to the Lamut shaman, that he would die after three years.

The Lamut shaman had five wives. Two of them were his own daughters. He kept each wife in a separate tent. One day he was in the tent of his youngest wife. She was cooking his meal, and while the kettle was getting ready, the shaman was lying on his back. At the same time, his elder wife, in her tent, was stretching the hide over his drum. When she was through tightening the hide and began to beat the drum, the hide tore. The elder wife came running to her husband, screaming, "Old man, your drum is torn." He shuddered, fell backwards, broke his back and died.

3. There lived an old Yukaghir called The-Old-One, with his son. Both, father and son were shamans. The son was married. No sooner would his wife bear a child, than it would die. Once his wife again gave birth to a child. The child died. Some time after this, the old shaman awoke during the night, looked at the bed of his son, and said to his wife, "Wife, why is our son absent during the night?" His wife answered, "What nonsense do you talk? Where should he go to? Is he not sleeping there?" The old man said, "During the night he is absent." — "Do you not see? There he is, asleep." The old man said, "He is absent during the night, his soul is absent during the night."

The old shaman went to sleep, and had the following dream.¹ He looked

¹ This means, that the soul of the shaman left his body.

for the trail of his son¹ and found it. He followed the trail, came to a large lake and saw his son lying on the shore and holding his bow. The old man said to his son, "My friend, what are you doing here?" The young shaman replied, "Do you not see my suffering, father? The soul of the Yakut shaman, who devours my children, swims about in the middle of the lake in the shape of a diver." The father said, "And you pretend to be a shaman, but cannot kill him!" Then the old man conjured the soul of the mammoth, sat down astride its back and told his son to sit down behind him. The old shaman made the soul of the mammoth swim across the lake. They reached the middle of the lake and saw that the diver was swimming on its back. The old man told his son, "Now shoot." The son shot at it and hit the bird. The old shaman said to his son, "Why could you not do so before? Now do not say that you are a shaman." The souls of both shamans returned home, and from that time on the children of the young shaman no longer died.

The souls of the two shamans set out to pursue the soul of the Yakut shaman, who, together with Yukaghir hunters, was hunting wild reindeer that were crossing the river. The hunters were lying on the bank, and the Yakut shaman was lying on his back. Suddenly he exclaimed, "I am dying!" The hunters began to paddle up the river, and the Yukaghir placed the canoe of the Yakut shaman, who had fallen ill, between their canoes. As they were paddling on, a large red dog descended the mountain, jumped into the water, reached the canoes, threw the Yakut shaman out of his canoe, and bit him. The Yukaghir in their canoes hurried to assist the Yakut shaman, but he was already dead, and all traces of the dog had disappeared.

SACRIFICES AND OFFERINGS. The Yukaghir, like the Koryak and Chukchee, offered to their supernatural beings bloody as well as non-bloody sacrifices. Under the influence of Christianity, bloody sacrifices have been almost completely abandoned. The non-bloody offerings are being made to this day. Both kinds of sacrifices were made to the benevolent beings as well as to the hostile spirits, whereas among the Yakut bloody offerings were made only to hostile spirits. Offerings were made to exculpate oneself, to give thanks for benefactions, to forestall evil, or to pray for good.

Bloody Sacrifices. Bloody sacrifices consisted of reindeer or dogs. Reindeer are to this day brought as offerings to the spirits of the Tundra and of the deceased by the Tundra Yukaghir. But in traditions and myths we only find references to the offerings of dogs, not of reindeer. Perhaps these traditions reflect the customs of a period when the Yukaghir had only dogs. Nor were human sacrifices foreign to the Yukaghir, sacrifices made to still the ire of deities over the infraction of a taboo. According to the tradition referred to before, a girl was hung to pacify the elk-spirit, for she had looked at the

¹ That is, he is looking for the trail of his son's soul.

head of dead elk.¹ Together with her were hung as offerings two dogs, one male and one female. In a tradition about a war between two Yukaghir clans, the hostile parties, having concluded peace, brought among other offerings two dogs to the sun, to appease his anger over the shedding of Yukaghir blood. Two girls who had been presented as a sign of reconciliation by each clan to the elder of the other performed the sacrifices. The girls were married to the elders. The dogs thus brought as offerings were decorated with earrings. This reminds one of the Koryak custom of sewing to the ear of a dog promised as a sacrifice a piece of bright-colored cloth.²

Dogs were sacrificed, as we saw before, to the deceased shaman.³ Each relative of the deceased would kill a dog and place it with his share of flesh scraped from the bones of the deceased shaman. For these sacrifices the best dogs were used.

In a legend about a shaman who foretold the advent of Lamut warriors, mention is also made of a dog sacrifice. The youths did not heed the prophecy of the shaman. They continued to amuse themselves, and did not prepare for the battle. Then the shaman killed a dog in offering, ripped open its belly and surrounded his tent with its entrails. This made it impregnable to the Lamut. All the other Yukaghir perished in the battle with the Lamut.

Dogs were also sacrificed to the Owner of the Earth.

Dog-offerings were also made to the evil spirits, ku'kul', to keep them away from the settlements.

Dogs sacrificed to the sun and other beneficent deities were hung with their faces turned towards the east, in the direction of the rising sun. The sun and the Memḍeye-ečie, "Flame-father" deity, live on the eastern side of the upper world. The dogs sacrificed to the Owner of the Earth, were turned to the south, for this deity resides there. Dogs sacrificed to evil spirits were buried in the ground, their heads turned westward towards the setting sun. There the over-ground evil spirits reside; there also is located the descent to the second section of the subterranean world, which lies under the Kingdom of Shadows.

Bloodless Sacrifices. Bloodless sacrifices consist of food products, ornaments and other objects. The antlers of killed reindeer are also regarded as offerings. Bloodless offerings are brought to the beneficent deities and the spirits of ancestors, as well as to the hostile spirits. A common offering to the ancestors and the beneficent beings is reindeer tallow, which is regarded as a particularly delicious food. It is burnt on the hearth. Tallow was burnt before the image (idol) with the skull of the shaman, and under the elevated graves of other deceased relatives.

Over the grave in which the Korkodon Yukaghir buried the dried flesh

¹ See p. 147 of this volume.

² W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 92.

³ See p. 164 of this volume.

of the shaman, antlers of killed reindeer were placed. Wooden images of a reindeer and a dog were suspended on poles as sacrifices over such graves. These images obviously symbolized real sacrifices.

A certain portion of every kind of food is thrown into the family hearth as an offering to the Owner of the Fire.

In the legend about two sisters who had wings which they put on whenever they wanted to fly, it is described how, before trying to fly, they would throw tallow into the fire and swing their wings over the smoke of the fire, in order to rise into the air.

Plate XI, Fig. 1 represents sacrifices to the spirit of the mountain path which separates the Alaseya from the Indigirka river. On the summit of the path all who pass over it, that is, Yukaghir, Chukchee, Tungus, Yakut as well as local Russians, leave some offering to the pi'en-po'gil', the Owner of the Mountain. Manycolorred rags may be found there, pieces of cloth, sinew thread, horse hair, reindeer fur, antlers, tobacco and even copper money. The majority of offerings, however, consist of materials of which ornaments are made.

Prayers. I have already reproduced an appeal to the wooden idol, dedicated to an ancestor.¹ Here I shall give some prayers and addresses to other supernatural beings. On the whole, all such prayers are very brief and simple.

When on one occasion on the Korkodon river I bought from the Tungus a reindeer to be killed for food, the Yukaghir, having speared it, took with a ladle a little blood from the open abdominal cavity, and one of the Yukaghir poured it out in the middle of the river, with the following words:

"U'nuñ-eme'i te'ndi te'tul' lepu'teme.
"River-mother this you (I) with blood treat.

On the Yassachnaya river I heard the following address to the river, in spring, during the breaking-up of the ice. A Yukaghir threw a handful of glass beads into the water, and said:

"O'jid-eme'i mi'tul' le'ktejbongečle keik'. Tet' pudí'en mi'tul' omo'n-
"Water-mother (to) us future food from give. You on top (on us well
the surface)

eu'reck. Tu'ben tet uo'rpe lo'dioñol mink'."
carry. This (for) your children as toys take."

Address to the Owner of the Fire. When food is thrown into the fire, that is, when the Owner of the Fire is fed, they usually say:

"Lo'čid-epi'e e'rčeboñodeune ye'degude pi'lbogodaik omo'čeñodeune
"Fire-grandmother evil (something) it will be in other direction lead good it will be
mi'gimie bik."
here turn."

¹ See p. 166.

Address to the Sun.

"Pu'gud-emei' tet' pu'gojele mi'tul' puge'lbik. E'n.jelbon tet' pu'gojele
 "Sun-mother, (with) your heat us warm. Life (with) your heat
 mi'tin keik, cai'gar-la'ndet kie'ce e'rcebbon ye'degude yo'nik'."
 to us give from some side (from that which evil in other direction guide."
 wherever it may be comes

When a Tundra Yukaghir kills a wild reindeer, he cuts off a piece of tallow with meat, cuts it into small pieces like tobacco and throws it into the fire made in the open tundra, as an offering to the Owner of the Place, with the words:

"Lu'kunburube Kiyi'je le'udek'."
 "(Of) Place Owner, eat."

I have referred before to the fact that dogs were sacrificed to the sun. Bloodless offerings were also made to him. In the story mentioned before about the reconciliation of two warring clans, there were hung as sacrifices to the sun, in addition to the dogs, the fur of a red fox and three arrows painted red, the emblem of the sun. According to the text of the story, the sun was at the same time addressed in the following words:

"Pu'gu el yogu'mulek', mit n.e'pugoreili, e'jul-kičilñin n.e'ñin
 "Sun do not be angry, we have made peace until of life end against one
 among ourselves, another
 iče'yebon e'le ātei'li."
 something sharp not shall we do."
 (that is, weapon)

Shamanistic Prayers addressed to the River, Earth, Sky, and the Spirit of Smallpox.

1. "U'nud-emei' tet mo'li pu'gojeni, a'ndamuga ku'nejinit el ē'urečlek'.
 "River-mother, is it possible will not warm, the lips pasted being not let us go.
 (that) you (us) (that is, with dry lips)
- Pu'gomuk', n.a'nbumuk', yo'uleik', pu'gomuk'!
 Heat give, warm up, have pity, heat give!
2. A'lukon nu'ñn.el lebie'd-eme'i! Pu'gomuk' yo'uleik'.
 Below living Earth-mother! Heat give have pity.
 3. Ku'jud-ečie', pu'gomuk', n.a'nbumuk' tet uo'rpe nu'mdugik'
 Sky-father, heat give, warm up, on your children have pity,
 pu'gomuk' n.a'n.bumuk'.
 heat give, warm up.
 A'ñlu-lebie'-la'ndet nu'makiedeil eme'i! Tet uo'rpe nu'mdugik',
 Out from the Russian country here settled mother! (For) your children have pity,
 pu'gomuk', n.a'n.bumuk'.
 heat give, warm up.
 Tu'ngunie el e'yedetlek': el o'uye i'rkeyek yu'on.el-ki'čil
 Ears do not straighten: not a real shaman of evening at end
 me'dunil'."
 was heard" (by you) (that is, gave shamanistic performance).

Some comments must be made about this address. I have said before that the evil spirits who have come with the Russians and who cause infectious diseases, are known under the general name yo'ibe. Here smallpox is simply called "mother, who has come from the Russian country," and the shaman addresses her, not as a hostile spirit, but as a beneficent deity similar to the River, Sky, Earth, hoping in this manner to placate the evil spirit against whom the shamanistic protectors are powerless. The end of the prayer indicates that the shaman in his address deprecates his own power. He wishes to convince the spirit of smallpox that he is a negligible quantity, not worthy of the attention of a great being. It is, indeed not customary, in general, that a shaman should boast of his power. The more powerful he is, the more moderate are his claims when speaking of his shamanistic prowess. Usually the shaman permits himself to be entreated before he consents to perform, justifying his hesitancy by lack of assurance in his success and belittling his power and control over the spirits. With reference to the latter the shaman's attitude approaches selfdebasement. Through such indirect flattery he hopes to win the favor of his spirits and not to provoke against himself their jealousy and displeasure.

At the present time, the Yukaghir also address improvised prayers to the Christian God and saints. I give here as an example a prayer addressed to the Virgin Mary by the Yukaghir who were travelling with me down the rapids of the upper waters of the Kolyma.

"Tiñ o'yilga xonnū'lñin mī'tin s'lobot-le keik, mī'tul eji'tek, bogoro'diče,¹
 "These rapids in order to pass us strength give us save, virgin,
 mī'tul' xonni'teik'."
 us lead through."

In ascending a steep mountain on snow-shoes, the ancient Yukaghir used to say:

"Pien-po'gil' mī'tul orpu'caik."
 "Mountain-Owner us lift up."

Now the Virgin, Christ or the Xoil' are addressed in a similar way. Sometimes the Yukaghir in their prayers to God use instead of the Yukaghir Xoil' the Yakut word Ayi'-toyo'n or Ayi'-toyo'n-xoil', that is, Creator-Master-God.

¹ Russian word bogoroditza.

IX. — RELIGION. BIRTH, DEATH AND BURIAL.

BIRTH. In the first part of this volume, in the section dealing with family life, I have spoken of the restrictions customary during pregnancy and at child-birth.¹ I also referred to those restrictions which are connected with magic, and hence really belong to the domain of religion. I shall not repeat those statements here, but I want to note the fact that Mr. Sokolnikov, former chief of the Anadyr district, in his recently published article on sickness and birth of man in the Markova settlement on the Anadyr, relates almost the identical facts with reference to the inhabitants of that settlement which I described with reference to the Kolyma Yukaghir. But the inhabitants of Markova consist mainly of Russianized Yukaghir and of the cognate Chuvantsy. From this it may be gathered that the customs referring to pregnancy and birth which I have described are identical among all Yukaghir. Sokolnikov, among other things, states that when a birth is impending, not only are all strings untied on the garments and foot-wear of the lying-in woman and of others who are present at the birth, but that in the house of the woman all sacks and bags are untied and all drawers and trunks opened. The same is done by the Kolyma Yukaghir. I may also add that wherever the Yukaghir live in log-cabins, in place of the old tents, the chimney over the fire-place must be left open. All this must, through the working of the principle of analogy, further an easy egress of the child. In case of hard labor, the relatives of the lying-in woman fire guns in the street, so as to induce the child to appear as quickly as a bullet leaving the gun-barrel.

To the same category of magical effects belongs a custom found among the Russianized natives on the Anadyr and Kolyma rivers. If there is a church in the vicinity, the priest is asked to open the royal doors as soon as the first pangs of child-birth are felt.

The customs that cluster about the birth of children have been described in the first part of this volume. I shall add here only what has been omitted there or incompletely described.

The placenta, after its egress, is wrapped into reindeer hide, tied with a leather strap, and to the knot are attached a toy bow, an arrow, a wooden knife, and bits of fox and other kinds of fur. If the child is a boy, all this contributes to his becoming a successful hunter. If the child is a girl, a toy

¹ See Part I, pp. 96-100.

woman's knife is tied to the knot, also a thimble and a needle, in order to make the girl a handy worker.

DEATH. Death takes place when a *ku'kul* (of the Kolyma Yukaghir) or *ko'rel* (of the Tundra Yukaghir) enters the body and destroys the inner organs. Then the head-soul (*a'ibi*) is scared away and escapes to the Land of Shadows. It is not known what happens to the other two souls. According to the belief of the Yakut two souls of the *kut*, or, as Troschansky explains it, two material elements of this soul, namely, the *buo'r-kut* and the *ije'-kut* are eaten by evil spirits of the categories *abasi'* or *yör*.

Death occurs also as a result of a long absence of the *a'ibi*. Beneficent deities, such as the Sun, the Owners of the Earth and other Owners, may also kill man in order to punish him for transgressions of taboos or of ethical rules.

As to many other primitive tribes, the idea of death as a natural phenomenon is unknown to the Yukaghir. Such a conception might be explained by the fact that the Yukaghir were a warlike people and most of them died a violent death. On the other hand there are also old people who, with advancing age, grow feeble and finally expire. These experiences introduce a certain contradictory element into the Yukaghir conception of death. My questions concerning this subject puzzled my informants. Though they realized that all men die in the end, they nevertheless associated the fact of death with unnatural or incidental causes. Especially persistent is the belief in the vitality of the heart, a belief which we constantly meet in their tales. There is a firm conviction that in order to kill a man it is necessary to injure his heart. They do not identify this vitality of the heart with the heart-*a'ibi*; as though, in addition to the animistic soul (*a'ibi*) there were an animatistic vitality of the heart itself. The ideas of the Yukaghir on this subject are not wholly clear. We mentioned before a legend concerning a shaman who went flying with birds and died when he returned because in his absence his wife had injured his stomach which he had taken out and left at home before his flight.

ANCIENT BURIAL CUSTOMS. We have described before how the Yukaghir disposed of their deceased shamans. The flesh was cut from the bones, dried in the sun and distributed together with the bones, among the relatives of the shaman. The flesh and bones were regarded as family guardians. They were adored and used as a means for divination. They were given bloody and bloodless offerings. The skull of the deceased shaman, placed on a wooden manikin was adored like a god. Although the soul of the shaman left his body at his death, nevertheless a certain supernatural power continued to abide in the material remains. There is no clear conception of that power, but the same may be said with regard to the relics of saints in the religions of civilized nations.

Among the Tlingit and other Indians of the Northwest Coast of America the dead were disposed of in a different manner. The common people were cremated; the bodies of deceased shamans were placed on elevated platforms. The reverse custom prevailed among the Yukaghir. The bodies of common people were placed on platforms.¹

The custom of placing bodies on elevated platforms is so widespread in America, in Asia and on other continents that its origin can hardly be found in the same cause everywhere. The Yukaghir had two reasons for the disposal of bodies on platforms. Their love and attachment to their relatives is highly developed and they wished to protect their dear dead against carnivorous wild animals. On the other hand climatic conditions make grave-digging difficult on account of the long winters and the permanently frozen subsoil.

The tribes related to the Yukaghir, — the Kamchadal, Chukchee and Koryak — did not place their dead on platforms. The Kamchadal threw out their dead in order that dogs might eat them. The Chukchee leave them in the open to become the prey of wild beasts or they cremate them. The Koryak use only cremation. Only one division of the Koryak, the so-called Kerek do not cremate their dead, as they live in a woodless country on the seashore. They throw the dead into the sea.

The Yakut and Tungus tribes which came to the Yukaghir territory from the south also used to place their dead on platforms. But the Yakut used to bury the rich or notable people in the ground, burying alive with them their horses and slaves. The Tungus did not use a separate kind of burial for shamans. They put all the dead on elevated platforms, the only distinctive feature of a shaman's burial being the care bestowed upon the manufacture and ornamentation of the coffin and platform. The Yukaghir elevated tomb was called *ku'rul* in the Kolyma dialect and *la'lviral* in the Tundra dialect. By this name they also call any storehouse built on high posts in which food is stored. The purpose of both was protection against dogs and wild beasts, and both are called by the same name, *ku'rul*. They are built on four or two posts. The former type is called *ye'lokun-no'ineye-ku'rul*, i. e. fourlegged *ku'rul*, the latter *a'taxun-no'ineye-* or *kosti'lneye ku'rul*, i. e. two legged or crutched *ku'rul*. Most *ku'rul* are supported by four posts. The coffin consists of a dug-out tree or a wooden box. It is called by the Kolyma Yukaghir *ca'd-a'but*, i. e. wooden case, and by the Tundra Yukaghir *ni'maye*, i. e. little house.

The modern Christian grave in the ground is not called *ku'rul* but *coro'mod-a'mun*, i. e. human bones.

The ancient Yukaghir after every hunt made a fire under the elevated graves and put into it the fat of the game as an offering to the dead. The

¹ I wish to point out here a disturbing erratum in Part I of this work p. 19, line 16, where *subterranean* is printed instead of *superterranean*. Before the Christian period the Yukaghir did not know underground burials.

platforms with coffins stood not far from the dwellings and, according to old men, in some places they were so numerous that the elevated graves seemed to be large villages on piles. At present it is difficult to find an elevated grave, especially near settlements. They are encountered only far away from habitations and thoroughfares. Wherever possible the ignorant representatives of the Greek Catholic clergy and officials destroyed the remnants of "pagan" graves, and thus deprived anthropological science of valuable monuments of prehistoric culture. The Yukaghir of the upper Kolyma have preserved a story of a fanatic monk who systematically destroyed the elevated graves.

The photographs of elevated platform graves on Plates XI–XIV were taken by myself. I found them in the years 1895–1897 in the course of the Yakut Expedition of the Russian Geographical Society, which was financed by I. M. Sibiriakov. These hanging coffins include Yukaghir, Tungus and Yakut graves. The skulls and skeletons found in them were deposited in the Anthropological Institute of the University of Moscow. All the elevated graves, illustrations of which are given here, were found by me according to information received from the natives themselves, far from the usual routes of travel.

Plate XI, Fig. 2 shows a two legged ku'rul on which a dead Yukaghir child was placed. It was found about 10 verst from Verchne-Kolymsk. The coffin consisted of a larch beam split into two halves, which were dug out like troughs. The pointed upper ends of two posts were passed through two holes made in both ends of the coffin. In the same holes wooden wedges were driven from above, in order to keep together the two parts of the coffin, and to fasten it to the posts. Furthermore the coffin was secured by means of willow hoops. When I found the grave, the dry hoops had dropped off, and the coffin was half decayed, so that some bones of the skeleton had fallen out or had been carried away by birds. The height of the posts was 180 cm. and the length of the coffin 150 cm.

I found another two-legged (a'taxun-no'ineye) ku'rul on the bank of the Kolyma river between the mouths of the Yassachnaya and Korkodon Rivers. Two standing larch trees, their tops hewn off, were used as posts. Their height was 5 meters. On them had been build a platform of boards on which stood a wooden case containing a dug-out canoe with the corpse. The canoe belonged to the deceased. His name was Shilga and I was told the following story of his death.

Shilga had an elder brother who was a shaman, named Shitana. Both brothers were married. Once Shitana said to his younger brother, "Friend, you are going to die. A bear will eat you. Take care of it, on the third day from now do not leave the house, otherwise a bear will eat you." — "My friend," answered the younger brother, "how will the bear eat me? Don't speak to me of such a thing. I am afraid." — "Don't leave the house, don't go anywhere," repeated the elder brother. "The day after to-morrow he will eat you. Take care of yourself." On the third day, in the morning, before leaving for the hunt the elder brother again said to the younger one: "Don't go out to-day. Stay at home! Women," he

added, addressing his wife and sister-in-law, "look after him, don't send him anywhere, else he will die. I know it. I see it."

Shitana left for the hunt. After he had left Shilga said to his sister-in-law: "I shall go to our storehouse. I want to eat dried meat." — "Friend, don't go," answered his sister-in-law, "your elder brother told you not to leave the house else you will die." Shilga paid no attention to these words. He went out. He reached the storehouse,¹ took some dried meat and went back with it. On the way home a bear chased him, overtook and killed him.

The women waited for him, but he did not come. They waited until evening, — he did not come. Then his sister-in-law went out to look and saw Shilga's dog sitting outside the door. She cried out to her companion: "My friend, your husband's dog is sitting there!" Shilga's wife went out. She smelled of the dog and said, "It smells of a wolverene." Her companion took the dog, smelled of it and said, "No, my friend, it smells of a bear. For whom are we waiting? We are waiting for a dead man. Our friend is dead, it is of no use to wait for him." In the evening Shitana returned from the hunt and asked the women, "Well, where is my younger brother?" — "He went to the storehouse," answered the women: "we told him not to go, but he did not listen, he went." — "I told him before," said Shitana, "not to go anywhere. Now he is dead." The following morning people went out to look for Shilga and found him dead. Then Shitana went to look for the bear; he met it, struck it with his spear and threw it up over his head. Before the bear had fallen to the ground, Shitana caught it again with his spear and threw it down close to his brother's body. Then Shitana struck with the spear-shaft the hands of his dead brother and said: "For what use did you live as a man on earth? Why were your arm muscles not fit? Why could you not kill the bear as I did?"

According to the story this happened on the banks of the Omolon River. Both brothers were Korkodon Yukaghir and lived on the Omolon with their parents-in-law. Their father, hearing of the death of his beloved younger son, went to the Omolon, took the body and carried it by dog-team to his village. On the bank of the Kolyma not far from the mouth of the Korkodon the father put up the two-legged platform on trees and there placed his son's canoe with the corpse in a wooden box. The old man came often to the elevated grave of his son, made a fire under it and put into it offerings to the deceased.

I found the coffin on the ground, broken to pieces and the bones of the skeleton scattered about. The Yukaghir told me that a Tungus wishing to take the belongings of the deceased had thrown down the coffin. According to the story the father of the young man had laid in the coffin a wonderful bow in an ornamented case. He had put on his son a silver belt and all his clothing had been decorated with embroidery and metal pendants.

Plate XI, Fig. 3 shows an overground grave found by me in April 1896 on the bank of the Great Anui, 60 verst from Nishne-Kolymsk. The photograph shows the grave after the upper part of the coffin had been removed. Partially preserved clothing made of elk hide covered the skeleton. The head-covering and leather mask on the face were decayed. On the left side of the skeleton lay a half rusted long iron war-knife, which indicated that the

¹ The Yukaghir storehouses are often far from the dwellings. When the men hunt far from home they build a storehouse on high posts and put there the venison, to be taken home when needed.

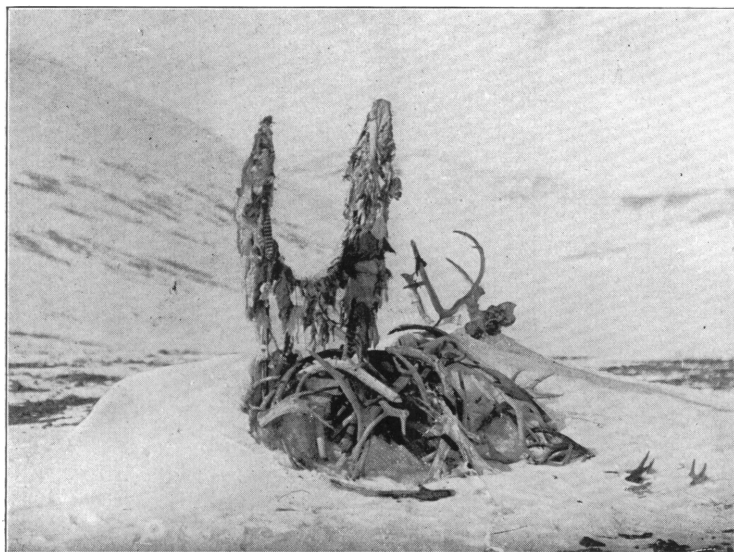


Fig. 1. OFFERINGS TO THE SPIRIT OF THE MOUNTAIN.



Fig. 2. ELEVATED GRAVE OF A CHILD.



Fig. 3. YUKAGHIR OVERGROUND GRAVE.

burial had taken place after the advent of the Yakut, or perhaps even of the Russians, on the Kolyma river. All the other objects such as bow, arrows, quiver, were decayed. Their wooden parts were rotten and the arrowheads of stone and bone had fallen out of their sockets. The grave box was made of larch logs split by means of wooden wedges. The box rested on beams supported by four posts, raised about a meter above ground. The sides of the grave-box rested on supports. The kurul was covered with snow and had to be dug out. Without native guides I should not have been able to find it. The corpse lay on its back, the head to the west. Its face was turned to the east. The length of the grave-box outside was 178 cm., inside, 160 cm. and the length of the corpse without the head covering and boots, was about 157 cm. Judging from the weapons found, it must have been the body of a man.

I discovered another type of elevated grave on the tundra in the region between the Kolyma and Alaseya Rivers, where the Tundra Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus wander about. It was situated about 70 verst west from the Yakut settlement Senkel. The grave consisted of two boxes, an outer and inner one. The corpse lay in the inner box, which was dug out of a split larch tree. The top and bottom of the box were held together by willow hoops. The outer box consisted of a small log house placed on horizontal beams. These were supported by two standing larch trees the tops of which had been cut off. On both sides of each tree were erected posts which passed through holes in the beams and supported the sides of the outer box. The upper ends of the posts were connected by two more beams which kept in place the log covering of the outer box. The height of the grave box over the ground was 280 cm., the length of the outer box 300 cm. A half decayed bow and broken arrows were in the outer box, to the left. To the right was a rusty spear with a broken shaft. The skeleton lay in the inner box. The dried and shrivelled face was covered with a leather mask. The inner box was so narrow that the corpse had to be squeezed in. According to my guides this was done in order to hamper the movements of the deceased. For the same reason his feet were put into an iron kettle and the sleeves of his coat were tied so that he could not make use of his hands. Since the Kolyma Yukaghir have no fear of the dead, it must be supposed that the Tundra Yukaghir adopted these preventive measures from the Tungus. The Yakut do the same with their deceased.

The deceased was not of great stature. The corpse measured 148 cm. On his chest lay a wooden tobacco pipe and a spoon made of reindeer antler. The corpse lay with the head to the west and the face turned to the east, the direction of the rising sun.

In the summer of 1896 I started from Nishne-Kolymsk in a boat and went up the Kolyma. In the settlement Brussenino, 200 verst north of Sredne-

Kolymsk where I halted for the night, I was told of an ancient grave box not far from the village. It rested on the trunks of four larch trees, the tops of which had been hewn off. The height of the trunks from the ground was only 62 cm. The grave consisted of a single box, supported on the sides by poles driven into the ground. The contents of the grave box were decayed. There remained only the skeleton, an ivory comb on the chest, and fragments of leather boots which fell to pieces when touched. I did not photograph this grave on account of the heavy rain. Judging by the form of the skull and the absence of any traces of weapons the body must have been that of a woman. The length of the grave-box was 220 cm. and that of the skeleton 150 cm. As in the other elevated graves the head lay to the west.

Plate XII, Fig. 1 represents an elevated grave which I found on the Kolyma tundra. The grave-box was made of boards sewn together with willows. It had formerly rested on a platform supported by four posts. After two of these had fallen, the grave box had tumbled down. It is possible that soon after the burial a bear threw down the grave to eat the corpse. In the broken grave box I found only a few bones.

Attention may be called to the wooden figure of a bird, evidently of a diver which is often met on the graves of Tungus shamans.

Plate XII, Fig. 2 represents a most primitive Yukaghir elevated grave, which I found on the banks of the Omolon. The deceased lay in the middle of a heap of logs that were supported by small posts and beams. Judging by the post still standing the height of the grave from the ground must have been about a meter. One of the posts decayed and the grave fell down. The logs were cut with iron axes, but farther up in the valley of the Omolon, in the forest, the Yukaghir had shown me two more graves of such a primitive kind, the logs of which were hewn with stone axes. This indicates that they belong to the pre-Russian and pre-Yakut period.

The East Siberian larch (*Larix dahurica Turcz.*) of which all the elevated graves were made has very hard wood. I have seen on the Kolyma log houses built by Russian settlers a hundred or more years before, and the larch logs of these houses not only have been perfectly preserved, but, hardened by the winds and covered with smoke they have become moisture-proof.

Plate XIII, Fig. 1, represents an elevated grave found on the Kolyma Tundra, not far from the Alaseya River. It consisted of a single box made of logs and supported by two larch tree trunks, four additional posts and horizontal beams. The clothing of the skeleton was completely decayed. It appeared from the remains of weapons and implements that it was the grave of a man. The height of the grave-box from the ground was about two meters.

Plate XIII, Fig. 2, represents a Yakut elevated grave. I found it on the Tundra not far from the Yana river. Such graves are placed directly

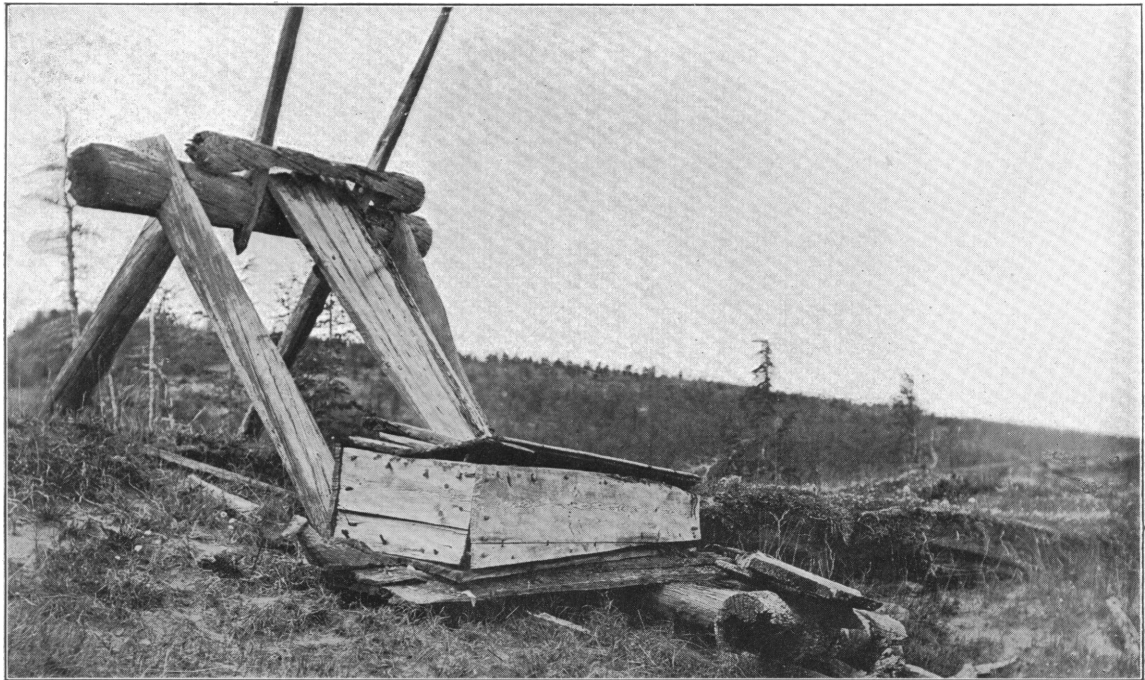


Fig. 1. A TUNDRA YUKAGHIR ELEVATED GRAVE.



Fig. 2. ANCIENT YUKAGHIR ELEVATED GRAVE ON THE OMOLON RIVER.

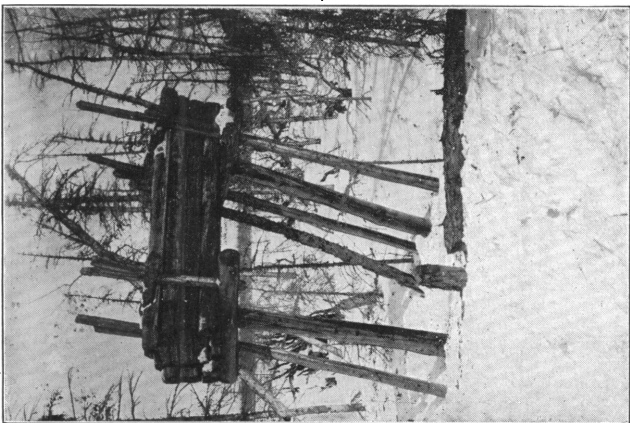


Fig. 1. ELEVATED GRAVE ON THE KOLYMA TUNDRA.

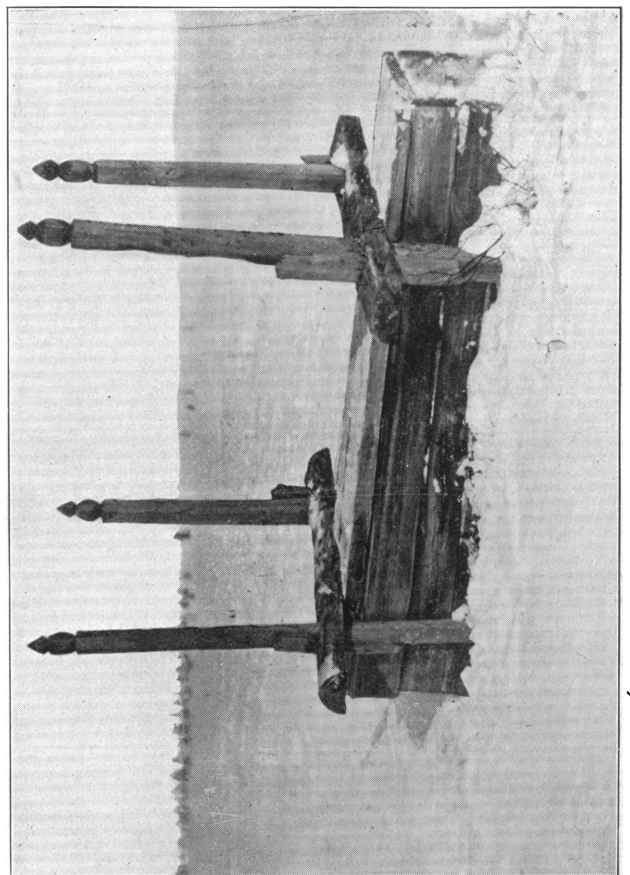


Fig. 2. YAKUT ELEVATED GRAVE.

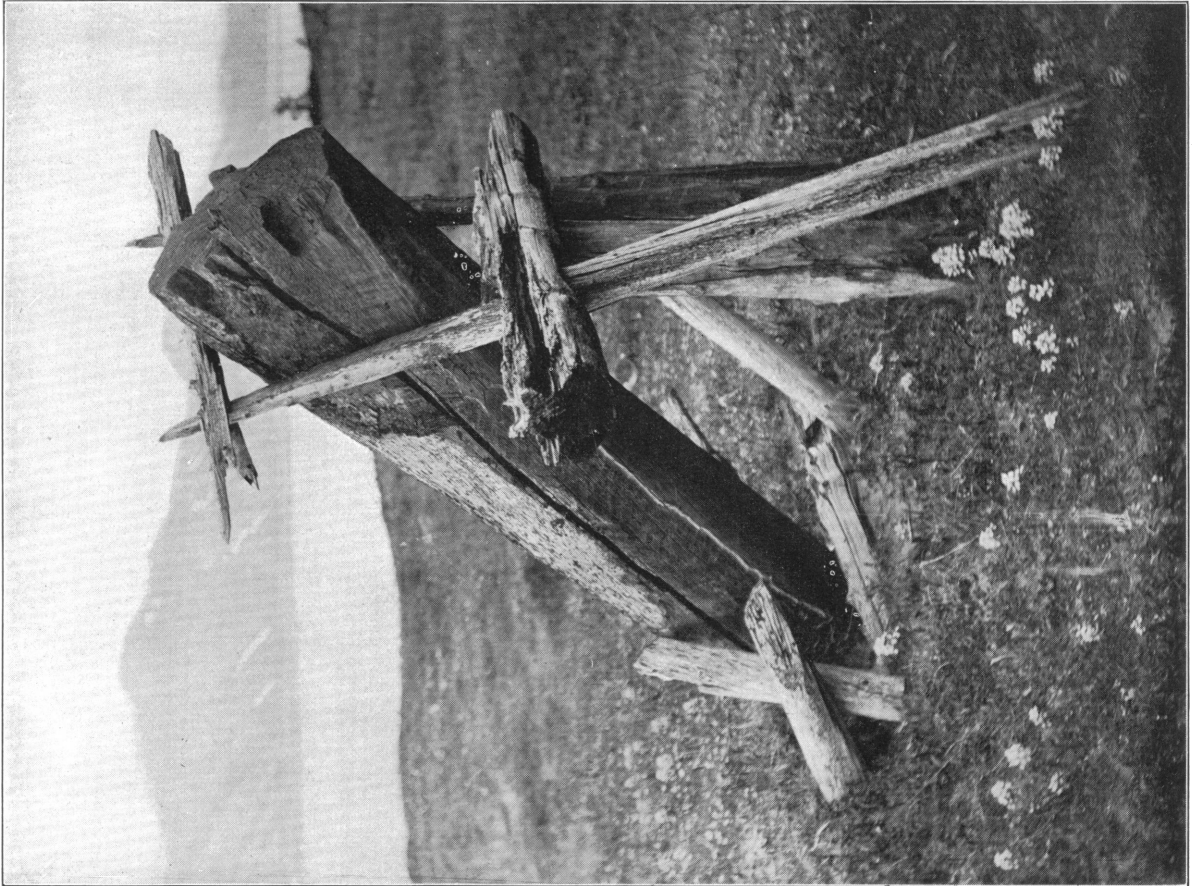


Fig. 3. TUNGUS ELEVATED GRAVE ON THE LENA.

on the ground and not on posts. I have seen several of them, but opened only one, as I was driving with dog sledges and could not carry much freight. This elevated tomb consisted of a double coffin. The deceased lay in the inner grave-box. The outer box was much larger than the inner one and the space between them was filled up with earth. Judging by the objects found in the inner grave-box the deceased was a woman. We found parts of brass earrings and bracelets of fused brass and silver, the work of Yakut smiths. Although the grave was found to be well preserved, it belonged to the prechristian period. The christianization of the Yakut began in 1714 but in the northern parts of the province Yakutsk there were unbaptized Yakut as late as seventy or eighty years ago.

Plate XIII, Fig. 3 and Plate XIV, Fig. 1, represent Tungus elevated graves, found on the right bank of the lower part of the Lena, not far from the settlement of Kumakhsur. In winter two Tungus clans, the Kupski and Eshansky, wander with their reindeer in this region. In summer they leave their reindeer in the mountains in charge of herdsmen and go to the river to fish. These Tungus are at present quite Yakutized. They speak the Yakut language and have almost forgotten their native tongue. They have also intermixed with the Yakut. Like the Yakut they are now christianized, and bury their dead in the ground. The graves here illustrated belong to the prechristian period. They were found half a mile apart.

The elevated grave Plate XIII, Fig. 3 consisted of the trunk of a larch tree split in two and hollowed out. The posts supporting the grave had decayed and the grave-box had fallen to the ground. The height of the grave over the ground was 118 cm. its length 240 cm. Willow hoops which kept the coffin together had dried up and fallen off. It was the grave of a common man. Inside were only fragments of a broken bow, spear and hunting knife. The clothing made of reindeer skins had rotted. Only fragments of skin clothing remained on some bones. The ornamental embroidery made of sinew threads on the leather coat and on the apron was also preserved.

Not far from the elevated grave last mentioned I found another one, a little smaller in size, consisting also of a single grave-box. The clothing on the skeleton was completely decayed, but it appeared from the remains of ornaments that it was the grave of a woman. Under the jawbone there lay a brass necklace covered with verdigris, on the skull were the remains of a silver circlet — a common ornament of the Yakut woman's fur cap — and in different parts of the grave were scattered white and blue beads. The height of the grave-box from the ground was 120 cm., the length 230 cm., and the length of the skeleton was 162 cm. It was evidently a woman of comparatively high stature. As in the grave-boxes previously mentioned, the face and feet of the body were turned to the east.

The Tungus elevated grave-box Plate XIV, Fig. 1 was placed on cross

logs lying on the ground. The grave consisted of two boxes. The inner box was made of a tree trunk; the outer one of boards was like that described before.¹ The wood was worked with an iron ax, but metallic nails were nowhere to be found. The outer grave-box was supported by posts carrying horizontal beams. Wooden figures of birds placed on the posts of the grave indicated that it contained the body of a shaman. My Tungus guide told me that it contained the body of a shaman who had died about one hundred years ago (1796). The birds represent divers, the most common guardian spirits of shamans among the Yakut, as well as among the northern Tungus. The heads of the birds placed over the head of the deceased are turned towards sunset; those placed at the foot end have their heads turned towards sunrise. As in Yukaghir graves previously mentioned, the deceased lay on his back, the face turned to the east. The body was placed in the inner box. Only the skeleton remained. Fragments of the skin dress stuck to the bones, and metallic pendants and other ornaments of the shaman's coat were also found. Close to the bones of the feet were an iron pot, an axe and a spoon. In the center were pieces of a drum, at the side a knife, on the breast a brass smoking pipe, and ornamental beads. There were also bones of a nelma fish (*Coregonus leucichtys*) and the paws of a fox. The meaning of the last named objects is not known. It may be suggested that the nelma bones are the remains of food placed in the grave for the dead, and the fox's paws may have been his amulets. Bow, arrows, spear-shaft and spear head, all broken, lay at the left side of the skeleton. All the iron objects were rusted. In the grave-box were also found pieces of a broken wooden bowl.

On a pole not far from the grave was a wooden shaman's bird, with head turned to the east. The purpose of this bird was to show the shaman's soul the road to the sky. The bird is shown in Plate XIV, Fig. 2.

The skeleton of this grave as well as the objects found there were deposited in the Anthropological Institute of the University of Moscow. When I opened the grave and took its contents a strong wind was blowing which continued for several days. The Tungus explained it as an expression of displeasure on the part of the shaman's spirit.

At present the Yukaghir, Tungus and Yakut are Christians and, according to the orders of the Orthodox clergy bury their dead in the ground. These tribes, partly owing to the suggestion of Russian officials, partly because they do not wish the wild beasts to get the corpses, dig graves five to seven feet deep. In the polar regions this is a heavy task even in summer, for the frozen soil never thaws to a depth greater than two or three feet. Therefore all the inhabitants of the village or all the members of the clan to which the

¹ See page 226, Plate XII, Fig. 1.



Fig. 1. ELEVATED GRAVE OF A TUNGUS SHAMAN.



Fig. 2. FIGURE OF BIRD FOUND NEAR A TUNGUS SHAMAN'S GRAVE.



Fig. 1. MODERN YAKUT GRAVEYARD AT OLBUT.



Fig. 2. MODERN YAKUT CEMETERY.

The Yukaghir.



Fig. 1. MODERN YUKAGHIR GRAVE ON THE KORKODON RIVER.

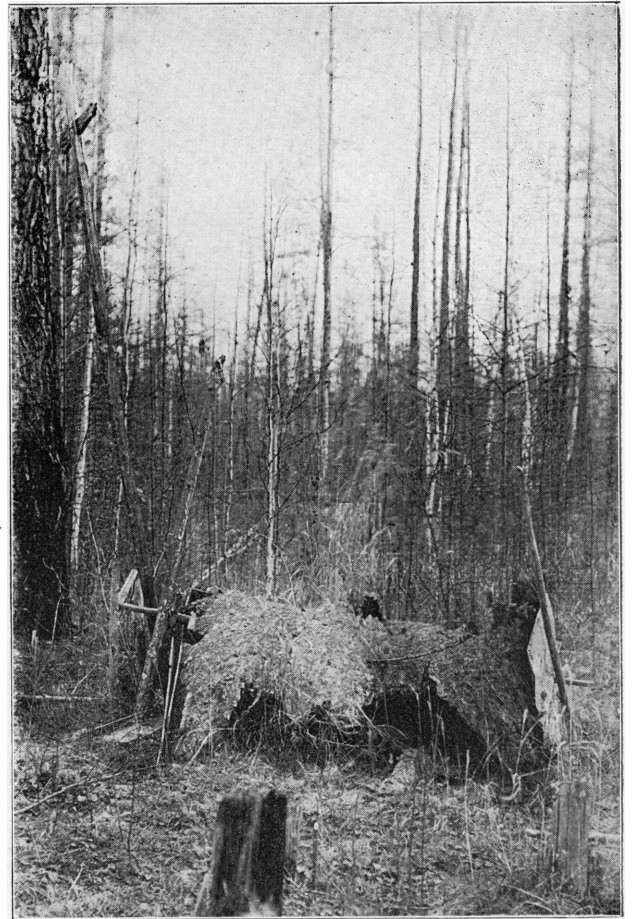


Fig. 2. YUKAGHIR GRAVE ON THE YASSACHNAYA RIVER.



Fig. 3. FUNERAL OF A YUKAGHIR WOMAN ON THE TUNDRA.

deceased belonged come to help dig the grave. They burn piles of wood to thaw out the frozen subsoil, one layer after another. During the winter the digging of a grave requires two or more days. Thus it is comprehensible why, before the advent of the Russians, the indigenous tribes of the country did not practise underground burials. This does not refer to the Yakut who are newcomers in the polar region.

Imitating the Russian settlers, the Yukaghir as well as the Yakut have at present their own cemeteries, i. e. the inhabitants of a certain district bury their dead in one place.

Plate XV, Fig. 1 shows a modern Yakut grave-yard in the settlement Olbut in the Kolyma district. Over the graves are wooden dome-like monuments in imitation of the cupolas of Orthodox churches.

Plate XV, Fig. 2 represents another Yakut cemetery. Over the graves are square log structures, like small storehouses, covered with sod.

The Yukaghir cemeteries present a very poor appearance. Plate XVI, Fig 1 represents one of the Yukaghir graves on the Korkodon River. Over the burying place are put up stakes in the form of an enclosure, and in the center is placed a wooden cross.

Plate XVI, Fig. 2, shows a Yukaghir grave in a village on the Yassach-naya River. It consists of a small mound covered with birch bark protecting the graves from rain. Over the grave and on the nearby trees were hung broken objects which belonged to the deceased.

The Yukaghir and Tungus clans who wander about with reindeer and have no permanent settlements, have no cemeteries or common places of burial. They bury their dead wherever they die in the course of their wanderings. The coffins are boxes made of rough boards fastened with wooden pegs. The nomadic people usually do not dig deep graves. Often two or even one family has to bury a member of the family who has died while wandering. Under the climatic conditions described before, one or two families are not able to make proper arrangements for a burial. On my way from the shore of the Okhotsk Sea over the Stanovoi Mountains to the Kolyma River I met with some recent Tungus burial places. They were small mounds, scarcely covered with boards. But on the whole way I did not see one elevated grave. From this it may be inferred that, before they were converted to Christianity, the Tungus did not visit those places. North of Okhotsk the Tungus arrived after the advent of Russian invaders in the far east. West of the Gishiga district, through which I passed on my way to the Kolyma, the Okhotsk-Tungus appeared only after the arrival of Russian merchants. They came first to hunt squirrels which are abundant in the forests of the upper Kolyma and are much sought for by the Russians. At present the Okhotsk and Gishiga Tungus in the beginning of winter migrate with their reindeer from the shores of the Okhotsk Sea towards the Kolyma, and in summer they return for

fishing to the rivers of the Okhotsk Sea. I was the first white traveller to traverse the route to the Kolyma from Gishiga, crossing the Omolon and descending the Korkodon River,¹ and nobody could have destroyed the elevated graves if they had been there. In winter Reindeer Koryak also wander over this country. Primitive people do not only tolerate foreign beliefs and respect foreign graves, but they also believe in the power of spirits of foreign tribes. Sometimes spirits of a foreign tribe are more feared by them than those of their own tribe, because the local shamans are powerless before them. This explains why many shamans of the tribes of Northeastern Siberia have among their guardian spirits, as helpers or as chief guardians, spirits of alien tribes.²

On the route to the Kolyma we saw several times recent Tungus graves dug out by hungry bears or foxes.

A description of the method of burial used by the nomadic Tungus may be given here. On the third day after leaving Gishiga for the Kolyma district, we had to stop for the night in the camp of the Tungus elder of the Dolgan clan. My caravan consisted of riding and pack horses. I myself and my Tungus guide were riding ahead. The guide said to me, "There are on the ground fresh reindeer tracks. There are some wandering people ahead of us." Soon we could see at a great distance a file of Tungus riding on reindeer with a small reindeer herd behind them. I noticed that one of the riders was sitting rigidly on his reindeer bound with leather thongs to a kind of arm chair made of willows and fastened to the saddle. The reins were attached to the saddle of the preceding reindeer, which was ridden by a Tungus. To both sides of the saddle of a third reindeer were strapped some boards, their rear ends dragging on the ground. I asked my guide the meaning of the bound rider, and he answered, "That is the way to carry a dead man. The other reindeer is dragging boards for a coffin." The man had died while wandering, and his family were carrying him to a camp of relatives in order to arrange for the burial.

Soon the Tungus and their reindeer turned aside and disappeared. On the following morning one of the relatives of the deceased came to the camp of the Tungus elder where I spent the night, with the request for some white material for a shroud for the dead. I gave it. Unfortunately I could not be present at the burial as I had to hurry on in order to reach the Kolyma country before the winter set in. When later on our way one of the Yakut horse-boys fell ill and we had to hurry on, my Tungus guide proposed that we carry him as they carry their dead. He made an arm chair of willows and strapped it to the back of a pack-horse between the packs. The sick boy was tied to the arm chair.

¹ The new topographical map of this route has not been worked out as yet. See also *Amer. Museum Journal*, 1903, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 102.

² See above pp. 199, 201.

MODERN METHODS OF BURIAL AMONG THE TUNDRA YUKAGHIR. In the modern method of burial of the Tundra-Yukaghir, three elements may be discerned: those of Yukaghir origin and those adopted from Russian and Tungus sources.

In January of 1902 we had the opportunity to be present at a burial ceremony of the Tundra Yukaghir. The mother-in-law of the elder had been ill of contraction of the œsophagus. The Yukaghir were convinced that the illness was caused by some evil spirit. The tribal shamans were not successful in their treatment, nor were our medicaments of any help. When she was no longer able to take food the Yukaghir decided to summon a Yakut shaman. But the latter declared that Yakut shamanistic spirits are unwilling to enter a Yukaghir tent, because they do not like the smell of a Yukaghir dwelling. Then the relatives of the sick woman carried her into the hut of the Yakut shaman. For two nights he performed his incantations and ceremonies, endeavoring to drive out the evil spirit which had caused the woman's illness. But during the performance of the third night the patient died. The deceased woman was carried to her tent where preparations for the funeral were made.

In the morning before conveying the deceased from the Yakut hut to the Yukaghir tent, all the Yukaghir and Yakut present prayed to the ikons (images of saints) under which the deceased lay behind a curtain. The prayers were whispered improvised supplications. The sign of the cross was made and the supplicants bowed down. The Yakut shaman whose guardian-spirit had proved impotent to drive out of the woman the evil spirit which had killed her, officiated and waved the censer before the ikons. After the prayers, tea was prepared. Before drinking it, the Yukaghir elder addressed the deceased with the following words:

Kričtoč	tu'de	nawa'ye	ča'ilega	me'ngan	ehere'dagale	će'ñuceigan
Christ	in his	bright	heaven	let take	her soul	let carry

Yewdoki'yegale. Xoin na'waye ča'ileñ yu'orelde mi'txan tet wai n.a'čowiyek.

Eudoxia, ¹	God's	bright	heaven	getting sight of	for us	you also	pray.
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It may be noted that in this prayer is mentioned the soul e'hereñ, the soul which goes to heaven.

When they sat down to take tea the elder again addressed the deceased, saying:

Malā'	tet	wai	čai	le'uk'
There	you	also	tea	drink

Mit	leumele	le'gul'	tet	wai	tāt	le'udienunk'.
Our	what we are	food	you	also	thus	eat to the full.
	eating					

After that all present bowed and thanked the deceased. After the tea some of the women dressed the body of the dead woman in her best clothing. Her face was covered with some white material. On her breast were laid her work-bag with needles and thread, and her tailoring-knife, but first the points

¹ The name of the deceased.

of the needles and the edge of the knife were broken off. The deceased was then enveloped in a skin cover, and bound with hide thongs. The cover consisted of dressed reindeer skins sewn together like a tent cover. And it was indeed a part of the tent cover of her family, removed from the tent poles above her sleeping place.

Before carrying her out of the Yakut hut, the elder said to her:

Malā' tet loxo'xoraik'!
Now then you get up!

This was said in order that the deceased would allow herself to be lifted, *i. e.* that she would make herself light. Then the husband of the dead woman added:

Malā' mit ni'mein kobeče'ili.
Now then to our house we will go.

Then they carried her out of the Yakut house, feet first, and put her down on her own driving sledge to which her two reindeer were attached. The reins of her reindeer were fastened to the back of the driving sledge of her husband. He sat astride on his sledge, to which one reindeer was harnessed and drove on. These sledges were followed by the teams of relatives and clansmen. The deceased lay in her own tent for two days, until a coffin had been made of rough hewn boards, and a grave was dug in the frozen soil. All this time she lay close to the edge of the tent cover, screened by a cotton curtain. She was invited to partake of every meal as if she were still regarded as a living member of the family.

When everything was ready for the burial she was taken out of the tent, not through the entrance, but by raising the edge of the tent cover at the place where she lay. After the edge of the cover had been lowered again three crossed poles were erected close to the outside edge of the tent. This is called *yowu'lgī me-pu'ñui* (her way is closed). The crossed poles prevent her return. She was carried to the grave on her driving sledge, to which one of her reindeer was harnessed (see Plate XVI, Fig. 3). By the grave was standing a wooden box held together by wooden pegs. The relatives of the deceased took her off the sledge and put her into the box.

After the burial the harness loop of the reindeer was cut (not untied as is usual) as if to kill the harness, and it was hung on a bush near the grave. Then one of the relatives stabbed her reindeer with a knife. The killing of the reindeer is called *nu'ñijīñin pe'čeceiña* (sent down to the Land of Shadows). This is done in order that the *nu'ñiñ*¹ *i. e.* the soul of the deceased, may drive on the soul of the reindeer to the *nu'ñijī*, the Land of Shadows. The skin and legs of the reindeer were given to the grave diggers. The meat was cooked in kettles by the grave. The killed reindeer is called *nu'ñiel-i'leñ*

¹ See above p. 158.

(reindeer for the soul, *i. e.* of the deceased). The cooked meat of the reindeer for the soul of the deceased may not be eaten by her near relatives, particularly not by the husband (or wife), parents, brothers, sisters and children. The meat is eaten by distant relatives and mostly by the grave-diggers, box makers and by the women who washed and dressed the deceased. Near relatives do not eat the meat of the killed reindeer in order not to provoke the anger of the deceased, as the meat was destined for her.

Near relatives may not wash and dress the deceased because if a tear should fall on the corpse it would suffer much pain. On the whole the Yukaghir do not express their grief aloud; they weep quietly. What is left of the reindeer meat is taken by the people, who eat it on the grave.

The sledge of the deceased, her spade for shovelling snow, her tailoring-board, her scraper and other implements for skin dressing were all broken and left on the grave. It should be added that at present the sledge is seldom broken on the grave as on the tundra it is too costly an object. Therefore the sledge is only left on the grave for three days so that the deceased may make his journey to the Land of Shadows.

On the third day another reindeer was killed on the grave in commemoration of the dead. This is the last meal for the soul. It is believed that only on the third day the soul leaves for the underground world.

Before taking home the sledge it is held over the smoke of burning wild rosemary (*Ledum palustre* L.), which is burned in front of the tent. Before entering, all those coming from the burial must pass through the smoke.

In the actions performed during the burial we may discern Russian influences. Thus the soul *e'hereñ* goes to Christ in the bright heaven instead of going to the *Me'mdeye-e'cie*, the Fire Father; but on the other hand the soul *nu'ñiñ* departs to the underground realm of shadows.

Concerning the breaking of the objects owned by the deceased, the upper Kolyma Yukaghir told me that this is done in order that the shadows of the objects may go with the soul of the dead to the Land of Shadows. On the other hand, the Tundra Yukaghir told me in regard to the breaking of the points and sharp edges of weapons and tools, that they do it to prevent the dead from employing them against their relatives. Furthermore they turn the points of weapons towards their shafts. All knots on the clothing and footwear are tied in complicated ways so that they may not be untied by the dead. All these precautions designed to prevent the deceased from doing harm to the living were undoubtedly adopted from the Tungus and Yakut. The Yakut particularly are afraid of the dead. According to them, the evil spirits *abasy* feed not only on the material organs of man but they also eat his soul *kut*. A human soul eaten by an evil spirit *abasy* becomes, in turn, an evil spirit named *yör*, who causes illness to men and tortures chiefly his own relatives.¹

¹ See p. 238.

X. — RELIGION. THE SUPERNATURAL AGENTS OF THE TRIBES OF NORTHEASTERN SIBERIA.

The comparative table on this page contains a systematic review of the concepts of supernatural agencies found among the tribes of Northeastern Siberia, in so far as these were studied by me. This table is intended to illustrate certain points in regard to these beliefs.

First: It shows a general similarity of the chief elements in the religious beliefs of these tribes, although the details differ.

Second: The table shows that the corresponding elements of the religious systems under consideration do not represent successive evolutionary stages. They are coexistent and have developed from distinctive sources. In some cases several groups of concepts may be combined in one larger group, or the groups may all be quite independent of one another. However, all these elements are derived from one basis, — the endeavor of the individual or society to achieve a secure existence under given surroundings.

Third: the table indicates the supernatural agent whom, after contact with the Russians, each group identified with the Christian God; in other words, it demonstrates how each tribe has conceived the Christian religion.

For purposes of comparison, I have listed also in the table the religious agents of the Aleut, a tribe which I have recently studied, but which does not actually belong to Northeastern Siberia.

Comparative table of the supernatural Agents.

	Yakut	Kolyma Yukaghir	Tundra Yukaghir	Koryak	Chukchee	Kamchadal	Kolyma Tungus	Aleut
Supreme Beings and Creators	<i>Ayl'</i>	Pon	Cu'kun	Ya'qhičnin	Va'irgin	<i>N.e'n.ekičex</i>	Ti'hmar	<i>Agu'gux'</i>
Supernatural Ancestors	—	<i>Qoil'</i>	<i>Qeil'</i>	Ku'tqi	Ku'rkil	Kutq	—	—
Masters and Owners	Ičči'	Po'gil	Kiyi'je	{E'tin Eti'nvilačn	E'tin	I'newyipilačn	Hu'nni	Agna'qax'
Souls	{Kut, Tin Sür	A'ibi	{E'hereñ N'uñniñ O'noñ	Uyi'čit	Uvi'rit	Wcife	—	A'ngix'
Shaman's Spirits	Emege't	E'iji	O'no, E'iji	<i>E'ñeñ</i>	<i>E'ñeñ</i>	E'ñeñ	<i>He'vki</i>	Qu'gax'
Malevolent Beings	Abasi'	Ku'kul'	Ko'rel'	Ka'la	Ke'le	Ka'na	He'nye	A'mkux'
Guardians	<i>Tañara'</i>	Ca'n-coro'mo	Ca'n-go'de	O'kkamak	O'kkamak	Kamu'da	—	Kadga'dax'

CREATORS OR SUPREME BEINGS. — The Yakut *Ayí* is not a personal name. It is a collective name for all creative forces and deities benevolent to man. An *Ayí* is a personified principle of light as opposed to darkness. It is a kind of anthropomorphic being of supreme power acting in the interest of mankind. The *Ayí* created man, domestic animals, beasts and plants. They are unfavorable towards men only through lack of attention to their interests, through failure to benefit them. Then they are prayed to and given offerings. They never receive bloody sacrifices.

Every *Ayí* has his proper name and special functions. The head-creator is called *Ayí-Toyo'n*, i. e. Lord Creator, or *Urüñ-Ayí*, Bright Creator, or *Urüñ-Ayí-Toyo'n*, Lord Bright Creator. This supreme creator is the maker of the world. He superintends the universe, sends down children, regulates vegetable growth and the multiplication of cattle. On the other hand, Trochansky, relying on the statement of the Yakut Gorokhov, characterizes the Chief Creator as follows: "After creating the earth, air and man, and after giving to the latter the soul *kut*, the Lord Bright Creator retired from work and from all creative activity. He does not give new souls and does not interfere in human affairs. However, in Yakut mythology we meet with passages in which he helps heroes when they entreat him."

From the Yakut legends concerning the Supreme Creator which I recorded in the northern parts of the province, and from the texts of prayers addressed to him, it may be inferred that the Yakut do not regard him as a retired deity, but that they believe in his continued activity. He still governs the universe and accepts bloodless offerings.

All the creators dwell on the eastern side of heaven.

Of quite a different character is the Yukaghir *Pon* (in the Tundra dialect *Cu'kun*), which means "Something." It is a creative principle, scarcely personified. *Pon* directs the phenomena of nature, but does not interfere in the affairs of man. It may be said that the *Pon* is an important concept in the dogma of the Yukaghir, but there is no part of the cult that refers to him. The Yukaghir do not address him with prayers and do not present offerings to him, at least not at the present time. Yukaghir mythology contains no reference to prayers and offerings to the *Pon*.

Other creative and benevolent deities of the Yukaghir were the Fire-Father, Sun and Heaven.¹

The Koryak supreme creative deity, *Yaqhi'čnin*, Something Existing, resembles in many of his features the Yakut Lord-Creator. This deity also has other names besides Something Existing.²

The Chukchee also call their creative deity by a name equivalent to that which the Koryak attribute to their chief creator, namely, *Va'irgin*, which also

¹ See pp. 140, 141, 144.

² See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, Part I, p. 24.

means Something Existing. But with the Chukchee *Va'irgin* is rather an appellative term for benevolent deities recalling the Yakut *Ayí'*.

The Kamchadal *N.e'n.enkičex*, the Aleut *Agu'gux'*, and the Tungus *Ti'hmar*, like the Koryak *Yaqhi'čñin*, are benevolent deities of supreme power, creators of the world. Unfortunately no detailed information concerning these supreme deities is preserved in the traditions of any of these tribes.

SUPERNATURAL ANCESTORS. — The second class of supernatural beings, supernatural ancestors, is not found among the Tungus, Yakut and Aleut. They have traditions of wonder-working chiefs, shamans and heroes who enjoyed the protection of deities, possessed supernatural power, and were revered by certain groups, but none of these enjoyed general recognition or became an object of adoration for the whole tribe. In a word, ancestor worship, particularly the cult of a tribal ancestor, did not develop, although there are elements of such a cult.

Among the Yukaghir the term *qoil'* also signifies not a tribal ancestor of supernatural origin, but an ancestor of a certain group. Every deceased shaman is the natural protector of his living relatives and, therefore, he becomes an object of adoration by that group. The relatives of a deceased shaman give him offerings and pray to him for help.

Among the Koryak and Kamchadal the Great Raven *Kutq* or *Ku'rkil* appears as the ancestor of the whole tribe. Besides this, he is also known for his creative deeds and is sometimes called Creator. Prayers are addressed to him and he is referred to in incantations.

Among the Chukchee, evidently under the influence of the Eskimo, the Raven has lost his significance as a creator, but plays a prominent rôle in mythology.

Among the Aleut and the Yukaghir, the Raven does not play the rôle either of an ancestor or of a deity, but he appears as a mythological hero endowed with the power to perform certain supernatural acts.

OWNERS. — The third class of supernatural beings, the Owners, is identical among all of the tribes of Northeastern Siberia. Owners are invisible anthropomorphic beings dwelling in one or another division of nature, or in separate objects which they possess. They live, like men, in families. Generally the Owners are benevolent deities, provided men observe the customs established in regard to them, and do not transgress certain taboos. Only the Yakut Owners, the *ičči'*, are spirits inimical to man. We have seen before¹ that among the Yukaghir there is a particular category of Owners, called Keepers (*mō'yepul*, sing. *mō'ye*) who preside over different species of animals. Other Yukaghir guardians of animals, called *pe'jul*,² have no analoga in the religions of the other tribes.

SOULS. — The soul as the vital essence of organisms is conceived by all the tribes here discussed as an invisible being, distinct from the body and

¹ See p. 145.

² See p. 146.

largely anthropomorphic. I pointed out before the multiplicity of souls in the beliefs of the Yakut and Yukaghir. According to the Chukchee the soul is divisible and one or more parts of it may be eaten by evil spirits without killing the body. The Koryak, Kamchadal and Aleut have the idea of one soul, but the two tribes last named are so thoroughly Russianized that they may have been influenced by Russian ideas of the soul.

SHAMAN'S SPIRITS. — In this division are included such Shaman's spirits as appear as special protectors of shamanistic performances, and which are regarded as benevolent beings. The activities of these supernatural beings are very singular. They cure illness and accomplish beneficent deeds towards men only when the shamans compel them to do so. But they themselves, in order to display their activity, pick out mediators and force them to become shamans. Among the Yukaghir shamanism is chiefly an hereditary institution. Therefore the spirits are transferred from father to son. With their help the shaman descends to the underground world to gain the favor of the shadows; he ascends into the upper world, *i. e.* heaven, to receive from the deities gifts for man and the power to fight mischievous evil spirits, hostile to man. With the help of their protecting spirits the shamans, in case of need, secure the assistance of Owners.

According to my Yakut informants, the Yakut term *ämägä't* is not a collective name designating spirits of a certain category, but it is the name of the spirit of a deceased shaman. As we have seen before, two *ämägä't* are reproduced on the coats of Yakut shamans. On the other hand, the Kolyma Yukaghir, who speak Yakut as well as their own language, translated the Yakut *ämägä't* for me by the Yukaghir word *e'iji*, which is a class name of Yukaghir shaman's spirits. In the Tundra dialect the word *o'no* may correspond to the Yakut *ämägä't*. Some Yakut shaman's dresses display two kinds of *ämägä't*; one, the spirit of a deceased shaman, the other a *yör*.¹ The Tundra Yukaghir term *o'no* signifies the spirit of a deceased shaman only.

MALEVOLENT BEINGS. — The rôle played by these spirits is quite the reverse of that of the shamanistic spirits. They are always hostile to man. Their nature is the same in the religions of all the tribes here discussed. They are cannibalistic and devour living people. They enter men and eat their internal organs, thus causing all kinds of diseases. These evil spirits are the prototype of what we now call microbes, as though primitive man had instinctively comprehended the causes of diseases now established by science. Even some details in the conception and the description of these evil spirits by primitive man recall that constant insecurity in which we live surrounded by microbes. Thus, a Chukchee shaman, according to Bogoras, described the danger of the Chukchee evil spirits called *kelet*: "We are surrounded by enemies. Spirits always walk invisibly with gaping mouth."²

¹ See pp. 181 and 238.

² Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 295.

The Yakut who settled in the Yukaghir region adopted from the latter the use of the dogteam, but they preserved their former attitude towards dogs as unclean animals. Dogs are not permitted to enter a dwelling for, they say, on a dog's tail live hundreds of abasıla'r (pl. of abası', evil spirit).

According to the belief of the Koryak the kalat are sometimes so numerous in houses that they sit on the people and fill¹ up all the corners.¹

To the category of evil spirits hostile to man belong also the souls of certain dead. We find these ideas in the beliefs of the Yakut and Chukchee. Such souls of dead people are called yör by the Yakut. The evil spirits of the Yakut, abası', eat not only the bodies and internal organs of men, but also their souls. Souls eaten by the abası' become evil spirits yör which are very dangerous to men, particularly to their own relatives.

It is interesting to find ideas of the Yakut, who are of Turkish descent, in the beliefs of the Chukchee, who are in certain aspects American in their cultural life.

According to Mr. Bogoras, some of the kelet feed on souls of men. The drawing 207 on page 297 of his work on the Chukchee represents an evil spirit hunting a man's soul. In another place he refers to a tale of a Chukchee who explained that the evil spirits, kelet chop the soul to pieces, cook it in a kettle and feed it to their children.¹

We also find another Yakut conception, concerning the yör, (a man's soul turned into an evil spirit) repeated in Chukchee beliefs. Souls dying a second death and not being able to revive become kelet. The souls of a man's near relatives are often dangerous to him.

The conception of the dead as evil spirits is only slightly developed among the Koryak and absent altogether among the Yukaghir. But the Yukaghir believe that after death the souls of men feed on the souls of those animals which they hunted during life.

GUARDIANS. — By this name I designate figures made of wood, bone, stone or metal by shamans and other people, and representing men and animals. Sometimes part of a figure suffices in lieu of the whole. These figures acquire the power of guardians only after suitable incantations have been spoken over them. Often the incantation has to be repeated at certain intervals in order to preserve the power of the guardian. Guardians may be classified as individual, family and clan protectors.

I have inserted in the table the Yakut term tañara', with its ancient meaning of wooden idols representing guardians. At present tañara' indicates also heaven and God, but the northern Yakut who have intercourse with the Chukchee call the wooden guardians (o'kkamak) of the latter by the name tañara'.

The Yukaghir name for guardians is cān-coro'mo or cān-go'de, wooden man. This name — as well as the Koryak o'kkamak, wooden kamak, —

¹ Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 28.

refers to the material of which the guardian used to be made, although it is often made out of bone or other material at present. To this kind of guardians belong also the Kamchadal kamu'da and the Aleut kadga'dax'. The Aleut call by this name all kinds of amulets made of stone, bone, or wood. The Aleut had also other guardians named quga'dax' which means little devil. The Aleut also use this term to designate the wooden masks used in ceremonies and dances. A third Aleut term designating a guardian is u'gdux'. The u'gdux' consists of the skin of a quadruped, bird, sea animal or insect, but these guardians are outside the subject of this chapter. U'gdux' are left as heirlooms by elder people to their younger relatives. The Aleut believe that after putting on an u'gdux' a man turns into the corresponding animal. The animal becomes the guardian of the owner of the u'gdux'.

THE NATIVE NAMES FOR THE CHRISTIAN GOD. — The names given by the various tribes to the Christian God appear in the table in italic type. We see that some of the tribes bestowed upon the Christian God the name of one class of supernatural being while other tribes used the name of other classes. Thus the Koryak, Chukchee and Kolyma Tungus call the Christian God by the names of their shamanistic spirits. The Yakut in the beginning called the Russian God by the name of the idol-guardians tañara'. Later on they called God either tañara' or by the name of the Yakut head creator — Ayı'-Toyo'n. The present Yakut designate the images of the saints (ikons) by the term tañara'.

The Yukaghir transferred to the Christian God the name given to an idol, representing a shaman ancestor, which is made of his skull. Only the Aleut and Kamchadal call the Christian God by the names of Creators and by those of the chief deities of their former religion.

How is such a divergence of opinion with regard to the Christian faith to be explained? It is due no doubt to the failure of the ignorant Russian priests who proselytized among the Siberian natives and looked on baptism as a mere formality.

In the year 1714 the Russian Government issued an order addressed to the Siberian Metropolitan Feodor bidding him to demolish the idols and chapels of the Siberian natives and convert them to Christianity. In many cases the natives were forced to be baptized by the interference of the civil and military authorities. In defence of the Russian missionaries it may be said that until recent times the monks sent to the far east were unprepared for their mission. They were not able to learn the native languages and, therefore, could not understand the beliefs which they were sent to uproot. In the beginning not only ignorant but almost illiterate monks were sent. Concerning the new religion the natives learned no more than the ritual which they interpreted according to their own understanding and imagination, finding in it analogies with their former religious customs. The Siberian natives

knew, of course, that every people has its deities and saints similar to their own. The greater part of the Chukchee and Koryak still remain pagan. When they saw the Russian priests in their vestments and the ikons, they regarded the priests as Russian shamans and the ikons as images of shamanistic spirits. Therefore, the Koryak and Chukchee call the Russian God by the name e'ñeñ (shaman's guardian spirit) and the Russian priest by the name e'ñeñalaⁿ, shaman.

The Yakut, evidently, regarded the Russian ikons as amulets and named them tañara'.

The Yukaghir may have taken the Russian priests for shamans and the ikons for images of deceased shamans and therefore named the Christian God, as well as the ikons, by the name qoi'l'.

At present the Yakut use the term tañara' chiefly for the ikons, and they call God either Tañara' or Ayí'-Toyo'n i. e. Lord Creator. This may be explained by the fact that since the time when the Christianization of the Yakut began, the Russians who have settled in the Yakut province were so greatly influenced by the Yakut that the Yakut language became their native tongue. The Russian priests born in the Yakut Province and knowing Yakut as well as Russian, or even better, are able to explain to the people of their parishes the aspirations of Christianity. Thus Ayí'-Toyo'n, — Lord Creator —, the name of the Yakut Creator appears most suitable for the Christian God.

Similar conditions have brought it about that the Kamchadal and the Aleut give to the Christian God the names of their former supreme deities and Creators. The Aleut and Kamchadal became Russianized and at the same time acquainted with the Russian language sufficiently well for the Russian priests to explain to them without difficulty the meaning of the new faith.

Although since 1867, when the Aleutian Islands together with Alaska were sold by Russia to the United States, the Aleut have forgotten the Russian language, nevertheless during the period of Russian rule the Aleut succeeded in familiarizing themselves thoroughly with the new religion.

The names for God in the languages of the tribes studied have a special interest for the student of the history of religion and particularly of the history of the spread of Christianity.

It is also worthy of note that nowhere has the name of any one of the classes of evil spirits been attributed to the Christian God, although there might well have been ground for such an event on account of the spread of contagious diseases in these regions after the advent of the Russians. However, the Siberian natives ascribed those diseases to the evil spirits brought by the Russians and not to their God whose representatives were the Russian priests.

XI. — FOLKLORE, KOLYMA DIALECT.

1. N·a'ce-Kini'je ču'oliže.

On Face-Moon Tale.

I'ркиn po'lut lei teri'keni. A'taxud u'ole u'onei. Irki'et pa'ipelek',
 One old man lived married (with Two children as children One (of them) girl,
 wife). had.

irki'et ko'i'pelek'. Eme'i'pegi, eči'epegi a'mdeñi. E'mjedene modo'ni. Ťa'tagi
 one boy. Mother their, father their died. With his younger lived. Her older
 sister brother

ču'ote yo'ndojege¹ xo'doi. Ir'kilañi tu'de e'mje yu'omele. Yan kini'je
 always in blanket lay. Constantly (on) his younger looked. Three months
 sister

lañi'de yu'om. E'mjegi mo'nni: "Ťa'ta, egi'ek'!"
 during looked. Younger said: "Elder brother get up!"
 sister his

E'mjegi legi'tecum. Ťa'tagi el leñdi'enu. Tāt mo'doñidege legu'lpegi
 Younger fed (him). Elder not ate. Thus when they lived food their
 sister his brother her

e'lejuoi.
 (not was)
 became exhausted.

Pai mo'nni: "Ťa'ta, egi'ek'!" Ťa'tagi mo'nni: "El egi'eteye."
 The girl said: "Elder brother, get up!" Elder said: "Not (I) shall get up."
 brother her

E'mjegi mo'nni: "Xo'diet el egi'eteyek?" Ťa'tagi mo'nni: "Met lañi'de
 His sister said: "Why not (you) will get Elder said: "To me next
 up?" brother her

ku'deteyek?" E'mjegi mo'nni: "Pu'gu yogo'mutei." Ťa'tagi mo'nni: "Met
 will you become Sister his said: "The Sun will be angry." Elder said: "I
 (i. e., lie down)?" brother her

taha'ne el legi'eteye." E'mjegi mo'nni: "Me'amdeili² taha'ne." Ťa'tagi
 then not shall eat." Younger said: "We shall die then." Elder
 sister his brother her

mo'nni: "Deku'c amde'ili!"
 said: "Let us even die!"

Pai tāt ya'xtei. Ya'xtet mo'nni: "Met taha'ne, mo'nni, te'tul e'le
 The then began to When singing said: "I then, said (she), you not
 girl sing.

mo'nteye ťa'ta. Mo'nteye ki'e.³ Mit yo'ndojeñol yonđo'je met āt,
 shall call elder Shall call friend. For our blanket a blanket I shall
 brother. make

¹ I. e., on bed.

² The past tense (*amde'ili* — we died) is used instead of the future. With the prefix *me* it means "we are sure to die".

³ Thus man and wife address each other.

yondo'je xa'n-meyegi¹ n-a'gatiernit: i'rkít eme'iget, i'rkít eči'eget ū'luol',
 a blanket the bag of which double (parted in from one mother from one father born,
 two) being:

i'rkín le'pul n'aga-ku'dečiluol' tabu'de yu'ologon."
 one blood (being) having united become it let it signify."

Tāt n-e'jit mo'doñidege, pu'de xolilek' me'dul'. Pai u'koč. Uke'idelle
 Thus conversing when (they) sat, in the yard noise sounded The went out. When she was
 (became audible). girl out

yu'om ču'oliži polu'dek' ke'ľul' n-a'čegi kini'je titeme'i, pomo'geče-kini'je
 she saw a mythical old man came face his moon like (was) full-moon
 titeme'i. Pai co'gi. Co'udeľle ai ya'xtai. Ya'xtet mo'nni: "Kie, el
 like. The entered After she again began to Singing said: "Friend, not
 girl (the house). entered sing.

yo'ndox', egi'ek', mamde'ili.² N-a'če-Kini'je ki'eč. Ti'tem-elet-tit, yan
 lie, get up, now we shall die. Face-Moon (Moon Face) has come. Thus being, three
 kini'jege me'tul' yu'omik ya'duoñol' mi'ndin. Xo'diet yo'ndox'! Ti'te-
 months during at me looked as wife in order to take. Why do you sleep! Like
 m-e'lgene met e'le ke'ľteye te'tin. Yelo'je-po'n-xo yu'ogi čomo'n o'moč!³
 this if you I not shall come to you. Of sun-light appearance very beautiful!
 will be (is)

Egi'ek."

Get up."

Koi egi'ei yo'gotid abu'dgeľe mo'rom, tā'čile u'koč. Ču'oliže po'ľut
 The got up for arrows quiver put on, then went out. The old man
 youth mythical
 pu'de lei. Kuni'yin pojerxo'go ki'mjieñi. Kuni'rkibudicte pojerxo'go xa'jč
 in the was. Ten days during they fought. On the eleventh day finally
 yard

kude'dem ču'oliže-polu'tkeľe. Kude'delle n-a'n-meľe nu'motem.⁴ Nu'moñin co'gi.
 he killed the mythical old man. Having killed of willows house (for him) House (his) entered.
 built.

Pai mo'nni: "Ubu'i yan kini'je lañi'de me'tul yu'oleľmik, ta'ndaga
 The said: "Truly three months during at me apparently you and thus
 girl looked,

ke'ľuk n-a'ga m-e'čten-jeili,⁵ yondo'je če'mečei."
 come let us lie down together, the blanket is ready."

Koi yu'om yo'ndojegi xa'nmojegi n-a'gatiernei. Ye'ndūñi. Ogoye'lme
 The looked blanket his its bag (i. e., of was divided into They lay On the following
 youth the blanket) two. down to sleep. morning
 egi'eñi. Egi'eñidege pu'det lo'ndox' ya'xtelek me'dul'. Pai ukei'delle
 they got up. When they got up from the dancing singing was audible. The having gone
 yard girl outside

yu'om: pu'de čolgo'ro ni'ñeit eu'rei. Ti'netañ n-a'n-menumoge omo'čed
 saw: in the yard hares many being walk about. (In) that house of willows handsome
 adi'ľek mo'dol, yō a'ngit. Pai xo'nni. Xo'ndelle mo'nni: "Omo'če
 youth sits, head combing. The went in. When she said: "Good
 girl went in

¹ The fur blanket ends in a bag for the feet. A married couple cover themselves with one blanket and place their feet in one bag.

² Instead of *me-amde'ili*.

³ I. e. it is beautiful to live.

⁴ I. e., he put the corpse in a tent of willow branches, as was done with distinguished dead. *Nu'mote* means: to furnish somebody with a house.

⁵ Literally: "Our place let us have", from the Russian word *myesto* — a place.

coro'mo, xot' kie'ček?" Na'gajetañ mo'nni: "N-a'če-kini'je a'mdelle, coro'-
 man, whence did you come?" That one said: "(As) face-moon having died, as
 moñot eji'eye." Pai mo'nni: "Tu'ben xot kieče mele'teplek'?" Ti'netañ
 man I came to The said: "These whence those hares?" That
 life." girl who came
 koi mo'nni: "I'ркиn n-e'mjie tit n-e'mijuol yo'mdileño! tit ā'čeño! lebie'n-
 youth said: "(that) brother and you each other took as a token of it for reindeer of the earth
 Although sister you
 pogil' ya'nmelebodek'."
 the Owner sent."

Told by the Yukaghir, Dolganoff, on the Yassachnaya River in October 1901.
 The text is incomplete. For the end of the tale see this Volume, part I, p. 84.

Moon-Face Tale.

Once upon a time an old man lived with his wife. They had two children: a boy and a girl. Both parents died and the boy and his younger sister remained alone. Thus they lived. The boy lay on his bed, and he constantly looked at his younger sister. For three months he did so. His sister said to him: "Elder brother, get up!" But he did not mind. She gave him food, but he declined to eat. Thus they lived until their food became exhausted.

The girl said: "My elder brother, get up!" The boy answered: "I will not get up." The girl said: "Why do you not want to get up?" He said: "Lie down and sleep with me." The girl replied: "It is a sin, the Sun will be angry with us." — "Then I shall not eat," said the boy. His sister said: "Then we shall die." — "Well, let us die," replied the brother. The girl began to sing. While singing she said: "I shall not call you any more 'my elder brother', I shall call you 'friend', as married people do. To our fur blanket I shall sew on two separate bags for our feet. This will signify that we became united in spite of being of one blood, of one father and one mother."

Thus, while conversing, they heard a noise in the yard. The girl went out to see what had happened and saw that a Mythical Old Man came with a face like the moon. Like a full-moon it was. The girl came back. Entering the house she again began to sing, and singing she said: "Friend, do not lie down, get up, now we shall die. The Moon-Face has come. During three months you looked at me thinking to take me as a wife. Now why do you not get up? If you remain that way, I shall not come to you. I do not wish to die, the light of the sun, life are so beautiful. Get up!"

The boy got up, took his bow, put on his quiver with arrows, and went out to the Mythical Old Man. They began to fight and fought for ten days. Finally, on the eleventh day the boy killed the Mythical Old Man.

The boy made a tent of willow branches and placed in it the body of Moon-Face, as is done with distinguished dead. Then he entered their house.

The girl said: "Truly, you looked at me during three months and now come, let us lie down together, the blanket is ready."

The boy looked at the blanket and saw that it ended in two separate bags for the feet. They lay down to sleep. The next morning they awoke. While getting up, they heard in the yard dancing and singing. The girl, went out and saw there many hares walking about. She went to the willow-hut and saw that inside a beautiful youth was sitting, combing his hair. She said to the youth: "Good man, where did you come from?" The youth answered: "I died as a Moon-Face and came to life as a man." — "And where did these hares come from?" asked the girl. The youth said: "You married each other, not minding that you are brother and sister; as a token of this, the Owner of the Earth sent you hares instead of reindeer."

2. Como'paranā¹ ču'oleji.

On the Raven Tale.

Como'paranā lei n-a'člebien-e n-a'ga n-e'punnumieñi. Como'paranā
 Raven lived with Ptarmigan together neighbors they were. Raven
 n-a'člebieñin xo'nni. Ya'xadelle como'paranā mo'nni: "Met ke'nme, n-e'jik."
 to Ptarmigan went. Having arrived Raven said: "My friend, tell
 (something)."
 N-ačlebie mo'nni: "Tiñ n-e'molgilge met le'gul' omo'če ukei'lel'."
 Ptarmigan said: "This year my food well has grown it appears."
 Como'paranāñin n-a'člebie mo'nni: "No'udijaye,² n-e'jik, tiñ n-e'molgilge
 To the Raven Ptarmigan said: "Guest, tell this year
 to'nmułłañden xo'dimeyemojik?"
 with respect to the throat how are you?"
 (i. e., with respect to feeding)
 Como'paranā mo'nni: "Met te'nmułłañden tiñ n-e'molgilge omo'če."
 Raven said: "I with respect to the throat this year am all right."
 N-a'člebie mo'nni: "Me le'mdik nugu'nunumet ta'hanine?" Como'paranā
 Ptarmigan said: "Well what for do you hunt in such a case?" Raven
 mo'nni: "Me'tke le'gul' ni'ñei, abu'čiepe xanā'luolge nu'mon-uopedege,
 said: "For me food is plenty, elder sisters in migration time on the place where houses
 formerly stood
 če'nčeyogulpedege madā'delle n-ema'logude yu'ožilgene o'nčie-noi'pe³ ni'ñet
 on their snow banks having set down from all sides when (I) looked of a wild reindeer, much
 of the leg bones marrow,
 xodō'nuñi. Met elno'non-oł čirxačitegi⁴ kigi'yilgene mi'bedegen a'młoinunui.
 are lying. With without handle knife when I stab to end its (i. e., to disappears.
 my the end of the knife)

¹ Parana' — the Russian word *vorona* crow; como'-paranā' — large crow i. e. Raven. The genuine Yukaghir word for raven is *čomod* (meaning *great bird*) in the Kolyma dialect and *xagameñ* in the Tundra dialect.

² From the word *nogdiye* guard. The same word is applied by the Yukaghir to the Russian Kossacks.

³ Thus Raven called human and canine excrements. *noi'pe* is plural of *noil*, leg and also leg-marrow.

⁴ *Čirxači* instead of *čogoye* (knife) is an ancient word; *čirxačitegi* — augmentative form; *čirxačitegi* instrumentalis. The Raven calls his beak "knife".

Ogo'yen-čiejege purki'yin u'nunjomul ču'mu lo'cingairānu.¹ O'mni-ca'cipe-
Morning cold during seven river heights all I make the round. Of the people of
deget² čumu'tagi ke'yepetege čolgo'ropki ču'mu leu'nunu. Tāt-m-eje
their traps all before them hares their all I eat. Such a
ča'ndalče³ coró'moňoje."
brave man I am."

N-a'ľlebie mo'nni: "No'udijaye, met o'nmegene, e'l-omo, to'nmuleye
Ptarmigan said: "Guest, I as I think, not good, hungry
coró'mopul cacipede'get olu'nul e'l-omo."
people (from) their traps theft not good."

Como'paranā yogó'mui. Ko'beč. A'taxlije amma'ľdeľle čo'mparanā ai
Raven got angry. Went away. Twice having spent night Raven again
kieč. N-a'ľlebie-numo'ge co'gi. N-a'ľlebie oi'le. Uo'rpepki le'ňil. Como'-
came. Ptarmigan's house entered. Ptarmigan was not Children her were Raven
(in). (there).

paranā n-a'ľlebie-uo'rpegele ču'mu ku'dečim. N-a'ľlebie-n-e'rgele ču'mu mi'jum.
Ptarmigan's children all killed. Ptarmigan's garments all took.

Ko'beč. N-a'ľlebie po'nyuoleiko kieč. Uo'rpepki ču'mut a'mdeleľňi
(He) went. Ptarmigan in the evening returned. Children her all dead it appeared
n-e'rpegi ču'mut oi'le. N-a'ľlebie ibe'ľei. Ibe'ľeľle ko'beč Ičko'pāňin⁴ xo'nni,
garments her all gone. Ptarmigan began to cry. Crying she went (to) Buzzard went,
ya'xai. Ičko'pāňin mo'nni: "Coró'mo met n-e'rgele cumu'tagi mi'ľle-ľum⁵
reached. To Buzzard said: "Somebody my garments all took it appears

met uo'rpegele ču'mu ku'dečileľum." Ičko'pā mo'nni: "Met el lei'diye,
my children all killed it appears." Buzzard said: "I do not know,
tet o'nmegele kin ku'dedieľlut tet uo'rpegele?" N-a'ľlebie mo'nni: "Met
with your mind who killed could have your children?" Ptarmigan said: "I
el lei'diye." Tāt xa'nilňin xo'nni, xa'nilňin pu'nduňam. Xa'nil pie'reneye
do know." Then to Eagle (they) went, to Eagle (they) told. Eagle winged
not (feathered)

no'dogoľo ču'mu ni'em, ču'mu yo'ulocum. Ni'rkiečit el lei'diyiňi. Ye'rčibax
animals all called, all asked. No one (not) knew. Duck
oi'leľ. Xa'nil mo'nni: "Ye'rčibe ni'eňik." Ye'rčibe kieč. Ye'rčibegele
was not Eagle said: "Duck (you) call." Duck came. Duck
(there).

xa'nil yo'ulocum: "El lei'diyek n-a'ľlebie uo'rpegele kin ku'dečim?" Ye'rčibe
Eagle asked: "Not you know Ptarmigan's children who killed?" Duck
mo'nni: "Met el lei'diye." Xa'nil mo'nni: "Ya'ľgin-coro'moňojek, u'ľum
said: "I do not know." Eagle said: "Lake-man you are, not anything
yu'oyek?" Ye'rčibe mo'nni: "I'ркиn pojerxo'go pon⁶ como'n pu'gače
you have seen?" Duck said: "Once in the day time it very hot was
pojerxo', ya'ľgidigilge met abu'tke čanma'x xodō'je. Xo'duolge ta'ňnugi
a day, on lake's shore I in (my) nest on back was lying. While I was lying then
como'-paranā' kujū'gen o'rn-ede me'rei, eli'n-ei met yu'olge." Xa'nil mo'nni:
Raven in the sky cawing was flying, burden had I when I saw." Eagle said:

¹ Archaic word instead of the modern *cu'rienunje*.

² This is a deadfall.

³ Referring to a hunter.

⁴ From the Russian word *skopa'* fish-hawk (*Pandion haliaëtös*).

⁵ Instead of *mi'n-ľeľum*.

⁶ *Pon* means "something." See section on religion, p. 140.

"Čomo'-paranā ni'eñik. Yan coró'mox xo'nñik, n-ergi ču'mu yu'oñik."
"Raven you call. Three men let go, garments his all look over."
 Čai'kelex¹ xo'nul', pa'ndubelex xo'nul, N-a'če-cori'leye² xo'nul'. Čomo'-
Sea-Gull went, Wood-pecker went, "Face-painted" went. (To)
 paranā' numo'ge yaxa'ñi, monñi: "Xa'nil' te'tkele ni'em." "Čomo'-paranā
Raven's house came, said: "Eagle you calls." Raven
 mo'nni: "E'le xo'nteje." Pa'ndube mo'nni: "Mit te'tul' moit' xo'nteti."
said: "Not I shall go." Wood-pecker said: "We you holding shall conduct."
 Čomo'paranā pa'ndubegele xo'llume paim a'ñjemuñin.³ Añjegi³
Raven Wood-pecker at once struck in his eyes. Eyes his
 lepu'dei. Ya'lut' čomō'paranāgele mi'n-ñam. Noi'deuļe u'lteñam uļe'gele.
became covered The three Raven they took, Legs his tied with grass.
with blood. together
 N-érdeule yu'oñam n-a'ľlebie n-er ču'mut' lei. Ko'udeñam comō'paranā'-
His belongings (they) looked over Ptarmigan's garments all were. They dragged Raven.
 gele. Xani'lge yaxa'ñi. Xa'nil' como'paranā'gele yo'ulocum, mo'nni:
To Eagle came. Eagle Raven asked, said:
 "N-a'ľlebie uorpe e'l kudede'yek?" — "E'le, el kude'deye." — "N-a'ľlebie
"Ptarmigan's children not did kill (you)?" — "No, not did kill." — "Ptarmigan's
 n-érgi ele mi'n-jek?" — "El mi'n-je," Čomō'paranā mo'nni. Pa'ndube
garments not you take?" — "Not did take," Raven said. Woodpecker
 xani'lñin mo'nni: "Te'ndileļ n-a'ľlebie n-érgi." Xa'nil mo'nni: "Čomo'-
to Eagle said: "Here are Ptarmigan's garments." Eagle said: "Raven,
 paranā, tu'bon xon-n'umme n-é'rek'?" Čomō'paranā mo'nni: "Met el
these from where taken garments?" Raven said: "I do not
 lei'diye." Xa'nil' mo'nni: "Ko'udeñik!" Ta'ñnugi Čomō'paranā po'ineye-
know." Eagle said: "Beat (him)!" Then Raven black
 bodek'. Ko'udeñidege, xa'nil' mo'nni: "Ei'gen." Cobo'leñi. Čomō'paranāñin
turned. When (they) were Eagle said: "Stop." They ceased To Raven
beating, (beating).
 mo'nni: "Čomō'paranā, n-a'ľlebie n-érgi ubu'í mi'n-mik'?" — "E'le, el mi'n-je,"
(he) said: "Raven, Ptarmigan's garments, indeed you took?" — "No, I did not take it,"
 mo'nni. Xa'nil' mo'nni: "Čomō'paranā ko'udeñik', a'mdedin ko'udeñik'."
(he) said. Eagle said: Raven beat, to death beat."
 Ayi' ko'udeñidege ču'mut' le'puñol ku'dei. Čomō'paranā mo'nni. "Met'
Still when they were all over bloody (he) became. Raven said. "My
beating (him)
 xa'xa a'mdedin le'ye, ubu'í met' min-, ubu'í n-a'ľlebie uorpe met' ku'deči,
grand- nearly to die I am, indeed I took, indeed, Ptarmigan's children I killed,
father
 i'ji ai el tā'ľleče, me'tul el kude'deñilek'." Xa'nil' mo'nni: "Ai čomō'rote
now again (I) shall not me do not kill." Eagle said: "Still harder
(henceforth) be such,
 ko'udeñik." Čomō'paranā mo'nni: "Yelo'jeñinlet⁴ me'tul' po'niñik!" Po'niñam
beat." Raven said: "By Sun being me abandon!" (They) left
(him)

¹ Russian word, *čaiika*.

² A variety of duck.

³ Although the singular is used here, both eyes are meant.

⁴ I. e. "in the name of the Sun", an ancient Yukaghir oath.

xa'jic. Nu'modin¹ pō'yet ka'udieñam. Yan kini'jege yō'lei, ya'lmacte
 then. To his house having they dragged. Three months he was the third
 picked up sick,
 kini'jege omo'lboi. Ta'ndiet i'ji ebi'bumui. N-a'dude.
 month he got well. From that to black he turned. Enough (end).
 time now

Told on the Nelemnaya River by the Yukaghir Tulyakh, Feb. 15th, 1902.

Raven Tale.

Raven and Ptarmigan lived together. They were neighbors. Once Raven came to Ptarmigan and said, "My friend, tell me something." — "My food," answered Ptarmigan, "has grown well, it seems, this year."

Then Ptarmigan asked Raven, "Dear guest, now you tell me, how you are this year regarding food?"

Raven said, "I am well provided this year." — "What are you hunting for?" asked Ptarmigan. Raven answered, "I have plenty of food. When my older sisters are migrating and I sit down on snow banks and places where tents of nomads stood, I see everywhere marrow of wild reindeer² lying about. When I peck at it, my beak disappears in it to its end. In the cold of the morning I make the round of all seven river heights and before the people come to their traps I eat the hares caught in them. You see what a brave hunter I am."

Ptarmigan said, "My guest, I think that it is not good to steal from the traps of hungry people." Raven grew angry and went away. On the third day Raven came again and entered Ptarmigan's house. Ptarmigan was not in. Raven killed her children, took all her belongings and went away. Ptarmigan returned home in the evening. Seeing her children dead and not finding her garments, she began to cry. She went crying to Buzzard and said, "Somebody took my garments and killed my children, do you not know who did it?" Buzzard said, "I do not know, but what do you think yourself, who may have killed your children?" Ptarmigan answered, "I do not know." Then they both went to Eagle and told him what had happened. Eagle summoned all the birds and asked them whether they knew anything about the affair. But nobody knew. As it appeared that Duck was missing, Eagle ordered Duck to be called. Duck came and Eagle asked, "Do you know who killed Ptarmigan's children?" Duck said, "I do not know." Eagle continued, "You live on the lake. You must have seen something." Then Duck said, "Once on a very hot day I was lying on my back in my nest on the shore of the lake and saw Raven flying above me. He was cawing and carried a burden." Eagle then said, "Call Raven, let three men go to him and look over his garments." Sea-Gull, Wood-pecker, and Face-painted

¹ Instead of *nu'modeñin*.

² He means excrements of men and dogs.

Duck went. They reached Raven's house and said to him, "Eagle calls you." — "I shall not go," answered Raven. Wood-pecker said, "We shall take you by force."

At once Raven struck the eyes of Wood-pecker, and made them bleed. Then the three took Raven and tied his legs with grass. They searched his belongings and found the garments of Ptarmigan. They dragged him to Eagle. Eagle asked him, "Did you kill the children of Ptarmigan?" — "No, I did not," answered Raven. "Did you take the garments of Ptarmigan?" asked Eagle. "No, I did not," answered Raven. Wood-pecker said to Eagle, "There are Ptarmigan's garments which we found in Raven's house." Eagle said, "Raven, where did you take these garments?" — "I do not know," answered Raven. Eagle said, "Beat Raven." He was beaten until he became black. Then Eagle stopped beating and once more he asked Raven, "Raven, did you really take Ptarmigan's garments?" — "No, I did not," answered Raven. "Well," said Eagle, "beat him again, beat him to death." Raven was beaten again until he was covered with blood. Then raven said to Eagle, "My grandfather, I am near death, don't kill me. I will confess I took Ptarmigan's garments and killed her children. I shall not be such a man in the future." But Eagle said, "Beat him still harder." Raven said, "In the name of the Sun, let me off!" Then they left him. They dragged him to his dwelling. For three months he was sick. He got well finally, but from that time on, Raven has been black. The end.

3. Teri'kiedie Ču'oleji.

On Little Old Woman Tale.

I'ркиn teri'kiedie lei', mo'doi. Mo'dot edi'lek yo'dutāmele. Yo'duteļle
 One old woman lived, was sitting. While sitting sinew thread was twisting. Having twisted
 i'rugujeyeļe tu'de ni'nbegeļe yo'ndogon iru'gucum. I'rugucteļle tu'de
 with awl her tailoring board in its head pierced. Having pierced her
 no'gigeļe u'ļtem tu'de ni'nbegeļetañ i'rugugen uļ'tem. U'ļeteļle po'giei.¹
 thimble tied to her tailoring board that hole tied. When she began to run
 tied (the thimble).
 I'ркиn yalgi'lge ege'deč. Tu'de ni'nbegeļe tā po'nim. Po'nideļle ya'lgil
 On one lake it appeared. Her tailoring board there put. Having put of lake
 (on the lake)
 o'rjeñin xo'nni. Xo'ndelle ya'lgil o'rjege proļu'belek² ā'meļe. Pro'ļube
 towards went. Having come of lake in the an ice-hole (she) made. Ice-hole
 middle middle
 ā'delle ege'dei. Ege'dege a'taxun cu'kodiek³ eu'rel. Tabu'npegeļe a'taxļu
 having looked in When (she) two small pikes were walking Those both
 made (to it) looked in (swimming).

¹ The old woman sat on the tailoring board as on a sledge, and the thimble drove her.

² Russian word *pro'rub*.

³ From the Russian word *tchuka-pike*.

lu'duduniĭle ā'čim. Ā'čidelĭle i'mdolĭlo ko'beč, yā'lgid ĭgi'lĭnen ko'beč.
 with iron hook pulled. Having pulled out down (on the board) drove on, of lake to shore drove.

Ya'lgid-igilge yaxa'delle xa'rtajai. Xa'rtajut a'taxun yo'mičomo-ya'iček' ¹
 Of lake shore having reached snow began to fall. In snow digging two swan eggs

nū'mmele. Tabu'npegele i'mdolĭlo ko'beč. Čugo'gie ye'lokun ibo'lok'
 (she) found. Those (eggs) having put (on sledge) she went on (drove). On the way four stones

nu'mmele, tabu'npegele ye'laxlum i'mdom. I'mdolĭlo ko'beč. Numo'ge
 encountered, those four put (on board). Having put went on. To house

ya'xai. Ya'xadelle i'rkid ibo'lgele ce'cped-a'ñil-pudi'e orpu'rem, ya'nlegele
 arrived. Having arrived one stone door over hung up, three (stones)

yad-o'kno-a'ñil-budi'e orpu'rem. A'taxun cu'kodiegele o'jin-pige'ge po'nim.
 of three windows holes over hung up. Two small pikes water kettle put.
 (into)

A'taxun ya'ičegele co'lokko ² co'rum. A'taxun cu'turigele ³ pu'gače co'lokko
 Two eggs in ashes buried. Two knee-guards with hot ashes

xodo'tom. Xo'dotoĭĭlo čibaĭoilge ⁴ orpu'rem. Orpu'relle teri'kiedie tu'de
 filled. Having filled hearth near hung up. Having hung up old woman her

nu'mojilie mi'ndelle tu'de ičo'lba ⁵ yexli'e mo'doi. Mo'dodege pu'de
 little axe having taken she pole behind sat down. When she was sitting in yard

čixi'relek' me'dul' ca'cpe logo'goč. Ču'oleji po'lut' co'gi. Co'udege ti'netañ
 creaking on was heard door opened. Mythical Old Man entered. When (he) that
 snow entered

ceul yo'uĭlegiede ⁶ cu'lgele ču'mu xo'ndocum. Cu'oleji po'lut' mo'nni:
 stone on his back flesh all tore. Mythical old man said:

"Oyo, le'mle ti'telel?" Čibalñin xo'nni. Ti'netañ o'rpol' cu'turigele ā'čim.
 "Oyo, what is that?" To fire-place went. Those hanging knee-guards pulled.

Ā'čidege ti'netañ co'lok yō'dobudie a'lbei, yō'deule cumu'tagi ye'lecum.
 When he pulled that ashes head his on spilled, head his whole scalded.

Ču'oleji, po'lut' mo'nni: "Pu'goče, loči'lek' pe'deteme." Cecto'kke
 Mythical, old man said: "It is hot, fire (I) made." On fire-place

co'lokko xa'rtem, ti'netañ yo'mičo'mo ya'ičepul a'taxlu lu'teiñit a'ñjedeule
 in ashes he scraped, those swan eggs both having burst eyes his

a'taxlu iru'gucñam. Mo'nni: "Pon-emi'deč, o'kno-añilñin ⁷ xo'nteye." O'kno-
 both pierced. He said: "It has become dark, to window I shall go." To

añilñin xo'nni. Yan o'kno-añilñin xo'ndege yad i'boĭ ya'lum lo'uduñi.
 window he went. (To) three windows when he went three stones all three struck.

Yobo'god-amu'ndeule ču'mu xo'ndotñam. Ču'oleji-po'lut' mo'nni: "Čubo'je
 Spinal column his whole (they) broke. Mythical old man said: "Heart

n-a'n-balxai, čie'jed-o'jik o'jetme." Čiba'l-ye'xleñin xo'nni. O'jigi o'jai. A'taxun
 is disturbing, cold water drink I shall." Fire-place behind went. Water began Both
 to drink.

cu'kedie n-a'čemuñin ⁸ mi'n-ñam či'ñjiñam. Teri'kiedie egi'ei. Tu'de nu'mojile
 little pikes face his seized began to pull. Old woman got up. With her axe

¹ Russian *yaitzo*.

² Russian *tcholog*.

³ Part of garment. Yakut word *suturi'*.

⁴ From the Russian *chuvai*.

⁵ Pole in the dwelling from the Russian word *stolb*.

⁶ Place between shoulder blades.

⁷ *O'kno* is the Russian word for window, and *a'ñil* means in Yukaghir, hole, opening.

⁸ Instead of *n.a'čedeñin*.

čí'nem čagitigile í'njimuñin čí'nem. Čí'nedege cu'oleži po'lut' n'u'goi,
 chopped heel its vein (tendon) chopped. When she was mythical old man fell,
 chopping
 yō'mildegen tāñ čí'nem, cu'oleže-polu'tkele kude'dem. Pu'deļugude ču'oleži-
 neck his there (she) was mythical old man killed. To yard mythical
 chopping,
 polu'tkele ā'det uku'teim. Pu'de po'nim. Po'nideļle o'nmiedieļe nu'motem.
 old man having dragged out. In yard she put Having put from willows tent made.
 dragged down down
 Teri'kiedie nu'moñin co'gi. Co'udeļle yo'ndič. Ogoye'lme egi'ei. Omo'če
 Old woman house entered. Having entered fell asleep. On the morrow got up. Beautiful
 morning
 nu'moñol numo'gi ku'deleļ. Tu'del omo'če ma'rxilñol ku'deleļ. Pu'deļugude
 house being house her became. She beautiful girl became it To yard
 appears.
 u'koč. O'nmiedie-nu'mogeļe yu'om, o'nmiedie-nu'mo molgodo'go omo'ced
 went out. Willow tent looked at, of willow tent in its middle handsome
 adí'lek yō a'ngit mo'doļ. Tí'netañ a'dil' ki'eč. N-e'min-ñi. N-emí'n-delle
 youth head combing was sitting. That youth came Each other they Having taken each
 (approached). took. other
 ma'dāñi.
 they began to live.

The Little Old Woman.

There was a little old woman. She twisted sinew thread, made a hole in the top of her tailoring board, passed the sinew thread through it, and tied her thimble to the thread. Then she sat down on the board and drove the thimble. The thimble started running and carried the old woman to a lake. Having reached the middle of the lake, the old woman made an ice-hole and looked into it. She saw two small pike swimming. She caught them with an iron hook and pulled them out. She put these on her sledge and drove back to the shore. On the shore, she began to dig into the snow and found there two swan eggs. She put these also on her sledge. She went on and found on her way four stones. She put these also on her sledge and drove the thimble home. Having arrived home, the old woman hung one of the stones over the house entrance, and the other three over the three windows. She put the two small pike into a kettle filled with water. She buried the two eggs in the hot ashes of the hearth. Then she put hot ashes in her knee-guards and hung them up near the hearth. Having done all this, she took her little axe and sat down behind one of the house poles. Soon she heard a creaking of the snow in the yard. The door opened and a Mythical Old Man appeared. When he entered, the stone that hung over the door fell down and tore off the flesh from his back. "Oyo, what is that?" screamed the Mythical Old Man. He went to the fire-place and pulled down the hanging knee-guards. Then the hot ashes spilled on him and burnt his head.

The Mythical Old Man said, "It is hot, I made a fire." Then he went

to the fire-place and began to scrape the ashes. The swan eggs burst and pierced both his eyes. The Mythical Old Man said, "It has become dark, I shall go to the window." When he came to the three windows, the three hanging stones fell upon him and broke his back. The Mythical Old Man said, "My heart is disturbed, I must take some cold water." He went behind the fire-place and tried to drink water from the kettle. The pike seized his face and pulled his cheeks. Then the old woman got up and struck the tendons of his heels with her axe. The Mythical Old Man fell down and the old woman cut off his head. The Mythical Old Man died. The old woman dragged his body out of the house, put it on the ground, and put up a willow tent over it. The old woman entered her house and went to bed. The next morning, she looked around and saw that her hut had become a beautiful house and that she herself had turned into a beautiful young girl. She went out and saw that in the middle of the willow tent a handsome youth was sitting, combing his hair. She approached the youth. He married her. After that, they lived together.

4. Ču'oleji-po'lut Ču'oleji.
On Mythical Old Man Tale.

I'ркиn teri'kiedie mo'doi. I'ркиje mo'dodogo ti'bid-añi'lgen la'žil'
One old woman was sitting. Once when she was through the chimney soot
(of fire-place)

lo'mdui. Teri'kiedie ča'nde yu'odeč i'ркиn ču'oleji-poļu'dek' mo'dol' ti'bid
was falling Old woman up looked one mythical old man was sitting on
(down).

añi'lge. Teri'kiedie cečto'x igi'lgen čomo'jebodek ege'žil'.¹ Teri'kiedie
chimney. (Of) old woman fire-place at edge a large (one) was lowered Old woman
down.

u'koč mo'nni: "Po'lut omo'će lebie'ñin xonjei'li." Ču'oleji-po'lut mo'nni:
went out said: "Old man to good place let us go." Mythical old man said:
"Ubu'i mo'jex." Teri'kiedie keye'n ko'beč. Tāt xo'nnut i'ркиn ca'xan-
"Truth you speak." Old woman ahead went. Thus walking one of fox
nu'mod-añi'lek nu'mmeje. Teri'kiedie o'goļo lo'udem, tā čanma'x abudā'i.
of lair hole (she) found. Old woman trousers threw off, there on back lay down.

Ču'oleji-po'lut kieč. "Po'lut, monni, n-e'bonuyeile." Ču'oleji-po'lut' tu'de
Mythical old man came. "Old man, said (she), together let us be Mythical old man his
(i. e., sleep let us)."

i'čigeļe ca'xan-nu'mod-añi'lgen ču'lgaim. Teri'kiedie tu'din met-mo'nni: "Tāt
penis of fox of lair hole through put. Old woman to her self said: "So
ca'xan-nu'mod-añi'lgeļe n-e'yekli'e iru'guļum, ye'xleguļañden ege'deč."
of fox of lair hole through pierced, from other side (of lair) stood up
(penis)."

Teri'kiedie mo'nni: "Po'lut' kude'ji ke'ļuļ." Ču'oleji-po'lut e'yeļe mi'jum.
Old woman said: "Old man warrior has come." Mythical old man bow took.

¹ I. e., the penis of the mythical old man.

Cu'oleĵi po'lut yu'om cā'rek ege'ĵil. Yo'gotile mi'jum a'yim kodi'n-
 Mythical old man looked something stood up. Arrow he took shot himself
 (i. e., his penis)
 yogo'tom. Ču'oleĵi-po'lut' tā a'mdei. Teri'kiedie egi'ei, n-e're mo'rom
 with arrow hit. Mythical old man there died. Old woman got up, dress put on
 mo'nni: "Lei'tek, tāt a'mdeček." Nu'moñin xo'nni, tu'de numo'ge ya'xai.
 said: "Know (it), there you will die." Homewards she went, to her house arrived.
 Tiñ para'ñin¹ mo'doi. N-a'dude.
 (To) this time she lives. End.

Told by Aleksey Dolganoff, Nelemnaya River, Oct. 12, 1901.

Tale of a Mythical Old Man.

There was an old woman. Once when she was sitting in her house, she saw that soot was falling down through the chimney of her fire-place. The old woman looked up and saw that a Mythical Old Man was sitting on top of the chimney and that he lowered down his large penis which reached the edge of the fire-place. The old woman went out and said to the Mythical Old Man, "Old Man, let us go to a better place." The Mythical Old Man answered, "It is the real truth what you say." The old woman went ahead. While walking, she saw the entrance to a fox's lair. The old woman threw off her trousers and lay down on her back over the hole. When the Mythical Old Man came, she said to him, "Old Man, let us lie together and copulate." The Mythical Old Man put his penis into the hole of the fox's lair. Then the old woman said to herself, "He pierced the fox's lair so that his penis is standing up from another passage of the lair." She said, "Old Man, look, a warrior has come." The Mythical Old Man seized his bow and looked. He saw that something was standing up. He flew an arrow, and he hit his own penis. The Mythical Old Man died there. The old woman got up, put on her dress, and said, "Know it, now you will be dead." She went back home. She came to her house and lives there to this time. The end.

5. Čolgo'ron ču'oleĵi. On Hare Tale.

I'ркиn polu'ndie lei teri'keni mo'doi. Mo'dot' teri'kiedie polu'ndieñin
 One old man lived with wife was sitting Sitting old woman to old man
 (lived).
 mo'nni: "Po'lut', le'kteĵbon² čolgo'ro leme'get el a'ñčiyeik?" Polu'ndie tāt
 said: "Old man for food hare why do you look for go?" Old man then
 (also husband), not
 nu'mojile n-a'čecum. N-a'čectelle ko'beč. Unu'ñin ondei'delle n-a'n-meĵe
 axe sharpened. Having sharpened went. To river having descended willow tree

¹ Russian word *pora'*.

² *Lektelbon* means "something edible."

po'lon ni'ndem. Ni'ndelle tañ n-a'n-med-iče-āl xo'doi. Xodo'dege mo'nni:
 entire felled. Having felled of that willow crown under was While lying said:
 lying.
 "Le'mdik'! čolgo'rolok' ¹ ke'luł?" Medi'n le'ndiei, połu'ndiegele yu'om
 "What! hare did come?" At once began to eat (but) old man saw
 (willow),
 ceu'reč. Tāt i'ččie lede'ge ai i'rkiet ki'eč. Medi'n le'ndiei połu'ndiegele
 ran away. Thus long being again one came. At once to eat began old man
 (i. e., lying) (being)
 ai nu'gum, ai ceu'reč. I'ččie lede'ge lebie' xo'do co'mō tā'tm-e colgo'-
 again found, again ran away. Long being earth as large as (many) hares
 roplok' ke'lñil. Ke'ldelle mo'nñi: "Polu'ndie mit omo'če n-a'n-megele
 came. Having come (they) said: "Old man our good willow
 eru'letillei, ² Ko'udieiga nu'modin." ³ Nu'modin paya'ĩnam, nu'modege
 to destroy wants, let us take (him) to his house." To his house dragged (they), to his house
 lo'xtoñam. Nu'modege lo'xtołlo nu'modege ču'mut co'nñi. Co'nñidege
 brought. To his house having brought in the house his all went. When they entered
 polu'ndie mo'nni: "Teri'ke, met ya'lgil ke'čik." Teri'kiedie ke'čim.
 old man said: "Old woman, my drum bring." Old woman brought.
 Ōdeu'le yō'łlo ⁴ xodo'tom. Polu'ndie tāt yalgi'nai. Yalgi'net mo'nni:
 His trousers (he) put down. Old man then began to beat While beating said:
 the drum.
 "Teri'ke ce'cped-a'ñil topk." Teri'kiedie ce'cped-añilgen lo'čil ceu'rem.
 "Old woman door close." Old woman through door wood carried.
 Polu'ndie lo'čil ye'remegele ā'čim. Ā'čidelle tabu'de colgo'rople co'lgiliem.
 Old man of wood a stick pulled. Having pulled those hares began to club.
 Teri'kiedie pu'det mo'łlo-mo'dič: "Po'lut', nomo'xo tet ču'mu kude'demik',
 Old woman from yard said: "Old man, what for you all kill,
 me'tin tañ lei nomo'xo e'le yo'lo'jox?" I'rkin čolgo'ro cāl-āl agi'dāi.
 for me the one (which) is why do not (you) leave?" One hare tree under hid himself.
 Polu'ndie mo'nni: "Teri'ke, ke'luł' tu'ben kude'deyeik." Teri'kiedie co'gi
 Old man said: "Old woman, go that one to kill go." Old woman came in
 tu'de pi'gonđa mi'ndelle tabu'de paim. Pa'ĩnit ko'udem une'mede i'čigen
 her kettle-hook having taken with it struck. Striking missed of ear his end
 čagi'taim; tāt yu'om ciji'lge i'rkin n-a'člebiek agi'duol. Tabu'ne tāt paim.
 struck; thus looking in the lower one ptarmigan was hidden. Her thus struck.
 end of the
 tent-cover
 Pa'ĩnit č'isto ⁵ ko'udem laxi'de pie'rigen paim. Čolgoro ce'ureč, n-a'člebie
 Striking altogether missed of tail her feathers struck. Hare ran away, ptarmigan
 me'rieč. Tabu'nget čolgo'ro e'nmui ti'ñilañide, tañ i'rkin n-a'člebieget
 flew off. From that (hare) hares originated from that time (from) one ptarmigan
 on, that
 e'nmui ti'ñilañide. Teri'kiedie pait ko'uduogi pi'gonďale tabu'nget tiñilañi'de
 originated from that time The old woman striking the place of with the from that from that time
 until now. her missing kettle-hook till now
 une'med i'čegi ebi'bei, n-a'člebie la'xin-pi'ered i'čegi ai ebi'bei. N-a'dude.
 of ear tip of his became of ptarmigan of tail-feathers tip of it also became End.
 (hare's) black, black.

Told by the Yukaghir Nikolas Solntzev on the Nelemnaya River, October, 1901.

¹ The singular is often used in tales instead of the plural.

² Instead of *eru'letin-lei*.

³ Instead of *nu'modeñin*.

⁴ I could not find the meaning of this word. *Yō* means head.

⁵ The Russian word *tchi'sto*.

A Tale of Hare.

An old man lived with his wife. Once the old woman said to her husband, "Old man, why do you not go to get hares for food?" The old man sharpened his axe and went off. He went down to the river and felled a willow tree. Having felled the tree, he lay under its crown. A hare at once came and began to eat the willow, but when it caught sight of the old man, it ran away. The old man lay there for a long time. Then a hare came and immediately began to eat the willow; but when it saw the old man, it also ran away. Again the old man lay there a long time. Then hares came in such numbers that they were like grains of sand on the ground. When the hares arrived they said, "The old man wants to destroy our nice willow, let us take him to his house." They dragged him to his house. They took him there and all entered the house. Then the old man said, "Wife, bring me my drum." The old woman brought it. The old man took off his trousers and beat the drum. He said, "Old woman, close the door." The old woman was carrying wood through the door. The old man took a log and clubbed the hares. The old woman who was outside said to him, "Old man, why do you kill all of them, why do you not leave one for me?" One hare hid under the wood. The old man said, "Wife, come here and kill that one." The old woman came in, took her kettle-hook and struck the hare with it; but she missed; she hit only the tip of its ear. Then, while looking for the hare, the old woman saw a ptarmigan hidden under the lower end of the tent cover. She tried to strike it but missed; she only hit the feathers of its tail. The hare ran away and the ptarmigan flew off. At that time hares originated from that hare, and at that time ptarmigans originated from that ptarmigan. Because the old woman, in striking with her kettle-hook missed, the tip of the hare's ear has come to be black from that time till now and the tip of the tail feathers of the ptarmigan also has come to be black.

6. Čuolejši.

Tale.

I'ркин	coro'mo	lei,	teri'keni.	I'ркин	pojerxo'go	ku'nelōnuo	tolo'bo
One	man	lived,	married.	In one	day	ten	wild reindeer
ku'dečim.	Teri'kegi	i'ркин	pojerxo'go	ču'mu	nu'moñin	ke'činum.	
he would kill.	Wife his	in one	day	all (reindeer)	home	dragged.	
I'ркин	pojerxo'go	ti'netañ	coro'mo	nu'mo-yekli'n ¹	ai	ko'beč.	Teri'kegi
One	day	that	man	of house behind	again	went.	Wife his

¹ This is the hunter's term for "going to hunt."

mo'doi. Pu'det ya'xtelek' mo'dul: "Čomo'n ča'ndelulenjek, me'tin ke'luk'
 was sitting From yard singing was heard: "Very brave it seems to me come
 (remained). (you are),
 met teri'keñol."
 (as) my wife."

Ti'netañ pai u'koč. N-ema'log-ude pu'de yu'onum: Čād-i'čige
 That woman went out. From all sides in yard (she) looked: Of tree on top
 mo'joloṗka¹ pai yu'odege mo'doi.
 Mouse-hawk woman when she was sitting.
 looking

Mo'joloṗka mo'nni: "Met teri'keñol ke'luk'." Pai mo'nni: "Met el
 Mouse-hawk said: "(As) my wife come." Woman said: "I not
 ke'lteye."
 shall go."

Nu'moñin co'gi. Mo'ldigeyeye ule'tem. Yo'ndot, monni: "Met' polu'dñin
 House (she) Coat string (she) tied Lying down (she) said: "I (to) husband
 entered. (as a reminder) to sleep,
 ke'ldege pu'ndut'." Ya'xtelbon ko'beč. Polu'tki ki'eč. Teri'kegi ta'g-ane
 when he shall tell." The one who went. Husband her came. Wife his nevertheless
 comes sang

yo'ndālelum. Yo'nduñi polu'ten-e. Pai mo'ldigeyeye pe'ijim, ta'g-ane el
 forgot apparently. To sleep they with husband. Woman coat-string untied, still (she)
 went not

lei'teč. Ogo'ye agi'eñi. Polu'tki ai nu'moyeklin ko'beč. Teri'kegi xanā'lñin
 did Next they got up. Husband again to hunt he went. Wife his to move
 remember. morning her

ku'delei. Mo'joloṗka ai ki'eč. Čād-i'čege ai ma'dāi. Ai ya'xtai: "Čomo'n
 to prepare Mouse-hawk again came. Of tree on top again (he) sat Again (he) sang: "Very
 began. down.

ča'ndelulenjek, me'tin ke'luk' met teri'keñol, i'n-gan-boje-ku'nel' teri'keṗe
 brave you are it to me come (as) my wife, fifty wives
 appears,

teri'kenje. Me'tin ke'lñide el agu'rpeček. Ye'ndudin le'lukene yen,
 as wives I have. To me if you go not you will suffer. To sleep in prepare when another,
 order you will

coro'mo m-e'čteṗe² a'mdetem."
 person bed (for you) will make."

Ti'netañ pai tu'de ā'čepulgeṗe tāt pe'čeceim. Ti'netañ mo'joloṗkañin
 That woman her reindeer thus (she) left. To that Mouse-hawk
 xo'nni. Mo'joloṗka čād-i'čeget lebie'ge lo'udič. Mo'joloṗka pai'ñin mo'nni:
 (she) went. Mouse-hawk from tree top to ground came down. Mouse-hawk to woman said:

"Met jō'min budi'e i'māx." Pai i'māi. Mo'joloṗka tāt me'rieč. Polu'tki
 "Of my head on top sit down." Woman sat down. Mouse-hawk thus flew away. Husband her
 ki'eč. Teri'kegi o'ile! Kobe'ilel. Bečde'³ a'ñcim. Pe'rei-e'yuloṗek'
 came. Wife his is gone! She left it appears. Everywhere (he) searched. Of wings trail (on snow)

nu'mmeṗe. Ta'ñiñi'ñi'de cubo'jei. Ič xo'nni. Nu'molek' nu'tn-el. Mo'nni:
 he found. In that direction he ran. Far (he) went. House was standing. He said:

"U'keik'!" Numo'get aju' me'dič: "Met ke'nme, mo'nni, tet teri'ke tī
 "Come out!" From house voice heard was: "My friend, (he) said, your wife here

¹ From the Russian word *mysheľovka*.

² From the Russian word *mye'sto* place.

³ Russian word *vezdye'*.

lei met numo'ge. Mo'jolopka tet teri'kegele maru'cedege met a'yi.
 is in my house. Mouse-hawk your wife when he carried away I shot.
 A'yiñit pe'ried-amu'ngi ce'lgedeime Tet teri'ke mink, met numo'ge lei."
 While of wings bones his I broke. Your wife take, in my house (she) is."
 shooting

"E'le, niñeyeboñin¹ e'le a'n-n-elex, u'keik'." Teri'kegi ajū'gi me'dič:
 "No, much do not talk, come out." Of wife his voice her heard was:
 "Ubu'i,² mo'jolopka me'tul me'riecum." — "Ele, el kimda'n-n-aļek, u'keik',
 "True, Mouse hawk me carried away." — "No, not do lie, come out,
 ukeik'!"
 come out!"

Nu'monpogil' u'koč e'ye mi'ndelle. E'yele xo'llume n-ea'yinām.
 Of house master came out bow having taken. With bows immediately at each other to
 shoot (they) began.

Ke'lul-coro'mox ti'netañ nu'monpogi'lgele kude'dem. Co'gi nu'moñin. Mo'doi
 Who had man that of house master killed. He house. Sits
 come entered
 teri'kegi. Mi'jum tu'de teri'kegele. Noi'dege egi'erem caxada'idelle kude'dem,
 wife his. (He) took his wife. By leg her pulling having torn (her (he) killed,
 into two)

pe'ceceim. U'koč. Egu'riei. Ti'netañ nu'mayen-jege tā nu'gum mo'jeļopkā
 (he) threw away. He went To go he To that house still to be seen there he found Mouse-hawk
 away. began.

lo'uduluolgele, tāt kobei'leļ. Ta'bun čugo'gen ko'beč. Ič xo'nni. Pie'lek
 of fall place, from he went it Along that trail he went. Far he went. Cliff
 there appears.

nu'tneļ yū'lek u'kčil' tañ pie'n-molğodo'got. Mo'nni: "Le'meñojex? U'keik'."
 was smoke was from cliff-of middle its. (He) said: "Who are you? Come out."
 standing coming that

I'ркиn coromox u'koč, čomo'je lu'dun coromox. Tāt xo'llume
 One man came out, great iron man. Thus immediately
 ki'mjieñi. Yan n-e'molgilge ki'mjieñi. Ke'lul coromox lu'dun-coro'mogoļo
 to fight they Three years they fought. Who had man iron man
 began. come

kude'dem. Nu'moñin co'gi nu'mon-molğodo'ro ū'ldoi pai'pele, — i'n-g-an-boje-
 killed. House he entered of house in middle of it full of women, — fifty

kune'lek. Tāt ayā'gāñam³ ti'netañ coromogoļo.
 (of them). So they rejoiced (over) that man.

Koi mo'nni: "Xot' kie'čebonpeñojemet pa'ipeñojemet?"
 Man said: "From where those who had come are you women are you?"

I'lle mo'nñi: "Poļu'tneyebonpeñojeili, mo'jolopka mi'tkele keči'yinum."
 Some (of them) said: "Married we were, Mouse hawk us carried away."

I'lle monñi: "Ma'rxipeñojeili." "Tit lebie' leidime't?" Ču'mut mo'nñi:
 Others said: "Girls we were." "Your place do you know?" All said:

"Lei'di." A'taxlot to'lko⁴ mo'nñi: "Mit el lei'diyeli." Ti'netañ lei'diltañpeñin
 "(I) know." Two only said: "We (do) not know." To those who knew

mo'nni: "Tit lebie'ñin kobe'iñik." Ayā'ni. Tāt kobe'iñi.
 (he) said: "(To) places go." (They) So they went.
 your rejoiced.

¹ Literally: about much.

² A Yakut word.

³ From the intransitive verb, *ayā'ni*, they rejoiced. *ayāgañam*- transitive verb, (they) rejoiced (over someone). *ayāgāñam*- transitive verb, (they) began to rejoice (over someone).

⁴ Russian word.

A'taxun el-lei'dilbonpegele ko'udieim eu'reciem. Ič eu'recum. Irki'et
 Two who did not know (he) began to (he) began to Far he led them. One
 conduct lead them. (of them)
 mo'nni: "E, met lo'čil ū'yibe, met nu'mo ti'bodek." — "Xonk' tet,
 said: "Ah, my fire where usully my house here is." — "Go to your,
 is made,
 nu'moñin."
 house."

Ti'netañ pai ko'beč. I'rkilgele ai eu'recum. Ič xo'nni. Tā'čile
 That woman went. The other one again (he) led. Far he went. Then
 ya'xtalek' modul. Ya'xtet mo'llo-mo'dič: "Met teri'ke a'ñčit či'lle ulu'mui.
 singing was heard. When (he) (he) said: "My wife looking spring came to an
 sang for end.

I'ji xo'noxo mo'nuol: A'taxun no'ineye coromo met teri'kegele nu'delle
 Now good would be to say I could: Two legged man my wife having found
 me'tin ke'čim. Ye'lojoñin el u'ktecme met e'mje ot tadi'me." Xo'dot
 to me brought. Into (the light not I lead which my younger would I give." Sitting
 of) the sun sister

ya'xtei. Ke'lul' coromox mo'nul': "Ti'nde keči'me." Ti'netañ coromo
 he sings. Who had come man said: "There (I) brought." That man
 egi'ei. "Ič me'tul' ogu'rpecmik." Tāt mo'nni, xo'llume e'yele ayinum
 got up. "Long me (you) tortured" So (he) said, at once (with) bow he shot
 me'nmegeidele. Ke'lul' coromo mo'nni: "Met ke'nme, met ke'nme,
 having jumped. Who had come man said: "My friend, my friend,
 xo'dolex, met tet teri'ke mo'jolopkat ke'čime met el mi'n-je."
 what is with you, I your wife from Mouse-hawk brought, I not did take."

El me'di i'rkilañi ayinum. I'rkilañi ke'pčim yogo'tigi ulu'mui.
 (He) hear always (he) shoots. Always (he) misses arrows his came to an
 does not end.

Ke'lul' coromox cā'llokile,¹ a'yim. Čagi'gi cegedei'mele. Eni'čiem ibe'lede:
 Who had man with wooden shot. Thigh his (he) broke. To beg (he) crying:
 come arrow, began

"El kude'delek' me'tul', ye'lojeñin el u'ktecme met e'mje ke'iteme."
 "Do kill me, into (the light do lead which my younger shall give
 not of) the sun not sister away."

Ke'lul' coromo mu'llele a'yim ča'gideule omo'lbei. "A'taxlot ti
 Who had man sputum spat out thigh his got well. "Together here
 come

modo'nik." Ko'beč ke'čim tu'de e'mjegele nugo'nde-xo'don-eyekli'e xa'jibe.
 sit." (He) went (he) brought his younger sister arm her through it shines.

Ke'lul' coromoñin ta'dim. Tu'de teri'kegele mi'jum. Ti'ne ičto'² āčele
 To the one man he gave. His (own) wife he took. Those hundred reindeer
 who had come

ta'dim. A'če³ imā'ñi, tu'de lebie'ge kobe'iñi. Čugo'gie ai i'ркиn paik
 (he) gave. On they sat (to) his land they travelled. On the way more one woman
 reindeer on back,

nu'mmele me'jile ki'eč, ai marxi'lek.
 he found, on sledge she had also a girl.
 come

¹ Instead of *cān-lokičle*.

² Russian word *sto* — hundred.

³ Singular instead of plural.

Tale.

There was a man. He would kill ten wild reindeer each day. His wife would bring home all the killed reindeer in one day.

Once upon a time, that man left to go hunting. His wife remained at home. Suddenly she heard singing in the yard, "You are a very brave woman, come to me and be my wife."

That woman went out, looked all around, and saw Mouse-hawk sitting on a tree. Mouse-hawk said to her, "Come to me and be my wife!" The woman answered, "I shall not go." The one who sang went away.

She entered the house and tied a knot on a string of her coat as a reminder. She said to herself, "When my husband comes home, I will tell him what happened." The one who had sung left. Her husband came home, but the woman forgot. When she went to sleep with her husband and untied the strings of her coat she did not remember about Mouse-hawk. The following morning they got up. The husband of the woman went again to hunt and the woman prepared for moving their camp. At that time Mouse-hawk came back. Again, he sat on the top of a tree and sang: "You are a very brave woman, come to me and be my wife. I have fifty wives. You will not have to work in my house. A servant will prepare for you even your sleeping place."

The woman abandoned her reindeer and went to Mouse-hawk. He descended from the tree and said to the woman, "Sit down on the top of my head." She did so and Mouse-hawk flew away. Her husband came from the hunt and not finding his wife, looked for her everywhere. Finally, he found a trail of bird wings on the snow and he ran in that direction. He ran far and came to a house. "Come out," he cried out to the owner. The latter said from inside, "My friend, your wife is here in my house. I shot Mouse-hawk when he was carrying her away. I broke his wing-bones and took your wife to my house, she is here." — "Do not talk so much," said the man, "come out." Then the voice of his wife was heard, "It is true, Mouse-hawk kidnapped me." — "Do not lie," said her husband, "come out."

The master of the house took his bow and came out. Immediately, they began to shoot at each other. The man who had arrived killed the master of the house. Then he went into the house. There he found his wife. He grasped her by the leg and pulled it until he had torn her in two. Thus, he killed her and threw the body away. He went on, and reached the place where the wounded Mouse-hawk had fallen down. A trail led on from that place. He followed it and went very far. He reached a high cliff. Smoke was rising from the middle of the cliff. The man said, "Who are you? Come out!"

A big iron-man came out. Immediately, they began to fight. They

fought for three years. Finally, the man who had arrived killed the iron-man. He entered the cliff-dwelling and found it full of women. There were fifty of them. The women rejoiced.

The man said to the women, "Where do you come from?" Some of them said: "We are married women. Mouse-hawk carried us away." Some of them said, "We were girls." — "Do you know your native places?" asked the man. All but two said, "We know them". The man said, "Go to your homes." The women rejoiced and went away.

Then he took the two women who did not know where to go and led them, in order to find their homes. On their way, one of the women recognized her dwelling place and said, "This is the place where I usually made my fire, there is my house." — "Go to your house," said the man.

She went. The other woman he led on. They went very far. Suddenly the following song was heard, "While I was looking for my wife, spring came to an end. It would be nice if I could say: a two legged man having found my wife is bringing her to me. I should give him my younger sister whom I do not let out into the light of the sun." He sang while he was sitting. Then the man who had arrived said, "I brought her, here she is." The other man got up and said, "You have tortured me long enough." He jumped up and shot with his bow. The man who had come said, "My friend, what is the matter with you, I did not take your wife. Mouse-hawk did it and I brought her back."

But that man did not listen. He kept on shooting, always missing, until his arrows were at an end. Then the man who had come, shot his wooden arrow and broke the thigh of the other man. The latter cried for mercy, "Don't kill me, I shall give you my younger sister whom I do not let out into the sunlight."

The man who had arrived, spat on the thigh of the other man and it was well. Then the other brought out his younger sister and gave her to the man who had arrived. She was radiant like the sun. Her brother gave her one hundred reindeer. They sat on the backs of the reindeer and travelled to the home of the man. On the way, he met another girl who was travelling on a sledge and took her along.

7. Čuoļe n-e'jil.

Ancient Tradition.

Ču'oled	o'mni	n-ā'ñčinunuñi ¹	n-e'kudedeñin.	Odu'pe	a'ñčiyeiñam	
Ancient	people	(for) each other were looking	each other to kill in order.	Yukaghir	to search started out	
erpe'yele,	kere'kele,	a'ñčiyeiñit	le'nuboptege	ya'xañi	o'ileñi.	M-e'delle
Tungus,	Koryak,	to search starting out	the places where they stayed	they reached	(they were) not up there.	Having waited
kobei'ñi	ai	a'ñčiyeiñam.				
they went on	again	to search they went.				

¹ Instead of: *n.e'añčinunuñi*.

Kobei'mebiyiñit írkin po'lut yad u'olek u'onei. Irkid u'ogele numo'ge
 To go getting ready one old man three children as children One child at home
 had.

po'nim. Ča'ndeļul omo'l coromopuln-e ko'beč.¹ Tāt kobei'ni. Kobe'iñiede
 he left. The older (with) good people went. Then they went. After they had
 yolā'n ya'lgid igi'lgin nu'man-eñi.² Yalgi'ge ei'meguļañdet ku'deļipe ke'ļni.
 gone of lake shore on house they had. (Near) lake from other side warriors came.
 Ya'lgil uļu'dečič-tāt ni'ñeñi. Ya'lgid o'rjege tā ku'dečiysi. Mo'doltañpe
 Lake filled so many they Of lake in the there they made camp. Sitting who where
 were. middle

yu'oñidege ku'deļipeget írkin coromox ke'lieļ. La'xai, nu'mopedege la'xai.
 when they from warriors one man to approach He came, to their house he came.
 looked began.

La'xadege pon-o'l u'odie tu'de numo'get u'koč. Kere'kepuļget ke'ļuļtañ
 When he arrived which was child (from) house came out. From Koryak who had come
 left its

yo'uļocām: "Ti'ļepuļ le'ni?" U'odie mo'nni: "Ti'tek' a'ñčiyei'ñimeļe."
 to ask began: "Your (people) are (i. e., Child said: "You to search they went."
 are at home):"

U'odieñin ti'ne ke'ļul' coromox mo'nni: "Me'jin-koinbe āx."³
 To the child that who had come man said: "From sledge a shield make."

Tañ coromo e'le kere'keļek co'loyoujik.⁴ Kere'ke erpe'ye tu'degeļe
 That man not Koryak (was) Sholoyou man (was). Koryak (and) Tungus him

yuku'odege mi'n-ñelñimelebodek.
 when he small was they took whom.

Tañ co'loyouji mo'nni: "Met te'tuļ čobi'neļe ki'giyiet, ta'ñnugi met
 That the Sholoyou said: "I you with spear to spear shall then my
 begin,

cobi'ne mink, ta'ñnugi o'rn-eteye me'ļepuļñin: "Met čobi'neļe o'nom!"⁵
 spear take away, then I shall scream to my people: "My spear took away
 (call) (he)!"

Tañ co'loyouji ki'giyiem u'odiegeļe. U'odie čobi'nedeuļe o'nom.
 That Sholoyou-man to spear began child. Child spear his took away.

Če'iñie ta'dim mo'nni: "Met čobi'neļe ki'mjik!" Tu'delepūñin o'rn-ei:
 On purpose he gave said (warrior "With my spear fight!" To his people called:
 up to child):

"Met čobi'neļe u'odie o'nom." Tāt ti'netañ ku'deļipe ke'lieñi u'odiegeļe
 "My spear child took away." Then those warriors to arrive began (at) child
 e'yeļe a'yināñam. U'odie tāt me'jin-ko'i'n-be budi'en me'nmegeč. Me'nme-
 with bows to shoot began. Child thus from sledge-shield on top (of it) jumped. When
 geidege numo'ge-tañpe yu'odeñidege kere'ke uļe'getite n-u'rōñi. Kere'ke-yō-
 he jumped in house-who (were) when they looked Koryak grass like fell. Of Koryak heads
 budi'en e'urei.⁵ Ti'netañ kude'ji ei'mundegi ču'mut uļu'mui. Ti'netañ
 on the (he) walked. Of those warriors half of them all (he) finished. That
 top (of)

u'odie yo'logude tu'de numo'ge co'gi. Tu'de čobi'ne le'pkudeuļe a'lācum.
 boy back his house he entered. His spear blood its he was
 cleaning off.

¹ I. e., with warriors.

² I. e. they put up a tent.

³ When attacked by enemies, the Yukaghir made barricades of sledges, behind which they fought.

⁴ *Co'loyou* was the name of a Yukaghir clan on the Omolon River; *ji-* man, men.

⁵ I. e., the boy was running on the heads of the Koryak.

Tu'de pabā'nin mo'nni: "Ceu'reik, i'ji e'le ke'lteye mā'mdeye (= me-a'mdeye),
To his elder sister said: "Run away, now not (I) shall come, (I) shall die,
me'tkele-kolle¹ yogo'rtoñam."
myself (they) will spear."

U'odie tāt u'koč. Ti'ne coromopuln-e ai ki'mjiei. Pabā'gi u'koč
Boy then went out. With men again to fight he Elder sister went
those those began. his out
a'taxun ā'ček pragai'meļe² meji'ge, tu'de eči'epe³ ču'gopedege tān ce'ureč.
two reindeer harnessed to sledge, of her fathers on way their there she ran
away.

Ti'netañ coromopuļ u'odiegeļe kude'deñam. U'odie ku'dedelle ti'netañ
Those people (the) boy killed. (The) boy having killed in those
nu'mopedege⁴ coromopteule cā'yiremeļe co'lgiiñam. A'taxun kere'ke
houses theirs people their (with) sticks clubbed. Two Koryak

ti'netañ ce'ureļ pai'geļe tāt xa'ñieñam. Ti'netañ pai ā'čepki a'taxlū
that who had girl then (they) pursued. Of that girl reindeer her both
run away

a'mdeñi. Ugu'rčeļe čubo'jiei. Kere'kepul ču'godege la'xadelle čubo'juogi
they died. On snow-shoes to run (she) Koryak trail her having reached places on which
began. she had run

yu'odelle yo'logude ce'ureñi, mo'nñi: "Tiñ coromo ča'ndalče coromoñoleļ
having seen back they ran, they said: "This man brave man it seems
ko'i'peñoleļ."
young man it seems."

Ti'netañ pai tu'delepulge ya'xai. Pu'nduode yoļā'n ču'mut ibe'lieñi.
That girl to hers came. Accounts her after all began to cry.

Eči'egi yo'ulocām, mo'nni: "Met u'o coromo e'le kude'de čuon⁵ a'mdel'?"
Father her to inquire began, said: "My child one no having killed died?"

Pai mo'nni: "Ceu'remiebiyiñit yu'odelge ti'ne ke'luolget čāye ro'mox⁶
Girl she said: "To run when I was when I looked of those who had come few people
getting ready

eu'reļle mo'dul'." Čumut nū'olieñi. Ti'te čugo'gen yo'logude kobe'i'ñi.
walking were heard." All joyfully On their trail back they went.
laughed.

Ti'te numo'ge nirkiet o'ile, kude'delieñam. Ya'lgilbudi'e coromo onmo'n
In their house no one was left, they killed it appears. Lake surface (from) people quite

e'mič, tāt xo'dōñi.⁷ Xo'llume xa'ñieñam ca'rñam. Tāt kere'kepul
black thus they were At once (they) pursued (they) over- Then Koryak
(was), lying. took.

e'nicieñam odu'peļe: "Mi'tul e'le kude'deñilek." Odu'pe e'le modi'yiñi.
to implore began Yukaghir: "Us (do) not kill." Yukaghir (did) not mind.

Cu'mu kude'deñam, čā'yebodek yolo'jeñile. A'čepteuļe ču'mu mi'n-ñam.
All (they) killed, few they left (alive). Their reindeer all (they) took.

¹ *Kolle* instoed of *ko'deļe*; from *ko'de* (man in the tundra-dialect) me. Thus *metkele-kolle* is the doubling of me.

² From the Russian *pryaga't'* to put in harness (horses).

³ Fathers (plural), meaning the father and elder brother.

⁴ The plural of *nu'mopedege* (in their houses) does not mean that there were many houses. According to the rules of the Yukaghir syntax *numopedege* is in concord with the plural of people.

⁵ *Ele* — *čuon* means without. *Ele kudede čuon* — without having killed.

⁶ Instead of *coromox*.

⁷ The dead Koryak.

Cā'yed-ā'cek ta'diñimele. "Kebe'iñik ta'ñdaga, tit lebie'ge laxa'lñin tiñ
 Few reindeer they returned, (to "Go thus, to land in order to these
 the Koryak who had remained alive). your reach
 ā'čepul' le'gut' xo'nñik."
 reindeer eating go."
 Tí'netañ a'mdel coro'moplok o'moc poni'yāñam. N·a'dude.
 Those dead people well to bury they began. The end.

Told on the Nelema River by the Yukaghir Spiridonoff in October 1901.

Ancient Tradition.

Ancient people were always looking for one another in order to kill one another. Thus, the Yukaghir were looking for the Tungus and Koryak. Starting out to their usual camping places and not finding the enemies there, the Yukaghir waited for them and then went on to look for them elsewhere.

There was an old man. He had three children. He made ready to start for a war expedition, and left his youngest son at home. The elder one went with the warriors. Thus, they started. After their departure the family of the old man put up their tent on the shore of a lake. Soon Koryak warriors came from the other side of the lake. The whole lake was covered, that many Koryak were there. They put up their camp on the middle of the lake, on the ice. Then the people of the Yukaghir tent saw that one man of the Koryak camp came out and went to the Yukaghir tent. When he approached the tent the Yukaghir boy who was left at home, went out of the tent to meet him. The man who had come from the Koryak camp asked the boy, "Are your warriors at home?" — "No," said the boy, "they left in search of you."

That man was not a Koryak. He was by origin a Yukaghir of the Sholoyou clan. In his childhood he had been taken prisoner by Koryak and Tungus warriors and had grown up among the Koryak.

The Sholoyou man said to the Yukaghir boy, "Put up a barricade of sledges for fighting." Then he continued, "I shall pretend to spear you with my lance, then grasp it and take it away from me, and I shall yell to the Koryak, "Oh, he took away my spear!"

So he did. He attacked the boy with his spear and the boy took it away from him. The Sholoyou man gave it up purposely, saying to the boy, "You fight with my spear." To the Koryak, he shouted, "The boy took away my spear." Then the Koryak warriors approached and began to shoot at the boy with their bows. The boy jumped from the top of the sledge-barricade and fell on the Koryak. The people of the Yukaghir tent saw the Koryak falling like blades of grass. The boy walked on top of the Koryak heads, hitting them with the spear. He killed one half of the Koryak war-

riors. Then he entered his tent in order to wipe the frozen blood off his spear. Before he left the tent again to continue the fight, he said to his elder sister, "Run away, I shall not come back, I am going to die. In the end, they will spear me."

The boy went out and continued to fight with the Koryak. His elder sister went out, harnessed two reindeer to a sledge, and fled following the trail of her father and eldest brother.

The Koryak killed the boy and clubbed all the people in the Yukaghir camp. Two Koryak pursued the fleeing girl. Both her reindeer fell dead from exhaustion. She continued her flight on snowshoes. Two Koryak found the girl's tracks, saw her stopping places, but could not overtake her. They went back and said, "This was not a girl, it was a lad, a brave lad."

The girl reached her father and brother. After telling them about what had happened, she cried. Her father asked, "Is it possible, that my child died without having killed any of the enemies?" — "No," answered the girl, "when I prepared to flee I noticed that only a few of the people who came to fight us were walking about." All rejoiced at this communication. They went back to their camp. In their tent no one was alive, all were killed by the Koryak. The icy surface of the lake was black with dead Koryak. The Yukaghir at once pursued the rest of the Koryak and overtook them. Then the Koryak implored the Yukaghir not to kill them. But the Yukaghir did not pay any attention. They killed almost all the Koryak and spared only a few. The Koryak reindeer herd was also taken. Only a few of the reindeer were given to the Koryak with the words, "Go to your country and take these reindeer for food on the way."

After that, they buried their dead in conformity with custom. The end.

8. Lu'či Ču'oleji.

Russian Tale.

A'taxun n-ē'mjiek le'ñil. Ča'nmuoltañ yad adu'ole adu'onei. E'mjeñin
Two brothers lived. Older one three sons as sons had. To younger brother

mo'nni: "Met uo'rpe eu'reck, le'meñin omo'-moji'yiñit?"
said: "My children take (into to something good whether they the world) can be?"

Ča'nmuoltañ adu'ogi idie'tekten-e n-a'ga ko'beč. I'rkin pojerxo'go
Older one son his with their uncle together went. On one day
eu'reñi. Adu'ogi¹ n-e'lemeñin e'le a'n-n-anu. Idie'tekki mo'nni: "A'n-n-e-
they went. Son his about nothing not asked. Uncle his said: "Talk
tuliem!" Adu'ogi mo'nni: "Na'dobneñojebon² o'ile, le'meñin a'n-n-etum?"
now!" Son his said: "Necessity some there what about should (I) talk?"
is not,

¹ The uncle calls his nephews his "sons." *Ididie'tek* is the father's younger brother.

² From the Russian *na'dobno* — it is necessary.

Čomo'je čitneye cā'neye m-e'ctege laxa'ñi. Adu'ogi mo'nni: "E, idie'tek',
 To large long woody space they came. Son his said: "Ah, uncle,
 xo'do omo'če nu'men cā'pex'!" Tāt nu'moñin n-a'čedañi. Numo'ge laxa'ñi.
 what good for houses trees!" Then home they went back. To the house they came.
 Ya'ndoñi.

To sleep they lay down.

Ogoye'lme egi'eñi. O'rjuoltañ adu'oden-e ko'beč. Tañ pojerxo'go
 Next morning they got up. (With) middle one son his he went. (During) day
 eu'reñi n-ele'meñin ai e'le a'n-n-e. Idie'tekki mo'nni: "Ki'e, a'n-n-etuliem!"
 they about nothing also not (he) talked. Uncle his said: "Friend, come, talk now!"
 walked

Adu'ogi mo'nni: "Na'dobneñojebon o'ile le'meñin a'n-n-etum?" Lo'un-¹
 Son his said: "Necessity some there what about should (I) talk?" With roots
 is not

cā'neye m-e'čtax' laxa'ñi. Adu'ogi mo'nni: "O, idie'tek', omo'čed u'gol'
 wooded space • reached. Son his said: "Oh, uncle, splendid for coal
 cā'pex'!"²
 trees!"

Tāt n-a'čedeč. Emi'lemalñam. Ogoye'lme egi'eñi. E'mjuoltañin-e
 Then (he) went back. (They) spent a night. On the following morning they got up. With the youngest
 one

ko'beč. I'ркиn pojerxo'go e'ureñi n-e'lemeñin e'le a'n-n-či. Unu'ñe e'ndeiñi.
 (he) went. On one day (once) they walked nothing about not (he) asked. To river (they)
 descended.

Ledu'de kobe'iñi. Idie'tekki yu'om. Cā'lge comō'paranāx abu'n-el yai'čexex'³
 Down (they) went. Uncle his looked. On tree Raven nest had eggs

mo'doromlo. Tu'de adu'ogi mo'nni: "Yu'ok, e'ime te'ndā Comō'paranā
 was sitting on. His son his said: "Look, up there Raven

yai'čexex' mo'doromlo." Idie'tek' mo'nni: "Yu'omik'?" Odu'ogi mo'nni:
 eggs is sitting on." Uncle said: "Do you see?" Son his said:

"Yu'o." Idie'tek' mo'nni: "Yai'čegi mi'ntei?" Adu'ogi mo'nni: "Ame'de
 "I see." Uncle said: "Eggs her shall (we) Son his said: "Having
 take?" take?" covered (eggs)

mo'dorom, xo'do mi'ntemik'?" — "Met mi'jut, yu'ok'." Cā'demiibeñin
 (s)he sits on them, how will you take?" — "I shall take, look." To of tree the foot

xo'nñi, laxa'ñi, ča'nde yu'oñam. Comō'paranā ai mo'doi. Idi'tek a'rpač
 they went, arrived, upwards looked. Raven still was sitting. Uncle climbed

cā'lgen, yai'čegele mi'jum. Comō'paranā e'le mo'di, a'yi mo'doi. Yai'čede
 along tree, eggs took. Raven did not hear, still is sitting. Eggs her

mi'ndelle o'ndēč, lebi'ege egi'ei. Mu'rede ari'mepki a'taxlu o'ile. Tu'de
 having taken came down, to ground came down. Of his boots their soles both are gone. His

adu'oget yo'uļocum: "Ki'e, met mu'red ari'mepul xo'lle?" — "Ki'e, tet'
 son he asks: "Friend, my of boots soles where (are)?" — "Friend, your

mu'red ari'mepul te'ndilel." Idie'tekki mo'nni: "Xani'n lo'ndomik'?"
 of boots soles here are." Uncle his said: "When did you take
 (them) off?"

Adu'ogi mo'nni: "Ti'ne onđo'lgo lo'ndo." — "Met' nomo'xo e'le mo'dim'?"
 Son his said: "Before when were took off (I)." — "I why not did hear?"
 climbing you (the tree)

¹ *Lo'un*, an uprooted tree with roots,

² Good for burning coal. *U'gol'* a Russian word.

³ Russian word *Yaitso'*

Odu'ogi mo'nni: "Tet ai Comō'paranā ya'ičegi e'le me'didege mi'n-mik'."
 Son his said: "You also Raven's eggs not when she heard took."
 Nu'moñin ko'beñi. Ya'xañi. Yo'ndūñi, e'miļe-ma'lñam. Ogoye'lme
 Home they went. Arrived. To sleep they went, spent the night. On the morrow
 egi'eñi. Tu'de ta'tañin xo'nni, co'gi. Ta'tagi yo'uļocum: "Uo'rpe le'meñin
 got up. To his older brother went, went in. Older brother his asked (him): "Children what for
 omō'moñi'ñi?" E'mjegi mo'nni: "Ča'nmuoltañ cā'nčekčilñotei, o'rjuoltañ
 good can be?" Younger brother his said: "Oldest one with wood skillful will middle one
 be (i. e., carpenter),
 lu'dunčekčilñotei, e'mjuoltañ ti'temeñide met-e'ndet."
 with iron skillful will be youngest one thus being himself feed shall."
 (i. e. blacksmith),
 Ča'nmuoltañ cā'nčekčilñot ku'dei, o'rjuoltañ lu'dunčekčilñot ku'dei,
 Oldest one carpenter became, middle one blacksmith beame,
 e'mjuoltañ o'lonuyeñot ku'dei. O'lonuyeñot ku'dedeļle tāt o'lonut egu'riei.
 youngest one thief became. Thief having become thus stealing to walk
 began.
 Tu'de go'rodge¹ eu'rei. Mo'doi. Go'rod-coro'mo-po'ndodeuļe ču'mu mi'jum
 He to town went. Lives (in town). Of town of people money their all took
 o'lot. Le'de mo'dim go'rodok' n-u'tn-el tañi'de ko'beč; čugo'gen, čādile'gen
 stealing. Lower he heard small town stood there he went; on the way, on the path
 pu'gomebodek' xo'nut i'rkin coromox n-ačn nu'm-meļe. Ke'lul coromox
 in the summer walking one man towards him met. Who had man
 (walking) come
 mo'nni: "Doro'bo,² xo'dime coromoñox, xot' ke'luk'?" — "Met go'rodket
 said: "Good day, what man are you, from have you — "I from the town
 where come?"
 ki'eboñoje. Tet le'meñox?" Tiñ ke'lul coromox mo'nul': "Met oļo'nuboje
 who had come You are who?" This who had man said: "I stealing
 (man).
 coromoñoje. Tet le'meñox?" Ke'nmeļe ai yo'uļocum: "Me'tek ai
 man am. You who are?" The other also asked: "I also
 olo'nuboje coromoñoje." Ti'ne pu'dit ke'lultañ mo'nni: "A'taxun oļo'nu-
 stealing man am." That one from who had come said: "Two
 above
 bojebonpe coromopul n-a'ga egurtei'li?" Ti'ne le'legut' ke'lultañ mo'nni:
 stealing men together walk let us?" The one from below who had come said:
 "N-a'ga eurei'li." Le'legut' ke'lultañ mo'nni: "Tet go'rodñin xonte'ili?"
 "Together let us go." From below one who said: "To your town let us go?"
 had come
 Pu'dit ke'lultañ mo'nni: "E'le, e'le xonte'ili, coromox mi'n-teyebon o'ile,
 From one who said: "No, not let us go, man from whom one there is
 above had come could take not
 met ču'mu min. Tet go'rodge le'ti?" Le'legut' ke'lultañ mo'nni: "E'le
 I everything took. (In) town will be?" From below one who said: "(1) do
 your had come not
 lei'diye, le'leļtei." N-a'čedaiñi le'leguttañin-e n-a'ga.
 know, whether it will be." They returned with one from below together.

¹ Russian word *gorod* — town, city.

² Russian word *Zdorovo* — how do you do.

Čugo'gen čā'dilegen xo'nñi. Xo'nnut, yu'oñidege i'rkin coró'mox
 On the road along path they went. When walking, when they looked one man
 ke'lle-mo'dul, i'rkin koro'bod-o'nčiek¹ egi'el le mo'dumelle. Čā'dile alā'
 was approaching, one bull leading having heard. Of path near
 agi'dul. Ā'lpedegen egi'et xo'nñi. Tí'ne le'legut ke'lul o'lo'nuboje coró'mox
 they hid. From below them leading was That one from below who one who steals man
 (a bull) walking. had come
 ke'nmeñin mo'nñi: "Omo'če čubo'nbeje koro'bod-o'nčiek egi'emele" Pu'dit
 to comrade said: "Good fat bull is leading." From above
 ke'lultañ mo'nñi ke'nmeñin: "Mi'juolmik? Le'guolmik?" — "E'le, coró'mo
 one who had said to comrade: "To take do you To eat do you "No, man
 come want? want?" —
 mo'inubodek', xo'do mi'ntuok?" Pu'dit ke'lultañ mo'nñi ke'nmeñin:
 holds it, how shall (I) take?" From one who said to comrade:
 above had come
 "Tí'tem-elet o'lo'nuboje! Yu'ok met mi'jut." Ā'ldegen čubo'jei čā'dilege
 "Thus being thief you are Look I shall take." Over him (i. e., ran to the path
 (what of kind)! above the man, higher up the mountain)
 ke'yedege la'xai. I'rkin kí'lebe-ei'mundek² lí'mele, ču'godege po'nim ā'ldegen
 ahead of him ran. One from boots half (i. e., had, on road his laid above him
 one boot) (up on the road)
 agi'dič. Tí'ne koro'bod-o'nčie egi'el coró'mo la'xai tā, tí'netañ kí'lebegele
 (he) hid That one bull leading man arrived there, that boot
 himself.
 mi'jum mo'nñi: "Eu'ret coró'mopul lo'udieleñam. O'tmin. ei'mundegi
 took said: "Who walked people dropped evidently. (I) would take (but) its half
 o'ile."³ Tā pe'čecei. Ko'beč mude'deč, tā pe'čecei. Tí'ne agi'del coró'mo
 is There it was Went on, passed by, there was thrown That one who hid man
 missing." thrown. (the boot). himself
 me'nmegeč mi'jum, tā ā'ldegen čubo'jei. Ke'yedegen čugo'ge la'xadelle,
 jumped out took (boot), there along upper ran. Ahead of him to the road reaching,
 (road) (of man with bull)
 tā po'nim. Ai agi'deč. Tí'ne koro'bod-o'nčie egi'elbon ai la'xai, mi'jum
 there put (boot). Again hid himself. That one bull who was again came took
 leading there,
 tí'netañ kí'lebe-ei'mundegele mo'nñi: "Tí'netañ kí'lebe-ei'mundegele te'ndi
 of those boots half of them said: "From those boots half their right here
 lou'dieleñimele." Tu'de koro'bod-o'nčiegele tā ule'tem. Tāt yo'logude
 they dropped it appears." His bull there tied. Then back
 ko'beč. Tí'netañ kí'lebe-ei'mundegele a'ñcim, n-e'xon o'ile. Tí'ne agi'dul
 went. From those boots half was nowhere it was. That one who had
 searching for, hidden himself,
 coró'mo, koro'bod-o'nčiegele ce'lgeceim, ye'degude xonni'tem, yalgí'ge
 man, bull drove off, to other side led, to lake
 lo'xtom, tā kude'dem. N-a'cedeule⁴ co'gum. Cā'le čo'gum i'čedeule
 has led, there killed. Head its cut off. Tree cut end its

¹ *O'nčie* — reindeerbuck. When the Yakut and then the Russians brought their horned cattle north, the Yukaghir called the bulls cow-bucks, from the Russian word for cow, *koro'va*.

² *Kílebe* from the Russian word *Khalia'va* — boot-leg.

³ i. e. the other boot is missing.

⁴ *n'ače* really means "face."

i'čecum n-a'čedeule tā todū'tem. Ya'lgid o'rjedin ki'llei, tā ege'tem
 sharpened head his (i. e., there stuck on. of lake to the waded, there put (tree)
 bull's) middle
 mo'ldē yō'ncomorgi ege'del. A'rpač ke'nmeñin. Tī'netañ ko'robod-o'ñčie
 only top of head his was exposed Climbed to comrade. That of bull
 (bull's) (above water).
 po'gil a'ñčām. Tī'netañ o'loł-coro'mopuļ koro'botite o'rn-eñi. Tañi'de
 owner began to Those thieves-men like cow roared. There
 search.
 ko'beč. Tī'netañ yałgi'lge ya'xai, yu'om, mo'nni: "Met koro'bod-o'ñčie
 he went. (To) that lake came, looked, said: "My bull
 ya'lgid o'rjege pa'dōi,² ule'ge le'gut eu'ret n-a'n-xanogogo neča'gač."
 of lake in the middle is swimming, grass eating walking in mud, sank."
 Ya'lgid-igi'lge la'xai. Mađi'lek lo'udemle o'golok lo'udemle, mu'relek
 To lake's shore came. Coat took off, trousers took off, boots
 lo'udemle, alga'r ku'dei, ki'llei, tu'de koro'bod-o'ñčiege la'xai, mi'jum,
 took off, naked became, waded, to his bull arrived, took,
 paya'im yu'om: cā'neyebodek'. "I'ñluge, le'me xo'do ām?" Tā pe'čeceim.
 to strike looked: a wooden one. "Awful, who thus did?" There left.
 began
 Tu'de n-e'rñin n-a'cedeč, igi'lge la'xai, tu'de n-e'rgele a'ñčām n-e'xadibonge
 To his clothes returned, to shore returned, his clothes to search nowhere
 began
 o'ile. Tāt a'ñčit eu'ret mo'dim yō'bit coromo coromoļo ko'udielle
 not is. Thus searching walking hears from man man beating
 mountain
 mo'dul'. Aju'gi mo'dič: "Koro'bod-o'ñčie xo'do ā'mik, ke'čik." I'rkinle
 it is heard. Words his hears: "To bull how did you do, bring." The other
 ibe'leļle mo'dic: "Coru'ce." Tī'ne alga'rleļ coromox ceu'reč tu'de
 crying is heard: "Lost." That naked man ran away, (to) his
 numo'ge la'xai.
 house came.

Told by the Yukaghir, Aleksey Dolganoff in October 1901 (not finished).

Russian Tale.

Two brothers lived. The older had three sons. Once he said to his younger brother, "Take my boys into the world and see what they may be good for."

The uncle took his eldest nephew first. They started off. The nephew asked no questions. The uncle said to him, "Well, say something." The nephew answered, "There is no need of talking. I have nothing to say." Then they came to an extensive forest running along the road. The nephew said, "Ah, uncle, what good trees there are to build houses." Then they returned home.

The next morning the uncle started with the second nephew. They

¹ From *pat*, to cook in water; *pa'dōi* also means "it cooks."

walked all day without talking. The uncle said, "Well, say something." — "What should I say," said the nephew, "there is no need of talking." When they reached a place where uprooted trees lay, the nephew said, "Oh, uncle, what nice trees are these for making charcoal."

Then they went back. After spending the night at home, the uncle took with him his youngest nephew. They walked a whole day and the nephew said not a word. They descended to a river. The uncle looked up and saw on a tree a raven sitting on eggs in her nest. The nephew said to his uncle, "See, there is a raven sitting on her eggs." — "Do you see it?" said the uncle. "Yes, I do," answered the nephew. The uncle said, "Shall we take the eggs?" The nephew answered, "How can you take them? The raven is sitting on them." — "Look," said the uncle, "I shall take them." They came to the foot of the tree and the raven was still sitting there. The uncle climbed up the tree and took the eggs. The raven did not notice him and remained sitting there. After taking the eggs the uncle climbed back to the ground. He looked at his boots and saw that both soles were gone. He asked the nephew, "Where are the soles of my boots?" — "There they are," said the nephew. "When did you take them off?" asked the uncle. "When you were climbing the tree I did it," answered the nephew. "Why, I did not notice it!" said the uncle. "You also took the raven's eggs and it did not notice what you were doing," answered the nephew.

They returned home. On the following morning, the father of the boys asked his younger brother, "Well, what are the aptitudes of my children?" The younger brother said, "Your oldest boy will be a carpenter, the middle one a blacksmith, and the youngest boy will be able to support himself."

Thus, it happened. The oldest son became a carpenter, the middle one, a blacksmith, and the youngest son became a thief. Having become a thief, the youngest one began to steal. He went to the next town and while living there he stole all the money from the inhabitants. Then he went to a small town farther down the road. On his way, he met another man who greeted him and asked, "Who are you and from where have you come?" — "I come from the town," answered the boy, "and who are you?" — "I am a thief," said the man who had come up the road, "and you, who are you?" — "I am also a thief," answered the boy. "Then," said the other fellow, "we both are thieves, let us go together in order to steal." — "Well, let us go," said the boy. The other fellow said, "Let us go back to your town." — "No," said the boy, "there is nothing left, I stole everything from the people there. Better let us go to your place." — "I do not know whether anything is left there," said the other, "but come." So they went to the town down the road.

On their way they met a man who was leading a bull. They hid by the side of the road. When the man was passing by, the other fellow said to the boy, "He is leading a good fat bull. Do you not want to have it,

do you not want to eat it?" — "No," said the boy, "the man is holding it, how could I take it?" The other fellow said to the boy, "If you act thus, how can you say, 'I am a thief'? Look, I shall steal the bull." He ran by the side of the road ahead of the man, laid on the road one of his boots, and hid himself again. The man who was leading the bull, on reaching the boot, took it up and said, "Someone walking along evidently dropped it. Too bad that there is only one boot, I should take them if there were a pair." Then he threw the boot away and went on. The fellow who was in hiding, ran down to the road, took his boot, and ran by the side of the road ahead of the man with the bull, put the boot again on the road, and hid himself. When the man with the bull reached the boot, he took it up and said, "Here is the other boot which the people dropped." He tied his bull to a tree and went back to recover the first boot. He was looking for it everywhere, but nowhere could he find it. He went back to his bull. But, in the meantime, the thief had driven off the bull to the shore of a lake. There he killed it. He cut off the head, put it on a pole, waded into the middle of the lake and set the pole in the bottom in such a way that only the head was exposed above the water. Then he went up to his comrade. The owner of the bull searched for it. The thieves roared like a bull. The man went to the place whence the roaring proceeded and saw the head of the bull in the middle of the lake. "My bull," said the man, "is swimming in the lake; evidently while grazing it got into the mud of the lake." He descended to the shore of the lake, took off his coat, trousers, and boots, waded into the lake and came to the bull's head. He struck it, but soon noticed that there was only the head on a pole. "Awful! Who could have done this?" said he. So he left it and returned to his clothes, but he did not find them. While looking for them, he heard from the mountain how one man was beating another one. Then he heard the words, "Is that the way you did with the bull? Drag it here." The other man said crying, "Yes, I lost." Then the man, naked as he was, ran away to his dwelling place.

XII. — FOLKLORE, KOLYMA AND TUNDRA DIALECTS.

K. Ce'un-pai-ču'oleji.

T. A'nān-marxel-koro'wal.

Of Stone-Girl-Tale.

- K. Poļu'ndie leči teri'keni. A'taxun marxlu'oļe marxlu'onei. Ya'lmactegi
 T. Po'ļudie le'či ā'panalānei. Kin marxī'lek marxī'inei. Ya'lmactegi
Old man lived married (with wife). Two girls as daughters he had. Third his
- K. yuku'ojed u'ok ai marxī'lek'. Abu'oltaņgeļe eči'egi
 T. yuku'duok' wai pa'diduok'. Čo'moļol marxī'le amā'gi
small child also girl (was). Oldest one girl father her
- K. ca'rmoniēde'ge o'jiņin pe'čeceim.
 T. wo'ļmaņmubo'daga la'uyeņin cu'ceim
during his shamanistic into the water threw.
 performance
- K. Poļu'ndie teri'keden-e a'mdeņi. Nu'mopedege a'taxun pai'pek'
 T. Pe'ļudie a'panalāden-eñ me'yābeņi. Ni'mepedaga kin pai'pek'
Old man with his wife they died. In their house two women (girls)
- K. pon-ō'ņil. Čo'muoltaņ lo'čilņin ko'beč. Luku'očilbon numo'ge po'n-oi.
 T. pan-ā'ņul. Čo'moļoļtagi la'čilņin ke'beč. Luku'očildagi ni'mega pa'n-ai.
remained. Oldest one for wood went. Small one at home remained.
- K. Pabā'gi nu'moņin ki'eč e'mjegitaga o'ile! Ibe'let ma'dāi.
 T. Eki'egi ni'meņin me-ko'lui e'mjegitigiye o'ile! O'rn-ereñ ca'ganai.
Elder sister home came younger sister her is not Crying to sit she her began.
- K. Ibe'let mo'dodege e'mjegitaga co'gi. "Pa'bā, xo'diet ibe'lek?"
 T. O'rn-ereñ ca'gan-edaga e'mjegitigiye me'-cogui. "Eki'e, xo'dier o'ron-ek."
Crying when she was younger sister her came in. "Elder sister, why do you cry?"
 - sitting
- K. Pabā'gi mo'nni: "Te'tek coġu'ceme!" Ye'nduņi. Ogoye'lme
 T. Eki'egi monni: "Te'tek coġu'cemeñ!" Ma'r-awaņi. Ogo'yegindeñ
Elder sister her said: "You (I) lost!" To sleep they went. The next morning
- K. egi'eņi. Tu'de e'mjegeļe ko'ikilņin ige'yeļe yo'dom. Yo'dodelļe
 T. mo'r-ogōņi. Tu'de e'mjegale ye'nbaraga ige'yeļek' i'rem. I'releñ
they got up. Her younger sister to post with strap (she) tied. Having tied
- K. lo'čilņin ko'beč. Loči'lget ki'eč — moli'n ige'ye-yo'duoļ, e'mjegi o'ile.
 T. la'čilņin ko'beč. Lači'lġat me'kolui — a'xte ige'ye-xo'doleļ, e'mjegi o'ile.
for wood she went. From wood she returned — only of strap knot younger sister is not (remained), her there.
- K. Ei'meptege como'jed ibo'lek' leļ. Tu'de e'mjegeļe tāt a'ņčiyeim.
 T. I'mepadaga como'jed ā'nāk' leļ. Tu'de e'mjegale ta'dāt wo'ņčičem.
Opposite them large rock was. Her younger sister then to search (she) went.

- K. Čoxoča'llaņi o'ndeč. O'ndeidege ye'rxā cu'mut' xō'ņdoi. Tī'netañ
 T. Yoilga me'-caxceč. Ca'xceidaga ye'rxāñ ya'uner me-keu'lei. Tuñ
 To bank (of (she) descended. When she ice entire cracked. That
 river) descended
- K. ye'rxan xō'ņduol' í'bolñin n-u'tnei. Pai ibo'lge la'xai. E'mjegi
 T. ye'rxan keu'leol' a'nālañuden o'gon. Pai'peñ ā'naga ko'tkeč. E'mjegi
 of ice crack to rock reached. *Woman (girl) to rock went. Her younger
 sister
- K. í'bolmolgot ibe'lelle mo'dič. Pai tā la'xai. Í'bolñin mo'llo-
 T. a'nādugut' o'ren-egi mo'rič. Pai'peñ tadā ko'tkeč. A'nāñin mo'nul'-
 from rock's middle crying was heard. Girl there went. To rock said:
- K. mo'dič: "Met e'mje keik'!" Ibo'lget' coró'mod-ajū' mo'dič: "Met
 T. mo'rič: "Met e'mje kik'!" A'nāgat' kó'ded-arū mo'rič: "Met
 "My younger sister give (back)!" From rock human voice resounded: "My
- K. ke'nme, e'le ke'iteye. Tet tí'te meteí'k pai'penñoje. Met ke'nme
 T. ko'nme, eļ kí'teyeñ. Tet tí'te meteí'k pai'penñojeñ. Met ko'nme
 friend, not (I) shall give. You as I also woman am. My friend
- K. met arxí'n e'le ke'llek', e'le coró'mo-ti'tem-eje í'ñleček."
 T. met ual' el ke'lulek', el kó'de-ti'tebenje í'ñietemek'."
 to me near do not step, not human being like I (am) afraid you will be."
- K. Pai mo'nni: "E'le kobei'teye, met e'mje keik'." Pai
 T. Pai'peñ mo'nni: "El kebei'teye, met e'mje keik'." Pai'peñ
 Girl said: "(I) not shall go away, my younger give back." Girl
 sister
- K. yu'om: tí'netañ a'n-n-elbon ibo'lget ege'deč, yogu'lgi ce'ulek',
 T. me'yu'om: tuñ a'n-n-erukun a'nāgat mo'regedeč, yogulgi xe'ileñ,
 she looked: one who had spoken from rock looked out, nose her stone,
- K. u'nemepki čomo'je ce'upek'.
 T. u'nemepulgi čomo'je xe'i'lepeñ.
 ears her big stones.
- K. Tí'netañ ce'ule u'nemen-ul' pai ibo'lget ege'delle ke'nmelek'
 T. Tuñ xe'ilek u'nemenil' pai'peñ anā'gat ogo'deireleñ ke'nmeleñ
 That stone ears with woman from rock having looked out (on) friend
 (with stone ears)
- K. yu'oleimeje. Tu'de a'ñjegeje tibo'gotum. A'ñjele tibo'gotege í'bol'
 T. iču'omeje. Tu'de yu'odigale tiwo'gocum. Yu'odile tiwo'goctaga a'nāñ
 to look she With her eyes she was blinking. With eyes when she was rock
 began. blinking
- K. xō'ņdori čokče'm.¹ Pai í'ñlei. Tí'netañ ceu'n-pai ke'nmeñin,
 T. koí'lei ya'uner. Pai'peñ eju'olei. Tí'dañ xeil-pai'peñ ko'nmeñin,
 split altogether. Girl was frightened. That stone-woman to friend,
- K. coró'mon pai'ñin mo'nni: "Tet e'mje o't-ele-mi'ņje. Tit eči'e
 T. kó'den pa'ipeñin mo'nni: "Tet e'mje a't-el-me'tjeñ. Tit amā'
 human woman said: "Your younger (I) should not have Your father
 sister taken.
- K. o'jiñin tit pabā'gele pe'čeceimeje. Tit pa'bā oji'ge e'relle
 T. la'u'yeñin tit eki'egale cucei'meje. Tit eki'e la'uyega waigai'releñ
 into water your elder sister threw. Your elder in water swimming
 sister (descending)

¹ Čokče'm is the Russian word *souse'm*.

- K. a'lmañotku'dei; tit e'mjegele me'tin tu'del yalgi'net ke'iluogi. Ko'beik',
 T. wo'lmañolai; tit e'mjegale me'tin tu'del lirkeyejir kiyi'yołgi. Ke'beik',
 shaman became; your youngest one to me she while practising giving her Go
 shamanism (was).
- K. tet e'mje el ke'iteye."
 T. tet e'mje el gi'teyen."
 your younger (I) not shall give."
 sister
- K. Coro'mon-pai tat unu'ņge ledu'de ibe'let' ko'beč. Ču'ote xo'nni.
 T. Ko'den-pai'pe tadat onu'ga a'lgudeñ o'renereñ ke'beč. Oxo'l ui.
 Human woman then along river down crying went. (She) to go.
 continued
- K. Xo'nnut yu'odedege omni'pe nu'man-ełle meduñi. Pai xo'nni, la'xai.
 T. U'reñ yu'odagane čipeñ ni'man-eñi. Pai'peñ me'r-ui, ko'tkeč.
 While when she looked people houses having they Girl went, arrived.
 walking appeared.
- K. Ya'lgik' ko'udek' me'dul. Tā la'xai — monai'legi yedo'je paik'
 T. Lirkeyeñ mo'ñorek' me'rul. Tadā me'-kotkeč — mo'nilede wi'etoje pai'pek
 Of drum beating was heard. There (she) arrived — (with) her hair loosed woman
- K. numo'get u'koč. Ti'netañ ke'łul' pai'gele nu'gondege mi'ndelle
 T. ni'ma-gat pu'łgeč. Ti'dān ke'łul' pai'ple ca'łjedaga me'ndeleñ
 from house appeared. That who had arrived woman by hand her having taken
- K. nu'moñin ce'urem. Ti'netañ monai'lede ye'duol' pai po'łutnei.
 T. ni'mañin ce'urem. Ti'dān mo'nilede wi'etuolol' pai'peñ pelu'rnei.
 into house led. That with hair loose woman married was.
- K. Po'łutki adi'le e'mjeni. Ti'netañ ke'łul' pai'gele ti'netañ a'dil' al'ā'
 T. Pelurgi adi'lek e'mjeni. Ti'dān ke'łul' pai'ple ti'dān a'dil' wal'
 Husband youth as younger That who had woman that youth near
 her brother had. come
- K. modo'tom. Monai'lede ye'duol' pai ke'łul' pai'ñin mo'nni:
 T. caga'n-ecum. Moni'lede wi'etuolol' pai'peñ ke'łul' pai'peñin mo'nni:
 made her sit. With hair loose woman to who woman said:
 had come
- K. "Me'tul' lei'dimik'?" Ti'ne ke'łul' pai mo'nni: "Te'tek e'le
 T. "Metul' ku'rilimek'?" Ti'dān ke'łul' pai'peñ mo'nni: "Te'tek el
 "Me do you know?" That who had come woman said: "You do not
- K. lei'dime." Monai'lede ye'duol' pai mo'nni: "Tet' pa'bāñoje. Met
 T. ku'rilimeñ." Moni'lede wietuolol' pai'peñ monni: "Tet eki'eojeñ. Met
 (I) know." With hair loose woman said: "Your elder sister am (I) My
- K. eči'e tudā' ca'rmorielga o'jiñin pe'čeceim. Tañ tet pa'bāñoje." Tā'ciļe
 T. a'mā tindā' wo'łmamulga la'uyeñin cu'ceim. Tañ tet eki'eojeñ." Tadāt
 father long ago while practising into water threw. That your elder sister am (I). Then
 shamanism
- K. ti'netañ a'dil' ti'ne ke'łul' pai'gele teri'keñol mi'jum. Tāt modo'ni.
 T. tañ a'dil' ti'dān ke'łul' pai'ple miri'yoł me'jim. Tadāt caga'neñi.
 that youth that who had come woman as wife took. Thus they lived.

Told on the Nelemnaya River by the Kolyma Yukaghir A. Dolganoff. Translated into the Tundra dialect on the tundra with the assistance of the Tundra Yukaghir Kuriloff.

Tale of the Stone Girl.

Once upon a time, there was an old man. He was married and had two daughters. In a shamanistic trance he had thrown a third daughter, the oldest one, into the water when she was a small child.

The old man and his wife died. There remained in the house his two girls. Once the elder sister went out for wood, leaving at home her younger sister. When she came back, she did not find the younger sister. She began to cry. But soon the younger sister came in. "Why are you crying?" asked she. The elder sister answered, "Because I had lost you." They went to sleep. The next morning, the elder sister went out again for wood, but before leaving the house she tied her younger sister with a thong to a house post. When she came back, she found only the knotted thong on the post, — her younger sister was not there.

Opposite their house, across the river, there rose a high rocky mountain. The elder girl went to look for her sister. She descended to the river. When she came to the bank, the ice on the river cracked the whole width of the river, as far as the rocky bank opposite. The girl reached the foot of the rock and heard her younger sister crying from the middle of it. She said to the rock, "Give back my younger sister!" Then a human voice resounded from inside the rock, "My friend, I shall not give back your sister. Like you, I am also a woman, but don't step near to me; I am not like a human being, you will be afraid." The girl answered, "I shall not go away; give back my younger sister!" The girl looked at the rock and saw the one who had spoken looking out from the rock. Her nose was of stone, her eyes were big stones.

The woman with stone ears, rising from the rock, looked at the girl. She was blinking with her stone eyes. Then the rock split in two. The girl was frightened. The stone-woman said to her, "I did not wish to take your younger sister. Your father threw your elder sister into the river. While swimming in this river she became a shaman and in one of her shamanistic performances she gave me your younger sister. Go away, I shall not give her back to you."

The human girl went down the river crying. She was walking along the river for a long time. Suddenly, she looked up and saw human dwellings. She went to them and heard the beating of a drum. A woman with open hair came out of one of the houses. She took the visitor by her hand and led her into the house. The open-haired woman was married. Her husband had a younger brother. She made the girl sit near her brother-in-law. The open-haired woman said to the girl, "You do not know me?" The girl said, "No, I do not know you." Then the open-haired woman said, "I

am your elder sister whom long ago our father, in a shamanistic trance, threw into the river. I am that one." Then the youth married the girl. Thus they lived.

K. Čomo'-paranā Ču'oleji.

T. Xa'gemeñ-Koro'wal.

On Raven Tale.

- K. Čomo'-paranā' po'inei a'ñnume. Tu'del Xage'ln-e n-e'nūni.
 T. Xa'gemeleñ me-n-a'wai eli'ne. Tu'del Calgan-e me-n-i'nūni.
Raven white was at first. He (and) Grebe each other met.
- K. Como'-paranā' ta'ñn-e n-enūni, Xa'g-el' Čomo'-paranāñin mo'nni:
 T. Xa'gemeñ ta'ñnegin-e me-n-e'nūni, Ca'lgañ Xa'remeñin mo'nni:
Raven with that one each other (when) Grebe to Raven said:
 met,
- K. "Me'tul' cori'leck, tet' lei'dimik cori'lecul." Čomo'-paranā mo'nni:
 T. "Me'tul' ni'meleck, tet' me-kurili'mek ni'melecul." Xa'reme mo'nni:
"Me paint, you know painting." Raven said:
- K. "O'moč, cori'lecut met te'tul' cori'lecut i'ркиn e'le
 T. "Xo'golemut, me-ni'melecut met te'tul' ni'melecut mo'rxon. el
All right, I shall paint I you shall paint only do not
- K. kimda'n-elek'." Xa'jič cori'lecum ču'mu. Čomo'-paranā mo'nni:
 T. ga'ričerelek'." Xa'jir me-ni'melecum ya'uner. Xa'gemeñ mo'nni:
deceive." There painted (him) all over. Raven said:
- K. "Tetei'k me'tul' cori'leck." Xa'gel' mo'nni Čomo'-paranāñin: "Ye'nduk',
 T. "Tetei'k me'tul' ni'meleck." Ca'lgañ mo'nni Xa'remeñin: "Ye'nduk',
"You also me paint." Grebe said to Raven: "Go to sleep,
- K. xo'l'lume ke'lteye." Xa'jič ko'beč ču'ole nu'monuolek nu'mmele,
 T. a'mdur ko'lteyeñ." Xa'jir me'-koveč ču'ole nu'monuolek¹ nu'mmele,
soon I shall come." There he went of old house place he found,
- K. u'gelek'² nu'mmele, xa'jir xo'nni tu'de ke'nmeñin, Čomo'-paranāñin.
 T. xā'lederek' nu'mmele, xa'jir me'rui tu'de go'n-mien, Xa'remeñin.
coal (he) found, then he went to his friend, Raven.
- K. Ye'ndič u'g'lele čagi'tem ču'mu. Čomo'-paranā xa'jič meri'jei.
 T. Ma'r-awai xā'lederelek' mo'-mōjem ya'unō. Xa'remeñ xa'jir me-mo'nječ.
(He) sleeps with coal (he) rubbed (him) all Raven now awoke.
 (Raven) over.
- K. Tu'de tu'degele yu'om. Mo'nni: "Me'tul' kimda'n-erik, ti'ne
 T. Tu'de ko'degaļe me'-yuom. Mo'nni: "Me'tul' me-xa'rečoremek, ti'ne
(On)him self he looked. He said: "Me (you) have deceived, before
- K. mo'jek: 'E'le ki'mdan-eriteye,' i'ji me'tul' u'g'lele čagi'timik'."
 T. mo'jek: 'El xa'rečorečen,' i'ji me'tul' xā'lederelek' mo'-mōjemek'."
you said: 'Not (I) shall deceive you,' now me with coal you have rubbed."
- K. Xa'gel' ce'urem. Yo'logulañndet xa'ñim ca'rum, paim cāle.
 T. Ca'lgañ me-xo'ldeč. La'ieuret mo-to'ñorom me-pe'lum, mo-paim cālek'.
Grebe ran away. From behind he pursued (him) (he) overtook (him), struck (him) with stick.

¹ The place where an old house was standing.

² From the russian *u'gol*.

- K. Oj'ge lou'dič. Čomo'-paranā' mo'nni: "Xa'jič el arpai'lek oji'get."
 T. La'uyoga me-ke'riyei. Xa'gemeñ mo'nni: "Xa'jir el xudei'lek la'uyegat."
Into water (he) fell. Raven said: "Now do not rise from water."
 K. Tāt xānī'nde tiñ pojerxo'go o'ji'ga lei. Tiñ la'xudamungi
 T. Ta'dāt xānī'neñ tuñ čai'lega ki'tner la'uyega lei. Tuñ i'rkidiki'lgi
From that time always this day to in water he is. That his tail bone
 K. xo'ndocum. Xa'jič oji'ge čuo'te lei.
 T. mo-ko'ilecum. Xa'jir la'uyega xa'gedu me'-lei.
he broke (Raven). Now in water always he is.

Told by Yegor Shamanoff on the Kolyma tundra, February 2, 1902 and translated into the Kolyma dialect with the assistance of A. Dolganoff.

Tale of Raven.

In the beginning Raven was white. Once he met Grebe. Grebe said to Raven, "Paint me! You are a skilled painter." Raven said, "Well, I shall paint you, only do not deceive me, and you shall paint me too." Raven painted Grebe all over. "I shall paint you too," said Grebe to Raven. Then Grebe added, "Go to sleep; I shall come soon." Grebe went to a deserted camp, took charcoal there and returned to his friend, Raven. Raven was still asleep and Grebe rubbed him all over with charcoal. Raven soon awoke and looked at himself. He said to Grebe, "Well, you have deceived me, you said before, 'I shall paint you with paint,' and now you have rubbed me with charcoal." Grebe ran away. Raven pursued Grebe, overtook him and struck him with a stick. Grebe fell into the water. Raven said, "Now you will never rise from the water."

From that time till this day, Grebe is always on the water. Raven broke his tail bone and now he is always on water.

K. Cu'oleji.

T. Koro'wal.

Tale.

- K. I'ркиn coró'mo lei, como'je xa'niček. Nu'mopegi tāt ni'nei
 T. Mo'pxon. go'de lei, čomod i'ruček. Ni'mepegi ta'tpani poyo'n
One man lived, great hunter. Houses his so many (were)
 K. pie'le nu'mjit moim. Ta'nik i'rkid xa'niček yu'omle to'lo'ugi
 T. anāle ni'mdō moim. Tuñ ma'rxed i'ruček i'č uomle to'lo'ugi
(that) entire he held. That one hunter saw (that) wild reindeer his
 mountain (i. e., occupied)
 K. yu'ko lei. Yan kini'jege ku'dečiyeim. Ni'nei to'lo'bo kude'dem.
 T. me-yu'kui. Yan ki'njegan ye'ruí. Poyo'je to'lox pu'nmele.
far were. Three months to kill he went. Many wild reindeer (he) killed.
 K. Tu'de nu'moñin n-ačedeč.
 T. Tu'de ni'mien me-pe'n-geč.
To his house (he) returned.

- K. Tu'de numo'ge ya'xai, a'taxun teri'kele teri'keni. Tañ teri'kepki
 T. Tu'de ni'maga me'r-ui, kin miri'yelek miri'yeni. Tañ miri'yepulgi
 (To) his house he came, (to) two wives he was married. Those wives his
- K. oi'leñi. Coro'mo ko'udielelum. Tu'de i'molgele po'nim, noi'le
 T. oi'leñu. Ko'de me-ko'reulelum. Tu'de a'n-melgale mo-po'nim, ugu'rčelek'
 were not Someone had led (them) away His riding reindeer he left, with feet
 there. it appeared. (on foot)
- K. ko'beč. Tu'de teri'kepulgele a'ñčiyem. Čubo'jei, yeri'jele,
 T. mo-ko'weč. Tu'de miri'yepulgaļe me-wo'ñčiyem. Mor-o'lkei, taļi'lek',
 he went. His wives to search he went. He ran, staff,
- K. cāle ce'ļgedeim. Yuku' ya'xadege cā'gi n-u'roi, čubo'jei yan pojerxo'go.
 T. cāle me-ce'ļgereim. Yu'küleļdaga cā'ļgi kerí'yei, o'lkei yan čai'legan.
 stick he broke. Small having become staff his fell, (he) ran three days.
- K. Ni'ñeye nu'mok' nu'mmeļe yu'omele loči'le pe'detum čor'xogo.
 T. Po'yoje ni'mek' nu'mmeļe iču'omeļe la'čile mer-e'ndem cu'kin.
 Many houses (he) found (he) looked fire (he) made on Tundra.
- K. U'gleļe a'yileji. Tu'de magi'lgelē loči'lge pi'edim. Tañ
 T. Xā'led-igi'lek' mo'lorajei. Tu'de ma'gilgale lači'lga me-r-e'ndiem.¹ Ti'dañ
 With charcoal (he) rubbed His clothes in fire to burn (he) began. To that
 himself.
- K. nu'moñin ko'beč. Polu'ndiek u'keil. Tañ coro'moļo nu'gondege
 T. ni'meñin me'r-ui. Pe'ldudiek' pu'ļgeiļ. Ti'dañ ko'ļle² ča'ļjedaga
 house he went. Old man came out. That man by hand his
- K. min'delle numo'ge el co'u o'rnei nu'moñin: "Met pogi'lñoļ
 T. me'ndeļek ni'maga el co'u mor-ornei ni'meñin: "Met nia'luoļ³
 having taken house (he) did not (he) cried out into house: "I son-in-law that
 enter (but) he should be
- K. nū." Tu'de numo'ge cou'yeč, tu'de marxi'lñin mo'nni: "Tet
 T. me-nu'guñ." Tu'de ni'maga me-co'gičei, tu'de ma'rxelñin mo'nni: "Tet
 I have found." He house to enter started, to his daughter (he) said: "To you
- K. coro'moñol ke'či." Marxi'lgi mo'nni: "Taťle'gen met taťa'pe tu'de
 T. ko'duoļ me-ke'čiñ." Ma'rxelgi mo'nni: "Tā'tlegen met akā'pe
 (that) husband (I) brought." Daughter his said: "Let it be, my elder brothers
 (he) should be
- K. teri'kepulgele mi'n-ñam. Met el xo'nteye."
 T. miri'yepulgindagaļe me-me'nčeña. Met el ū'teyeñ."
 his wives kidnapped I not shall go."
- K. Eči'egi mo'nni: Xo'diet?" — "Met i'nni e'le xo'nteye met
 T. Amā'gi mo'nni: "Xa'dir?" — "Met me-r-i'ñieñ el ū'teyeñ met
 Father her said: "Why?" — "I am afraid not (I) shall go my
- K. taťa'pe ogo'ye ke'lñitei. Met taťa'pegeļe ke'lñidege ogo'ye tiñ
 T. akā'pe ogo'ye me-ko'luñutei. Met akā'pegale ko'luñudaga ogo'ye tuñ
 elder to-morrow will come. My elder brothers when they will to-morrow this
 brothers come
- K. coro'mo cā'le co'ļgitem."
 T. ko'deñ cā'lek me-ne'regereitem."
 man with stick will club."

¹ He was burning the hair on his clothes in order not to be recognized.

² Instead of *Ko'dele*

³ i. e., I found a man who will be my son-in-law.

- K. Ogo'ye ta'ta'pegi ke'lñi. Tañ coro'mopulñin n-a'čin ko'beč.
 T. Ogo'ye akā'pegi me-ko'luñi. Tí'dañ ko'npeñin¹ n-a'čin me'r-ui.
 Next day elder brothers her came. Those people to meet (he) went.
- K. Xo'ndol'lo el ya'xa ču'on ma'dāi. Yuku' teri'kegi yuo'tem tu'de
 T. Ū'rel el pel čuon² me-caga'nei. Luku'ole! miri'yegi iču'orum tu'de
 Having gone not having reached he sat down. Younger wife his saw her
- K. coro'mogo'lo mo'nni: "Ge, met' po'lut'!" Tat mo'nni: "Yen coro'mox
 T. ko'dega'le mo'nni: "Ge, met' ko'de!" Tadāt mo'nni: "Wien go'dek
 husband (and) said: "Look, my husband!" Then (she) said: "Another man
- K. onna'ko."³ Mude'deč. Čo'mol teri'kegi kieč coro'mon-e. Tu'de
 T. yō'dagane." Me'r-učič. Lu'gul miri'yegi meke'lui ko'deneñ. Tu'de
 however." (She) passed (by). Elder wife his came with her man.⁴ Her
- K. po'lut'kele yu'očim o'rn-ei.
 T. ko'dega'le me-yu'očim mor-o'ren-ei.
 husband saw began to scream.
- K. Ma'rxid ta'tagi mo'nni: "Xo'diet o'rn-ek?" Mo'nni: "Met i'mol
 T. Ma'rxel akā'gi mo'nni: "Xo'dir o'ren-ek?" Mo'nni: "Met a'n-mel
 Of girl elder said: "Why do you scream?" (She) said: "My riding
 brother her reindeer
- K. o'nmule⁵ met n-ačegele paim." Tu'de teri'ke i'mol o'nmudeule
 T. o'nmurek met n-ačegan me'-paim." Tu'de miri'ye a'n-mel o'nmurdoga'le
 with antler my face struck." Of his wife of reindeer its antler
- K. čo'gum. Ma'rxil ta'tagi mo'nni: "Ko'bečeili." Numo'ge ya'xai.
 T. me-čogum. Ma'rxel akā'gi mo'nni: "Ko'wečeili." Ní'maga me-ko'tkeč.
 (he) cut off. Of girl elder brother said: "Let us go." To house (he) came.
- K. Ya'xadege mo'dol coro'mo egi'ei mo'nni: "Ge, e'jilgene met
 T. Kotkeile'daga caga'n-el go'deñ me'r-egoi mo'nni: "Ge, e'jilgeneñ met
 When he had come who was man rose (he) said: "Look, being alive my
 sitting
- K. teri'kegele met elín mude'tedaiñam." Yoño'n-āi Tu'de-al'ā' ogo'je
 T. mí'riyega'le met pu'ren ū'ceña." Me-yoño'n-āi. Tu'de-wal' ogo'je
 wives me past (they) lead." To be angry (he) began. Him near that was
 standing
- K. cāl la'rxudegen lo'udom. "Tiñ cāle tí'tul co'lgit."
 T. cāl la'rdagan me'-nixoxoraim. "Tuñ cā'lek tí'tul me-ne'regereit."
 tree with roots he pulled out. "This with tree you (I) shall club."
- K. Ye'xluo-al coro'mopul ukei'ñi. Xadič kobeč tite numoñin, tañ
 T. Ya'lger čin me-pu'lgeiñi. Xa'dič me-ko'beč tí'te ní'meñin, tí'dañ
 From that side people came out. Now (he) came to their house, that
- K. cāl moit. Tañ coro'mople nū'mjit kude'dem. Tañ ma'rxil i'rkin
 T. cāl mo'ireñ. Tí'dañ čí'le ní'mđo pu'nim. Tí'dañ ma'rxel mo'rxon-
 tree holding. Those people all (he) killed. That girl alone
- K. po'n-oi. Ma'rxil mo'nni: "Xo'do e'ntem, met iji'e? I'rkin ko'jeduok
 T. pan-a'i. Ma'rxel mo'nni: "Xo'doñ e'ntem met iji'e? Mo'rxon- ko'jeduo
 remained. Girl said: "How shall live I alone? One man

¹ Instead of *ko'denpeñin*.² *cl . . . čuon* — without.³ The Russian *odnako*.⁴ i. e., with the girl's brother. Her two brothers had led away two wives of the man who had come.⁵ Or *o'nmude*.

- K. xo'diet el yolo'jox? Met-ijí'e a'mdeteye. Met xañi'de xo'ntem? Met
 T. xo'doñ el-la'yirek'? Met-ijí'e me-ya'bateye. Met xo'ideñ ū'tem? Met
 why not did (you) leave? I alone shall die. I where shall go? I
- K. te'tul kude'deolde ot-kude'de." Tañ coro'mo ma'rxil yō'gele pait
 T. te'tul puni'lbunir a't-puniñ." Tí'dañ go'deñ ma'rxel yōga'le pair
 you to kill if wanted could kill." That man of girl head having struck
- K. lu'tegedeim.
 T. me-ce'caxaraim.
 broke to pieces.
- K. Tíñ coro'mo yu'om ye'degude, marxi'le yu'očim; yu'očidege
 T. Tuñ ko'deñ me'r-ič uom cu'kin, ma'rxele me-yu'očim; yu'očidagane
 This man having looked on other side, on girl he looked; when he was looking
- K. ma'rxil' mo'nni: "Me'tul' xo'do kude'detmik?" Yō'gi omolbā'leļ.
 T. ma'rxel' mo'nni: "Me'tul' xo'dañ pu'ntemek?" Yō'gi mar-ama'xaileļ.
 girl said: "Me how will (you) kill?" Head her got well it appeared.
- M. Tañ coro'moñin ma'rxil' mo'nni: "Ū'čik!" Laxi'gi lebie'ga
 T. Tí'dañ golle¹ ma'rxel' mo'nni: "Ma'ļčagajaik!" N-e'čegi luku'lga
 To that man girl said: "Move!" Buttocks his to ground
- K. totu'leļ, nugo'ngi noi'gi ču'mut lebie'ga totu'leļ. Marxil'
 T. mo-cugu'rei, ča'ljegi ugu'rčegi ya'uner luku'lga mo'-cugurei. Marxel'
 stuck, arms his legs his all to ground stuck. Girl
- K. monni: "Te'tul lebie'ge todutelle ot kude'de." Tañ coro'mo mo'nni:
 T. mo'nni: "Te'tul luku'lga cu'gurorireñ at pu'niñ." Tí'dañ ko'deñ mo'nni:
 said: "You to earth having stuck (I) could kill." That man said:
- K. "Te'tul met teri'keñoļ tā'čile mi'jut el kude'deļek'." Ma'rxil' mo'nni:
 T. "Tetul met miri'yol a'lğan me'jit el bullek'." ² Ma'rxel' mo'nni:
 "You my as wife then I shall do kill." Girl said:
 take not
- K. "Ū'čaik." Laxi'gi lo'ndai. "Tet teri'kepul tí'ñilaget le'ñi." Yan
 T. "Ča'gajeik." N-e'čegi me'nitaxoč. "Tet miri'yepul ti'gerāleñi." Yan
 "Move." Buttocks his got loose. "Your wives from this side are." Three
- K. teri'kele teri'ketelle xajič mo'doi.
 T. miri'yelek miri'yerdelek xajir ma-caga'nei.
 wives having married now he lives.

Told in the Tundra dialect by Kuriloff on the Kolyma tundra and translated into the Kolyma dialect with the assistance of M. Dolganoff.

Tale.

There was a man, a famous hunter. He had many tents that occupied a whole mountain. The hunter noticed that the wild reindeer went far away from his settlement. He went away to hunt at a distant place and spent three months there. He killed a great number of reindeer. The he returned home.

¹ Instead of *kolle*.

² Instead of *pu'nlek*

He came to his house. He had two wives. When he came to his settlement he did not find them. It appeared that somebody had kidnapped them. He left his riding reindeer home and went on foot in search of them. He ran and broke his staff. It became too small and the hunter dropped it. He ran without a staff. For three days he kept on running. Finally, he came to a settlement of many tents. Before going to that place he made a fire on the tundra. In order not to be recognized, he rubbed himself with charcoal and singed the hair off his fur clothing. He went to one of the tents. An old man came out to meet him. He took him by the hand. Before entering his tent, the old man cried out, "I have found a son-in-law." On entering his tent, the old man said to his daughter, "I brought your husband." The girl said, "Let it be, I shall not go to him, my elder brothers kidnapped both his wives." — "No matter," said the father. "No," said the girl, "I shall not go to him, I am afraid. When my elder brothers come home tomorrow, this man will club them to death with a stick."

The next day, when the elder brothers of the girl were coming, that man went to meet them. Before reaching them, he sat down. His younger wife saw her husband and said, "Look, isn't that my husband?" Then she said, "No, it is another man," and passed by. After that, his elder wife came with her new husband and, seeing her husband, she screamed.

The elder brother of the girl asked her, "Why do you scream?" She answered, "My riding reindeer struck my face with its antlers." He cut off the antlers of the woman's riding reindeer and said, "Now, let us go." They approached their tent. When they came near, the man who was sitting there rose and said, "Look, I am still alive and my wives are led past me." He pulled out with its roots a tree that stood nearby and said, "With this tree I shall club you to death." From the other side of the settlement people came out. He ran towards them holding the tree and killed all of them. He spared only the girl. She said to him, "How can I live alone? Why did you not leave at least one of the men? Alone, I shall die. Where shall I go? I might kill you if I wanted to do so." Then the man struck the head of the girl and broke it.

After that, he looked and saw the girl alive. Her head, to all appearances, got well. She said, "You cannot kill me." Then she added, "Try to move from your place!" He tried and could not move. His buttocks, legs, and arms stuck to the ground. The girl said, "Since I fastened you to the ground I can kill you." Then the man said, "Let me marry you, do not kill me." The girl said, "Now move." His buttocks were freed from the ground. "There are your wives," said the girl. The man married the girl, and he lived with three wives.

K. Kei'yoł - Ču'oleji.

T. Ke'yejen-Koro'wal.

On Leading Man-Tale.

- K. Ní'ñeye nu'mo modo'ñi. I'ркиn te'tciel te'tčien-eñi keiyo'jen-eñi.
 T. Poyō'je ní'me caga'n-eñi. Mo'rxon- te'tčien-eñi ke'yejileñ.¹
 Many (i. e. the houses were living. One rich man they as the "front man" inhabitants of the houses) had, (they) had.
- K. Tiñ kei'yojelpegi a'taxun u'ole u'onei. I'ркиnle abu'oltañ pai'pelek,
 T. Tuñ ke'yejipegi kin u'olek u'onei. Mo'rxonje ek'ejeñ pa'ipeleñ,
 This front-man their two children as children One elder (child) girl, had.
- K. e'mjuoltañ ko'i'pelek. Pa'bāgitaga čo'moči, e'mjegitaga yuku'oi. Tiñ
 T. e'mjejeñ ke'i'peleñ. Ek'ejidié čo'močie, e'mjedié me-luku'on. Tuñ
 younger boy. Elder sister a little older, younger (brother) small. This
- K. keiyo'l-coro'mo e'mjeni. E'mjegi ko'i'peleñ. Kei'yojelpegi lugu'mui
 T. ke'yoji-go'deñ e'mjeni.² E'mjegi ke'i'peleñ. Ke'yejipegi me-lugu'moi,
 front-man younger had. Younger his man (was). Front-man their became old
- K. teri'keden-e a'mdeñi. Uo'rpepki yuku'ot po'n-oñi. Xa'nayañi,
 T. mi'riden-e me-ya'wañi. Wo'rpepulgi luku'oldeñ me-pa'n-añi. Me-xa'nayañi,
 with his wife (they) died. Children his small being remained. To wander (they) began,
- K. ā'čele mi'n-ñam, a'likteña. Mi'doče ke'yegude egi'eñi.
 T. i'lele me-me'ña, mor-o'ñdoña. Mi'riyeñ³ ke'yegudeñ mo-wo'gieñi
 reindeer they took, they harnessed. Wandering team in front being they led.
- K. Idie'tekpegi ti'netañ uo'rpeptieñin xo'nni.
 T. O'čidiépegi ti'dañ wo'rpeptiegale me-ko'čigeirem.
 Uncle their to those children went.
- K. Monai'lepteget mi'jum, u'ltem cānčilgege orpu'rem.
 T. Mo'nileptegat me-mejim, me'r-irem cā'n-jilgaga me-wo'ltem.
 By hair them (he) took, (he) tied on branch of tree he hung.
- K. Xa'nāi. Uo'rpeptiegele po'nim nu'man-uolge. Ibe'lienuñi. Tu'dā
 T. Meme'reiñołai. Uo'rpeptiegale me-ponim nimeniolga. Mor-o'ren-ānuñi. Ti'ne
 To migrate (he) went. Children he left on place where To cry began (children). Before house was standing.
- K. čogoyen-ñi.⁴ Idie'tekpegi mi'jum. Cā'lge o'rpot mo'tlorxaiñi.
 T. me-čogoyenuñi. Oi'čediépegi me-mejim. Ca'lga wo'luoldeñ me-ne'rejieñi.
 knife they had. Uncle their took. On tree hanging they became emaciated.
- K. Pabā'gi mo'nni: "E'mje, a'mdelñin lei'li. Tet mi'laget mu'rre
 T. Ek'e'gi mo'nni: "E'mjeñ, me-ya'walñin lei'li. Tet yugu'llagande ugu'rčie
 Elder sister his said: "Younger brother, to die (we) are. Your right boot

¹ The tent of the most honored stands in camp in front of all others; therefore he is called the "front-man."

² *e'mje* may be a younger sister as well as a younger brother.

³ This is a line of sledges loaded with the tent cover, clothing, cooking vessels tent poles, and other household objects.

⁴ Instead of *čogoyen.eñi*.

- K. la'udek, pogoĵā'x-ogu'rielge mit emei' tu'de i'ñjinčogoyegele tet
 T. ke'riek, i'n-bet-na'lga mit e'nie tu'de i'ñjičogoyegaļe tet
 take off, on all fours, when (we) our mother her tailoring knife in your
 were creeping
- K. mi'lāget ari'mege ceu'rem, la'udek."
 T. yugu'lāgande a'rimaga ku'derem, ke'riek."
 right sole shoved in, take off."
- K. La'udem, yu'om, lei, ye'tem, tu'de pabā'ñin
 T. Me-ke'riecum, me-yu'om, me'-lei, mo-wā'rem, tu'de eki'ein
 (He) took off, (he) looked, (it) is there, (he) pulled out, to his elder sister
- K. ta'dim. Pabā'gi tu'de monai'legeļe čo'gām. Čo'udege i'ркиn
 T. me-ta'dim. Eki'egi tu'de mo'nilegale mo-čō'gām. Čo'udaganeñ ma'rxon-
 (he) gave. Elder sister her hair to cut began. When she was one
 his cutting
- K. monai'lek yo'lomul'. Tāt ku'deleñi mo'tlorxaiļeñi. Xa'ji co'gum.
 T. moni'lek la'yemul'. Tāt ki'tner ne'regeileñi. Xa'ji mo-co'gum.
 hair remained. Thus (they) became, (they) dried up Now she cut off.
 it appears.
- K. Nu'mon-uolgen egu'rieñi. Cā'nčilgek nu'modieñol ā'ñam. Ti'te
 T. Ni'men-algan mer-eu'rienuñi. Cā'njilgeļek ni'medieñol me-wie'ña. Ti'te
 On place where to walk (they) began. Of tree branches into house (they) made. Of their
 houses stood
- K. eči'e-aibijikobeil-ā'če-ču'gi le'uñimele. Tāt modo'ñi. Pabā'gi
 T. a'mā-nu'nñid-i'le-ču'gi le'uñumule. Tāt me-caga'n-eñi. Eki'egi
 father burial reindeer meat his they ate. So they lived. Elder
 sister his
- K. nu'mon-uolgen eu'rei. Me'jin-n-o'xočox nu'mmeļe, n-e'tite-meje
 T. ni'men-algan mer-eu'rei. Ču'ñdijen xa'yeruk nu'mmeļe, n-e'tite-banje
 on place where walked. Of runner head she found, another one like it
 house stood
- K. nu'gum. Tu'de e'mje ko'ličeñol¹ ām, ige'yecum. Tu'de e'mjeñin
 T. nu'gum. Tu'de e'mje xai'carāļ me-wiem, mer-e'giecum. Tu'de e'mjegale
 she found. (For) her younger snow shoes (she) made, with straps (she) To her younger
 brother furnished.
- K. mo'nni: "Tet ko'liče ā, eu'rienuk." E'mjegi mo'rodolļo
 T. mo'nni: "Tet xai'carāļ me-wieñ, eu'rienunk." E'mjegi oño'relek
 (she) said: "Your snow shoes (I) made, walk (on them)." Younger having put
 brother her them on
- K. egu'riei E'mjegi egu'riet co'rei, e'le keļ, ogo'yelañi
 T. mer-e'rienui. E'mjegi eu'rereñ me-ca'gai, el-go'lulbon, ogo'ye ki'tner
 to walk he began. Younger walking lost his way, (he) did not morning until
 brother her come back,
- K. e'le keļ. Ogo'ye pojerxo'd-o'rjeme aju'gi me'dčič. Mo'nni: "Pa'bā,
 T. el gō'lu. Ogoi'ye čai'led-o'rjemeñ arū'gi mo'rčil. Mo'nni: "Eki'e,
 (he) did return. On the towards midday voice his resounded. (He) said: "Elder
 not morrow sister

¹ From the Russian word *goli'tza*, ski i. e. snow shoes without fur soles. *Xai'carāļ* means the wood i. e. the boards (*āl*) of snow shoes (*xai'ica*).

- K. u'keik' tu'ben le'mdik ke'čime, yu'ojeik." Pa'bāgi u'koč
 T. pu'lgeik' tu'ñn-eñ ne'meleñ ke'čimeñ, yoi'ček." Eki'egi mo-pu'lgeč
 come out this what brought (I), to look go." Elder sister his came out
- K. yu'očim: e'mjegi tolo'bo onmude'ge mo'im, egi'et ke'čim.
 T. mo-yu'očim: e'mjegi to'loule o'nmurdagat moi'meļe, wo'giereñ ke'čimeļe.
 looked: Younger wild reindeer by his antlers was holding, dragging (he) brought.
 brother her
- K. Mo'nni: "Pa'bā, ti'tem-eje bo'ngeļe e'le leu'nunuñam?" Pabā'gi mo'nni:
 T. Mo'nni: "Eki'e, ti'tebenje cu'kungale el leu'nnuñu?" Eki'egi mo'nni:
 (He) said: "Elder such a thing does one eat?" Elder sister said:
 sister, not his
- K. "E'mje, leu'nuñam." E'mjegi tu'de koli'cegeļe ļa'udem. Ti'netañ
 T. "E'mjeñ, me-leu'nuña." E'mjegi tu'de xai'cargale me-ke'riyecum. Ti'dañ
 "Younger one eats." Younger his snow shoes took off. That
 brother, brother her
- K. tolo'bo ku'dedem tu'de koli'cedeļe. N-e'ľbetñam, ču'deule ļe'ñam.
 T. toļo'ule me-ne'regereim tu'de xaicarek. Ma'lagalecña, ču'degale me-le'uña.
 wild reindeer (he) killed his snow shoe with. Hide (they) cut off, meat his (they) ate.
- K. E'mjegi pojerxo'-o'nmun čomo'mui. I'rkin pojerxo'go e'mjegi
 T. E'mjegi čaileñ-o'nmun čomo'mui. Mo'rxon. cai'lega e'mjegi
 Younger day every grew. One day younger
 brother her brother her
- K. xañi'čeñot ko'beč, pie'jeļek nu'mmeļe. Onmunde'get mi'jum,
 T. ye'ručer me-ko'beč, toro'yegak nu'mmeļe. O'nmurdagat me-me'jim,
 hunting went, moose (he) found. By antlers his (he) took,
- K. egi'em, numo'ge yo'xtom, pie'jegeļe kude'dem. Tāt
 T. me-wo'giem, ni'maga me-ko'tkereim, toro'yegale me-pu'nim. Ta'dāt
 (he) led, to house he brought, elk (he) killed. Then
- K. ko'bec. I'ñličebodek' nu'mmeļe. I'ñličebon tu'degeļe me'nmegeirem.
 T. me-ko'beč. Xa'ičietegek' nu'mmele. Xa'ičietege tu'degale me-ko'čegeirem.
 (he) went. Bear (he) found. Bear him towards went jumping.
- K. Ma'lagude unu'medeget mi'jum, nu'moñin ka'udem, tu'de pa'bāge
 T. Ma'lagun unu'medagat me-me'jim, ni'meñin me-keu'rem, tu'de eki'ega
 By both ears his (he) took, homeward (he) dragged, to his elder sister
- K. ya'xai mo'nni: "Pa'ba, e'le le'ununuñam?" Pa'bāgi mo'nni: "E'le,
 T. me-ko'tkeč, monni: "Eki'e, el le'unnuñu?" Eki'egi mo'nni: "E'le,
 (he) came (he) said: "Elder does one eat?" Elder sister said: "No,
 sister, not his
- K. e'le leu'nuñi, coromoļo leu'nunumle." Mo'nni: "Pa'bā, met' kude'det,
 T. el leu'nnuñu, kolle¹ leu'nuñumle." Mo'nni: "Eki'e, met' me-pu'nit,
 not one does eat, man (he) eats."² (He) said: "Elder sister, I shall kill,
- K. xa'rgeñolet o'moč." Tu'de ko'ličedeļe, ai ku'dedem. N-e'ľbetñam.
 T. ca'wogeñolet o'moč." Tu'de xa'icerek, wai ne'regereim. Maļālecña.
 for hide having (he) is good." With his snowshoe again (he) killed. (They) skinned.

¹ Instead of *kodele*.² I. e. the bear eats man.

- K. E'mjegi čomo'mui, xa'jič pojerxo'-o'nmun tolo'bo, pie'jele,
 T. E'mjegi mo-čo'momui, xa'jir ča'ileñ-o'nmun tolo'ule, toro'yagale
 Younger he grew, now day every wild reindeer, elk
 brother her
- K. íñličebongeļe írkilañide ke'čim. Moli'n xa're te'tteñi. E'mjegi
 T. xai'čietegeļe oxo'l' ke'čim. Ax ca'woļek me-tetči'eñoloñi. E'mjegi
 bear constantly he would Alone in hides (they) became rich. Younger
 bring. brother her
- K. omo'ce coro'moñot ku'dei. Pa'bāgi mo'doi pojerxo'mo tu'deje.
 T. me-xa'lice ko'deñolai. Eki'egi me-caga'nei cai'lemeñ tu'rejie.
 handsome man became. Elder sister his was sitting in the day time alone.
- K. "Oxa'," mo'nni, "ajū'lek me'dul pu'det." Ajū' me'dut mo'nni: "Ei,
 T. "O'xo," mo'nni, "arū'leñ me'rul pu'det." Arū' me'rur mo'nni: "Eik,
 "There," (she) said, "conversation is heard from yard." Voice which was said: "Ah,
 heard
- K. tudā'-tabu'npeļek ti'te ku'deleñil' tā, n-a'čedeceili mit como'jelñin,
 T. tidañ-epleñ-ti'te ku'ričieñul', molā peñeceili mit ki'ejein,
 those former (children) like (they) have become now let us return to our elder,
 it appears,
- K. pu'nduyeiga, ai'ga kude'deti."
 T. mo'nničēili, a'lgan bu'ntei."¹
 let us tell, afterwards (we) shall kill."
- K. Kobe'iñi. Yu'oleme e'mjegi ki'eč. Pa'bāgi mo'nni:
 T. Me-kowe'iñi. Awiya'gandeñ e'mjegi me-ko'lui. Eki'egi mo'nni:
 They went. In the evening younger came. Elder sister his
 brother her
- K. "E'mje, pojerxo'mo mo'dot ajū'bo mo'di, mo'nni: 'A'iga kude'deti."
 T. "E'mjeñ, ča'ilemeñ caga'ner arū'le mori'me, mo'nni: 'A'lgan bu'ntei."
 "Younger in the day time sitting voice (I) heard, (which) said: 'Afteward (we) shall
 brother, kill."
- K. E'mjegi mo'nni: "Pa'bā, xoc kude'dede kude'deñigen!"
 T. E'mjegi mo'nni: "Eki'e, ko'reik pu'nde pu'nñigon!"
 Younger said: "Elder let it be, (in order to) let them kill."
 brother her sister, kill
- K. Ye'nduñi. Ogoye'lme egi'eñi. E'mjegi o'nmiedieļe čo'gum,
 T. Ma'r-awāñi. Ogo'iye mo'r-ogōñi. E'mjegi o'nmiedieļe mo-čo'gum,
 They went to Towards morning they got up. Younger young larch cut,
 sleep. brother her
- K. mi'bedeule mi'jum mo'inube ām. E'mjegi tu'de pa'bāñin
 T. pe'kčiedagale me-me'jim mo'inebugiñol me'wiem. E'mjegi tu'de eki'ein
 lower end of it (he) took as handle (he) made. Younger to his elder sister
 brother her
- K. mo'nni: "Pa'bā, tet lo'ñčo ige'yectelle ye'katinge³ u'ltek'. Ajū'
 T. mo'nni: "Eki'e, tet yo'ñčie³ igi'ectekek cu'ckarālga wo'ltek'. Arū'
 said: "Elder sister, your bell furnished with to hook for tie. Conversation
 strings hanging on kettle

¹ These were the people of the children's uncle.

² Yukaghir women wear bells, sewed to the apron, as ornaments.

³ *Yekatinge* is a Tungus word, corresponding to the Yukaghir *poñdiberälge*.

- K. me'čideune nu'mole yo'mgodeiñideune tet lo'ňčo yalgidedaik."
 T. mo'rčidagane ni'mele po'mogoreiñudagane tet yo'ňcie ke'lgutereik."
 when will be heard house around walk when they will with your bell ring."
- K. Tāt mo'ndelle e'imegude ye'ndič.
 T. Tāt mo'ndeñ ye'megur me-ye'ndič.
 Thus having said on other side to sleep (he) lay down.
- K. Pa'bāgi pojerxo'mo i'gdienui. Aju'pelek me'dul. Mo'njideune
 T. Eki'egi ca'ilemeñ i'ñjienui. Arū'peleñ me'rul. Mo'njidagane
 Elder sister in the day time was sewing. Words were heard. When (they) were talking
- K. nu'mole yo'mgodeiñam xa'dič. Pa'bāgi tu'de lo'ňčogoło ya'lgidedaim.
 T. ni'mele mo'r-omogoreiña xa'jir. Eki'egi tu'de yo'ňciegale me-ke'lgutereim.
 house around they went then. Elder with her bell to ring began.
 sister his
- K. Lo'ňcogi mo'ndeč. E'mjegi me'nmegeč. Tu'de ye'remegele
 T. Yo'ňcigi mo-mo'ndeč. E'mjegi mo-ko'čegeč. Tu'de ye'remegale
 Bell her rang. Younger brother her jumped up. His club
- K. mi'jum, puki'ječ. Ce'cpedañilge puki'jeidelje nu'leje-bu'dien me'nmegeč.
 T. me-me'jim, mo-puki'reč. Ce'cpega puki'reireñ nu'lejen-pi'elie ko'čegeč.
 (he) took, (he) jumped out. Through door having jumped out crowd on top (he) jumped.
- K. Tu'de ye'remele ču'mu ku'dedem. I'ркиn tu'de xo'jādie yo'lojomlo.
 T. Tu'de ye'remelek ya'unō pu'nim. Mo'rxon tu'de o'čidie la'yeremle.
 With his club all (he) killed. Only his uncle he left.
- K. Tu'de xo'jādiegele me'nmegereim, cā'le i'čectelle tu'de xo'jādiegele
 T. Tu'de o'čidiegale me-ko'čegeirem, cā'le ču'polestellek tu'de o'čidiegale
 His uncle he was stamping on club having sharpened of his uncle
 (with his feet),
- K. e'rčed-a'ñildegen ni'čaxadaim, mo'nni: "Xo'jādie, me'tul yu'kuolge
 T. n-e'rčed-a'ñilgaga¹ u'ročiyecem, mo'nni: "O'čidie, me'tul luku'olgame
 into dirty opening (he) put (he) said: "Uncle, me small when (I)
 was
- K. met monai'leget u'itemik, metei'k te'tul u'lte." Xo'jādiegi a'mdei.
 T. met mo'nilgat wo'itemek, metei'k te'tul me-wo'lte." O'čidiegi me-ya'wai.
 by my hair (you) tied, I also you am tying." Uncle his died.
- K. Ču'godegen ko'beč nu'mopedege ya'xai. Čumu'tagi kudedem.
 T. Yo'wulbedagan ko'beč² ni'mepedaga me-ko'tkeč. Ya'unotogo pu'nim.
 Along his road (he) went to houses his (he) came. All he killed.
- K. Yad-adi'lek yo'lojomlo, yan marxi'lek yo'lojomlo. Xa'nācum. Tu'de
 T. Yad-adi'lek la'yeremle, yan marxe'lek la'yeremle. Me-xa'nācum. Tu'de
 Three young men (he) left, three girls (he) left. (He) forced them to Of this
 migrate.
- K. eči'e ā'čegele mi'jum. Numo'ge ya'xai tu'de pa'bāge. Tí'netañ
 T. a'mā i'legale me-me'jim. Ni'mega me-ko'tkeč tu'de eki'ega. Tí'dañ
 father reindeer (he) took. To house (he) came to his elder sister. (From) those
- K. yo'lojomlo marxi'lget tu'de teri'keñol mi'jum. Tí'netañ a'dilpeñin
 T. la'yelemle ma'rxelgat tu'de miri'yeol me-me'jim. Tí'dañ adí'pele
 who were left girls to himself wife (he) took. (From) those young men

¹ i. e. anus.² i. e., along the uncle's trail.

- K. a'taxluolel tañ ma'rxipele ta'dim. Tu'de pa'bāgele írkinleñin
 T. kiyō'lel ta'ñuniye ma'rxelpele ta'dimele. Tu'de eki'egale mo'rxon-leñin
 to two of them those girls (he)-gave. His elder sister to one (of them)
 K. tadi'm.
 T. ta'dim.
 (he) gave.

Told by Kuriloff, the elder of the Tundra Betil clan, Jan. 28, 1902. Translated into the Kolyma dialect with the assistance of A. Dolganoff.

Tale of the Leading Man.

There were numerous tents in a camp. The people of the camp had as a head-man a powerful and rich man. The head-man had two small children, a boy and a girl. The girl was a little older than the boy. The head-man had also a younger brother. The head-man became old and soon he died and also his wife. When they died, both their children were still quite small. After the death of the head-man, the camp had to move. The small children were ready to go. They harnessed their reindeer to sledges and put themselves at the head of the wandering team.

Suddenly, their uncle came, took the children by the hair, and hung them to a branch of a tree. Thus, he left them in the abandoned camp and moved on with the other people of the camp. The children cried. They had had a knife, but their uncle had taken it away. While hanging on the tree the children became emaciated. The elder one, the sister, said, "My younger brother, if we remain as we are now we shall surely die. We must do something. Take off your right boot. When we were still creeping on all fours our late mother shoved her tailoring knife in the sole of your right boot. Take it off and pull out the knife." The boy did what the sister had told him.

He pulled out the knife and gave it to his sister. She cut off her hair, which dried up in such a way that it looked like a single hair. She cut off her own hair and that of her younger brother. They walked about in the abandoned camp. They made a tent of tree branches. They ate the meat of their father's burial reindeer, (i. e., of the reindeer killed on the grave of their father). Thus they lived in the abandoned camp. While walking about, the girl found two heads of sledge runners and made out of them snowshoes with holding straps for her little brother. She gave them to the boy and said, "Younger brother, here are snowshoes for you. Put them on and walk." The boy put on the snowshoes and began to walk. Soon he lost his way. The following noon he came back and shouted to his sister, "Elder sister, come out to see what I have brought." The girl came out and saw the boy holding a wild reindeer by its antlers. That was the way in which he dragged it home. "Does man eat such a thing?" asked the boy. "Yes,"

said the girl, "man eats it." The boy took off one of his snow-shoes and killed the reindeer with it. They skinned the reindeer and ate its meat. The boy grew larger every day. Once upon a time he went to hunt and met an elk. He took the elk by its antlers and led it to their tent. There he killed it. Then he went hunting again and met a bear. He took the bear by its ears and dragged it home. On reaching camp, the boy asked his sister, "Does man eat such a thing?" — "No," said the girl, "man does not eat it, but it eats man." — "I shall kill it," said the boy, "its skin is good." He killed the bear with his snowshoe and skinned it.

The boy grew more and more. Every day he brought home from the hunt wild reindeer, elk, and bears. They became rich in skins. The boy became a handsome man. Once the girl was sitting alone in their tent in the daytime. Her brother was out hunting. Suddenly she heard people conversing outside. They were people from their uncle's camp. They said, "Ah, that is what has become of those children. Now let us return to our elder and tell him about it, we shall surely kill them!" The people left.

In the evening, when the boy came home, his sister told him what she had heard. The boy said, "Well, if they want to kill us, let them do so. We shall see."

Then they went to bed. The next morning they arose. The boy cut a young larch tree and made a handle out of its lower end. The boy said to his sister, "My elder sister, hang your ornamental bell on the kettle-hook. Ring the bell when you hear people walking around our tent and talking outside." Then the boy went to sleep on the opposite side of the tent.

In the daytime, the girl was sewing. Suddenly she heard outside voices of people walking around their tent. She rang the bell. When the boy heard the ringing, he jumped up, ran out of the tent, taking his club with him. With it he killed all the people there. Only his uncle was left. He beat him and stamped on him with his feet. Then he sharpened his club and put it in his uncle's anus, saying, "Uncle, when I was a small child you tied my hair to a tree, now I am taking revenge on you." His uncle died. The boy went along the road his uncle had come and when he reached the camp he killed all the people there. He spared only three youths and three girls. He took his father's reindeer herd and forced the young people to move with him. He came to his place. He himself married one of the girls. The other two girls he gave to two of the three lads and the third youth was married to his sister.

XIII. — FOLK TALES WITHOUT TEXT.

How Mythical Old Man Became Invisible.

In ancient times Mythical Old Man used to walk about openly hunting people and eating them. There was a woman. Once upon a time she hung a kettle over the fireplace, poured in water and put fish in the kettle to cook. Suddenly she saw a shadow in the kettle. She looked up and saw that Mythical Old Man was looking down the chimney from the roof where he was standing. The woman said to herself: "Well, kettle, boil quickly!" A little later she added aloud: "Well, it is ready now. Vulva, I shall feed you." She took the kettle from the fire, put it on the floor, and took out the fish which she placed on a wooden dish. She undressed entirely and sat down on the ground nude, moved her legs apart, put between her legs the dish and said: "Vulva, eat!" Then she struck her sexual organ, saying: "Well, why do you not eat?" Mythical Old Man looked and thought: "It is interesting to see how the vulva will eat." Again the Woman struck her vulva and said: "Well, you force me again to go to the Russians, to ask for salt; why can you not eat without salt? Well, I shall go to the Russians to ask for salt, I shall bring salt and feed you; but then if you will not eat I shall beat you." Mythical Old Man listened and thought: "It is curious, I shall wait here and see how she is going to feed that vulva, and then I shall eat her."

The woman dressed herself, went out of the house, ran to the village people and told them that Mythical Old Man was standing on the roof of her house and was looking down the chimney. The people of the village said to the woman: "Go to your house and pretend that you are feeding your vulva, and when he is watching you we shall creep up to him from behind and kill him.

The woman entered her house and pretended again that she was feeding her vulva. Mythical Old Man looked on and was laughing. Just then the people ran up to him from behind and cut him with knives. Mythical Old Man fell, writhed in convulsions and suddenly became invisible.

"Look," Mythical Old Man said to himself; "I was almost killed being caught by this woman's ruse. Henceforth I shall not go to people openly, I shall appear in an invisible state." "Mythical Old Man became angry at all women and he began to do harm to them. The women began to sharpen their knives and Mythical Old Man hid their whetstones. When the whetstones disappeared, the women sharpened their knives on leather. Mythical

Old Man hid all the leather and the women sharpened their knives on wood. Mythical Old Man hid all the wood, and the women sharpened their knives on clay. Mythical Old Man hid all the clay, but the women found some other clay. Then Mythical Old Man said, "Well, the women got the better of me, I shall not hide clay any more. I shall not be able to hide all the clay on earth."

Told by the Yossachnaya Yukaghir woman Dolganoff in January 1902.

A Yukaghir Tale of the Origin of the Chukchee.

There were two orphans, a boy and a girl. They lived on the tundra. Suddenly the sky became dark. There was no food and they were starving. While they walked groping in the darkness young ptarmigans happened to come into their hands. The boy said: "Something is moving in my hand." The girl answered: "In mine too, but men eat this. Let us also eat, else we shall die of hunger."

One of the young ptarmigans spoke to the boy and said: "Do not kill me. At my father's and mother's place is much food. If you do not kill me I shall also find light for you." The girl listened and said: "Do not let it go, whatever it may say, people eat it and we shall eat." The ptarmigan begged again for its life: "Do not kill me, I shall let snow fall for you, I shall walk on it, and you may follow my tracks and thus you will reach my parents."

While the boy was still holding the ptarmigan, snow began to fall. It continued to snow. Much snow fell.

"Now," said the ptarmigan, "let me go, I shall go and you follow me. Now my tracks on the white snow will be visible."

The orphans let go of the ptarmigan and followed its tracks. Suddenly they saw the young ptarmigan sitting with two old ones, its father and mother. The ptarmigans said to the orphans: "We shall give you food: willow-leaves and larch-cones. Men eat them."

The orphans tried to eat leaves of willows and they were pleasing to them. Then the old he-ptarmigan said: "Now you have food, so I shall go to find the hidden light. Remain here meanwhile, but even if I do not return for a long while do not eat my wife and children."

The ptarmigan flew off upwards towards the sky. It flew a long time, suddenly it felt something firm. It scratched with its claws. It was hard. Then it picked with its beak. It picked a great while. At last it picked through the firmament and light appeared as if through a window. Its entire beak was rubbed off, but light set in. The ptarmigan looked down and saw a bright day on earth. The ptarmigan flew down. After reaching the earth it asked the orphans: "Well, now it is light on earth?" — "Yes," answered

the orphans, "light has set in." — "And you did not suffer hunger in my absence?" asked the ptarmigan. "No," answered the orphans, "we were eating willow-leaves and larch-cones and we have grown fat."

"Well," said the ptarmigan, "now live here as you like, but I shall not remain with you, I shall fly towards the white world."

The ptarmigan flew off with its family and the orphans remained and lived on willow-leaves and larch-cones. Thus they lived. They married and from them the Chukchee originated.

That is why the Chukchee at present like to eat fresh willow-leaves and larch tree cones.

Told on the Kolyma-tundra by the Yukaghir Yegor Shamanoff, in April, 1902.

Tale of the Raven.

Raven and Ptarmigan lived together. They were relatives. Once upon a time Ptarmigan said to Raven: "Why do you and I live alone, let us go to look for wives." — "Let us go", answered Raven. They went to the Sun. They arrived. Ptarmigan said to the Sun: "Open your door, we have come to get married." The Sun opened the door and Ptarmigan saw that beautiful girls were sitting in the house. Just then Raven picked up dog's dung in the yard. The Sun saw this and said: "I shall not give my daughter to such a man," and shut the door. Ptarmigan said to Raven: "Why did you not abstain from picking up dung?" — "Why should I abstain from it?" said Raven, "Is it not my food?"

Next they went to the Moon. "Open your door," said Ptarmigan, "we have come to look for brides. The Moon opened the door of his house and there appeared beautiful girls, but at this moment Raven picked up in the yard dog's dung, and when the Moon saw it he shut his door.

Thus Ptarmigan and Raven walked on, offering themselves in marriage to Ursa Major, the Morning Star, the Aurora Borealis, Ledum, Rhododendron, Alder, East Siberian Larch, and to Grasses. Nowhere could Raven abstain from his habit of eating excrements, and marriage was denied to such suitors. Finally Ptarmigan and Raven went as suitors to Steep River Bank. Ptarmigan said to his relative, Raven: "It seems you are a bad man and no one wants you. Why is it not possible for you to abstain from picking up excrements?"

This time Raven abstained from doing so and Steep River Bank gave his daughter to Raven in marriage. Raven remained with his father-in-law on the steep river bank.

Ptarmigan descended the steep river bank and went as suitor to Willow. There Ptarmigan married and remained among the willows.

Told by the tundra Yukaghir Constantine Erbetken in Sredne-Kolymsk, in April, 1902.

A Tungus Tale of Morning Star.

Once upon a time there was a girl Elax, i. e. Morning-Star, by name. She had two brothers, both younger than herself. The elder one's name was Tilkani (Fly), the younger one's Hetkechan, (Dragon-Fly). Fly went to hunt wild reindeer. Morning-Star was waiting for the return of her brother. She waited a whole day. Night came and passed, but he did not come. She got up in the morning, but Fly was not there. Another day and another night she waited, but her brother did not come. She cried and started out on snow-shoes to look for her brother. She came to a mountain, crossed the ridge and descended into the valley of a river. There on the river she found her brother dead with an arrow in his breast and next to him lay a dead reindeer. This is what had happened to Tilkani. He had seen five wild reindeer. He shot at them and killed one. At that time someone shot and killed him. Morning-Star put her brother's body on snow-shoes and dragged him home. She arrived home and, being tired, she went to sleep. Suddenly she heard a voice from heaven, "I killed your brother on that river."

The one speaking was the monster Irkunmul, who is clothed in autumn-skins of reindeer. He has the appearance of an eagle and rides through the air on reindeer. Morning-Star heard what he said and replied: "Although I am a weak woman I shall get the better of you." Morning-Star stopped crying and made bow and arrows for her younger brother. She gave him also the spear of his elder brother. She placed him astride on the spear and practiced her shamanistic skill. She rubbed her brother along the arms, legs, and body. Suddenly he rose into the air. When he flew off Morning-Star went to sleep. As soon as she fell asleep her younger brother fell to the ground pierced by an arrow. Morning Star cried. Again a voice was heard from heaven: "I have thrown down your little brother with my arrow. Why do you send children against me? Why do you not go to fight yourself?" She prepared herself. She made numerous arrows, prepared a quiver and filled it with arrows. She put on the quiver. She straddled a spear and flew upwards. She pierced a hole in the sky and reached the Upper-World. There she found the house of Irkunmul. He had ten wives. She shouted to him from outside. "Irkunmul, why did you kill my brothers? They have done you no harm. Come out now to fight with me!" Irkunmul shouted to his wives, "Well, wives, open the door for me!" His wives opened the door but he stayed in the doorway and said: "Well, Morning-Star, you are a woman. Therefore you shall shoot first else it will be said that a man raised his hand against a woman." Morning-Star replied, "Kill me as you have killed my brothers."

Then Irkunmul strung his bow and shot through the open door. Morning-Star dodged the arrow. He shot once more. She dodged it again. He shot

a third time, and missed again. Thus he kept on shooting for two days and could not hit Morning-Star. Then Irkunmul said: "Well, Morning-Star, let us make peace!" She answered: "No, kill me as you have killed my brothers. How shall I live without them? Who will feed and clothe me? Who will bring me meat and skins of wild reindeer? Come out and let us fight."

However, Irkunmul did not come out. A whole day she was calling for him to come, but he would not move. Only the next day, when the sun approached midday, Irkunmul came out. As soon as he came out the girl shot and hit him in the right thigh. Once more she shot and broke his other thigh. He fell down. Morning-Star ran to him with her long belt knife and cut his throat. His head fell to the ground, but it continued to move and to turn about. It rolled to the sea of the Upper World and rolled on along the shore. It rolled to an underground house and rolled into it. Morning-Star ran after the head. She entered the underground house and saw there two half-men, the right halves of man. They were called Cholora. The half-men said to the girl, "Why did you come to us from the Lower Earth and torture the old man? let us fight!"

Morning-Star answered: "Do not touch me and I shall not touch you. Irkunmul has killed my two brothers, therefore I pursue him." At this time the head jumped out of the hut and ran away from the girl along the sea-shore. The Cholora fought with the girl. At first they fought in the house. The girl could not overcome them, as their bodies were of iron, but they also could not overcome her. Then they went outside and continued to fight. Finally, the girl saw on the thumb of the one Cholora a spot of naked flesh. She struck it with her spear and he died. She continued to fight with the other Cholora. They fought a long time. Finally, she saw on his neck a spot of naked flesh. She struck it with her spear and killed him on the spot. Then she looked for the trail of the head. She found it and continued the pursuit. She listened. She came to a tent and heard that someone in the tent was rocking a cradle and singing: "Acquire a body, acquire legs, acquire arms, and kill that woman with whom you fought."

Then she heard that someone took a kettle. Morning-Star hid behind the tent and saw a tall woman with long iron claws and long iron teeth come out of the tent. She looked about, and since she did not see anyone, she went to the river to draw water. At once Morning-Star ran into the tent and saw that Irkunmul in the cradle had already acquired arms and legs, but was still small like a child. Morning-Star took her large knife and cut him into small pieces. She started a large fire on the fire-place and burnt him. Then she hid behind the door and waited, knife in hand, for the woman with iron claws and teeth. As soon as her head came in sight, Morning-Star cut it off with her knife. She cut the body into small pieces. Morning-Star felled forty trees, started a large fire and burnt the woman until

only ashes remained. Then she turned back to her camp. On her way home she came to Irkunmul's hut. She shot an arrow into the fire-place, made a hole in the sky, and through that hole she came down to the earth. She came to her tent and saw that her brothers had come to life. While still outside she shouted: "Are you alive?" They answered: "Yes, we have come to life."

Morning-Star said to her brother's: "Close one entrance of the tent, make a fire, and cover it with a kettle and stand on both sides of the other entrance.¹ I shall push my staff into the tent. Seize it and drag me into the tent to my place. Then uncover the fire."

The brothers did as their sister bid them. As the flame burst out from the fire Morning-Star fell down and died. Then the elder brother said to the younger one: "Spear the mounting reindeer of our sister." He went, killed the reindeer, and dragged it into the tent. The elder brother cut off the hide of the reindeer, wrapped their sister in it, tied it and hung her over the fire-place. She was steaming over the fire, and when the sun set, she moved in the hide and started: "I am suffocating here, let me out."

The brothers ripped up the hide and Morning-Star came out alive and stronger than before. Thus they lived.

Tungus Tale on White-Eyed-Old-Man.

There was a man named Nyonatikan, (White-Eyed-Old-Man). Not far from him lived a young neighbor who was married. Once the neighbor came running to Nyonatikan and said out of breath, "White-Eyed-Old-Man, tell some news!" White-Eyed-Old-Man answered: "I sit at home, nowhere do I go; how should I know any news? I know nothing." But the neighbor repeated: "No, speak, what is the news?" White-Eyed-Old-Man again answered: "I know no news." But the neighbor did not desist and urged him: "Say quickly, what is the news?" — "Well, if you want to know some news," said White-Eyed-Old-Man, "let me tell you that a handsome youth is now under the bed of your wife. Secretly he sleeps with your wife." As the young man heard this, he quickly ran home. He lifted his wife's bed and found there a young handsome chap named Nivani, from the neighboring Tungus camp, and killed him. Then he ran back to White-Eyed-Old-Man and said: "Well, we are now in danger of vengeance. You informed me and I have killed a man, and his relatives who live beyond the river will kill us. Why did you tell me?" Nyonatikan answered: "What can we do, let them kill us. But still let us think what to do," added he after a while.

¹ In the Tungus circular tent there are usually two entrances on opposite sides.

When night came, the White-Eyed-Old-Man went to his neighbor, took the corpse, undressed himself, put on the clothes of the murdered man, girdled around himself his long knife, and carried the dead beyond the river, where his family lived. There he put him near the tent of his parents. The father of Nivani was called Xakinxan and was a rich man. The old Xakinxan had a daughter, a beauty. There was no one more beautiful than she in the world. In order to guard her against men her parents kept her in an underground hut, covered with wood. For that reason she was called Darpic, (Fenced-in). Her parents waited for the arrival of a suitor, a well known Strong man. Having left the dead man outside, White-Eyed-Old-Man quietly stole into the underground hut of Darpic. She jumped up from her bed and asked: "Who has come?" White-Eyed-Old-Man answered: "Your brother," imitating the voice of Nivani. The girl lit a fire and saw the dress and knife of her brother. White-Eyed-Old-Man covered his face with his hand. He said to the girl. "I have come to sleep with you." — "How so," exclaimed the astonished sister, "you are my brother, it is a sin!" — "Never mind, if I am your brother! I shall take you whether you want to or not," answered he. But the sister said: "Although you are my elder brother, I shall not do this, I shall hit you and shall not yield." — "Well, if you do not want to comply with my wish," said he, "I shall go and kill myself with my knife."

She had not time to say anything, before White-Eyed-Old-Man left the underground hut. He ran to the tent of the old man, dressed the corpse in his own clothes, put his knife into the wound, and ran home.

When Xakinxan got up in the morning, his son was not in the tent. He went to his mother and he was not there. He ran to his daughter and asked her, "And you, daughter, have you not seen your brother? Do you not know where he is?"

"I do not know," answered the daughter. "Last night he came to me and said: 'I want to lie with you.' He undressed, but I struck him and he ran away saying that he would kill himself." Xakinxan returned home. He looked for his son and found him near the tent, dead with his own knife in his body.

Xakinxan said to his people: "Go, not far from here is a small camp. There lives an old woman with five sons. The oldest one is called Berus. She is a shaman. Bring her to our house, let her practice her shamanistic power! Let her find out who suggested to my son to go to sleep with his sister. That wish did not originate in his own mind. Some evil spirit must have possessed him."

They brought the old woman. She said: "Put up a large tent, carry the corpse into it, make a large fire on the hearth and hang a large kettle with water over the body. When the water begins to boil, kill a reindeer and put it whole into the kettle while I am performing. Then I shall find

out what happened to your son." The old woman began her shamanistic rite. Many people gathered in the tent. White-Eyed-Old-Man came also as if to listen to the old woman's shamanistic performance. He looked on to see how the old woman beat her drum and sang. When the kettle began to boil and when he knew that the old woman was about to discover who had killed the son of Xakinxan, White-Eyed-Old-Man went out and suddenly ran back with the cry: "Many warriors have come! They have surrounded the entire camp, the earth has become black, so many people are there! It appears they came to kill us."

As the people heard this, all ran out of the tent, but the old woman remained there continuing her shamanistic ceremonial. White-Eyed-Old-Man quickly ran back into the tent, seized the old woman and threw her and her drum into the boiling kettle. The old woman was cooked. White-Eyed-Old-Man went out again. The people were looking about for warriors, but they did not find anyone. "White-Eyed-Old-Man," they said, "why have you deceived us, speak, we have found no warriors."

White-Eyed-Old-Man said: "Pardon me, it is my white eye which deceived me, the trees of the forest appeared to me as people."

They entered the tent and they saw that the old woman was cooked. Xakinxan said to White-Eyed-Old-Man, "These are your doings. The old woman, it appears, having remained alone, has fallen into the kettle. Now Berus with his brothers will come and kill us. These are your doings. Mend this affair, you are sly, you can get us out of trouble."

"All right," answered White-Eyed-Old-Man, "I shall go. Give me a riding reindeer of bad temper; load another bad-tempered reindeer with the meat of a fat reindeer, and let a man lead my reindeer by the bridle."

They gave him two bad-tempered, ferocious reindeer. Then they killed a fat reindeer and loaded its meat on one of the riding reindeer; the other reindeer was led by a man. White-Eyed-Old-Man made for himself bone spurs to excite his riding reindeer, wrapped the dead old woman in a blanket, and took her on his knees. He rode on. When White-Eyed-Old-Man approached the house of the old woman, her sons ran out with shouts to meet her. "Let us go," they said, "to meet mother, undoubtedly, she is bringing fat reindeer meat, and, we shall have tasty meals." Then White-Eyed-Old-Man struck his reindeer with his bone-spurs and shouted at the brothers: "Do not come near, I have a bad-tempered reindeer. I am afraid I might drop your mother, she was performing shamanistic rites, lost consciousness and now trembles all over, here I am holding her in my arms." Saying this he let the dead woman fall to the ground and leaped from the galloping reindeer. "Didn't I tell you, not to come near? you have frightened the mad reindeer and killed your mother," said he.

The brothers, not knowing what to say looked at their dead mother and

at White-Eyed-Old-Man. "There is nothing to be done," continued White-Eyed-Old-Man, "your mother was very old and had to die some day. Take the fat meat from the other reindeer and the reindeer itself." They did so and were satisfied. White-Eyed-Old-Man returned first to the old Xakinxan and then to his young neighbor and from both he received gifts of clothing and meat for his services.

Tungus Tale of the Dwarf.

A boy dwarf named Hulura¹ lived all alone. He made a tent of larch branches for himself. Dwarf did not eat; he only painted his belly with coal. Now he drew the design of a reindeer and rubbed it off again; then he drew the design of fighting warriors and rubbed it off again, and so on. Dwarf began to think: "Since I have been born into this world, I shall go to look at it, to search for something that may be of use to me." Dwarf arose early and went. He walked a whole day; he walked the length of a whole day and stopped for the night. He looked and saw that the tent he had left was within reach; so little had he moved. The next day he made the distance of ten steps and stopped for the night. When he stopped for the third night he looked back at his tent and said: "How shall I succeed in seeing the world? I shall not reach anywhere travelling only a few steps every day. I do not know why I was born such a sickly good-for-nothing."

Suddenly he looked at his hands and found that he was holding a travelling staff, he looked at his feet and saw that they were on snow-shoes.

He went off on his snow-shoes. A bell was tied to the heel end. As he ran on the snow-shoes glided away under him, and he fell down on his back. He got up and said. "How shall I get on? I cannot walk on snow-shoes."

He struck the points of his snow-shoes with his staff and they slid on. He ran quickly and his bell was heard far away. Its ringing was heard at a distance of two days' journeys.

Dwarf thought, "The bell is heard a long ways off, it may attract some bad man." He came to a river. He saw that the river was large. He crossed it. Suddenly Dwarf heard a call from behind: "Wait, what news have you from the place you come from?" Dwarf waited. A man without a cap and without hair came to him; he breathed fire and burned everything ahead of him. His name was Ujikni, (the bald-headed one).

"Where are you going," asked Ujikni. "I went to search for you," answered Dwarf. "If you are searching for me," said Ujikni, "let us fight. I have been hearing your bell for seven days. Let us fight!"

¹ *Hulura* is a Tungus word meaning dwarf.

Ujikni had a bow of iron and arrows of iron. Dwarf's bow and arrows were of thin larch branches. Ujikni strung his bow and the trees already began to tremble and branches to break. He said to Dwarf: "Why do you not fall down? Did I not string my bow? Well, who will shoot first?"

Dwarf said: "I have come to you, you must shoot first." Ujikni shot first. He had twenty arrows in all. Dwarf sat down on the ground with his back to Ujikni and was looking for lice. Ujikni shot one arrow after another, and Dwarf always dodged them. Thus Ujikni let fly all his arrows. Then Dwarf got up and took his bow and arrows. He also had twenty arrows. He let fly all his arrows, and all of them hit; but he did not kill Ujikni. Dwarf did not know where to aim. He shot at the body and not at the head. Then both jumped at each other with thigh-knives. Ujikni lifted his knife to strike Dwarf on the head, but the latter disappeared under ground, and the knife struck the ground. Dwarf came out from under the earth behind Ujikni, struck him on the head and killed him.

After that Dwarf went his way and saw a large camp of many tents. The elder of the camp, chief Xakinxan, said to his men: "Look, is it a big man or a small one who is coming?" — "Quite a small one," said his men. "Well, I am afraid of just this one. Go to meet him! Take him by the hand and lead him to the tent of my daughter!" The people did so. They led him to the tent of the chief's daughter and left him there. But soon the chief's son N-yunoyo came. When he heard that Dwarf had arrived, he said: "It was wrong to lead him to my sister; let me fight with him first."

Then N-yunoyo led Dwarf to an iron house, let him in from the top, and locked the opening. There were neither chimney nor door. It was dark and he felt about. In one place a man was lying, in another another one. At another place he stumbled over a moaning man who was weakened by hunger. He felt of many people live and dead ones, young and old ones were lying there. One of the men asked Dwarf: "Where have you come from, what is your name?" — "Don't you know me?" answered Dwarf, "I am Hulura, who lives in a tent of larch-branches." — "If you are Dwarf, you are my cousin, my name is Nivani¹. Now we shall not die, because you came."

Dwarf said to his cousin, "Let us kill all the bad men." Dwarf tried to break the house with his fist and said to Nivani, "You grasp me by my coat and hold on firmly."

Dwarf pushed the wall with his foot, and the iron-house gave way. Dwarf looked and saw that nine men were lying there dead of hunger. Nivani alone was still alive.

Dwarf said to his cousin Nivani: "If you pity these people, I shall bring them to life." — "Yes", said Nivani, "they are good people." Dwarf

¹ *Nivani* in Tungus means "strong man."

said to Nivani: "It is necessary to carry them to another place." Nivani dragged the dead people to another place and Dwarf struck them with his staff, one after another, and they came back to life. Dwarf asked them, "Why have you come to this place?" They answered: "The daughter of the old man, Xakinxan, is the most beautiful girl in the world. We came as suitors, and her brother, Strong-One, led us into the iron house and locked us up." Then Dwarf said: "We must kill all the people here." They went to the house of Xakinxan and Dwarf said: "Now I shall kill you all." Xakinxan got up and said: "Do not kill me, this is my son, who did not obey me, I simply ordered you to be taken to my daughter. Do not touch me." Dwarf killed all the people and spared only the old man, the girl, and her servants.

All who were brought to life came out of the house and Dwarf said to them: "You came as suitors before I did. Well, who wishes to take the girl?" They all answered: "You have brought us to life, you will marry her, and we shall be your servants." Dwarf agreed and went to the tent of the girl. Five men were guarding the entrance of the tent, but they let him pass. The sleeping place of the girl was also guarded by five men, but they lifted the cover of the sleeping tent for him and his eyes were blinded by the beauty of the girl. She had the sun on her forehead and on her neck the moon. Dwarf came near, looked at her, and sat down by her side. She thought: "To whom does my father marry me? He is all in rags, small as a dwarf, and his face is dirty." Dwarf said to her: "Get ready for a journey, let us move to my house."

Then the girl threw reindeer bridles one after another out of her tent, and every one became a harnessed riding or pack-reindeer. Thus twenty reindeer appeared. They were loaded with bags filled with all kinds of things. The girl sat down on her white riding-reindeer. When they were ready for the journey Dwarf shot an arrow toward his tent and said to his bride: "Here is your guide, follow it! The arrow will lead you to my tent."

After Dwarf had sent off his wife he called those whom he had brought to life and said to them: "Now you may each go to his place, I shall not keep you with me." One said: "I am a Yukaghir." Another: "I am a Koryak." A third one said: "I am a Chukchee." A fourth called himself a Yakut. Nivani and four other man were Tungus. Dwarf let them all go to their countries and from them the present peoples have sprung.

The Tungus tales of Morning-Star, White-Eyed-Old-man and Darf weretold on the Korkodon River by the Tungus Mashka (see p. 199).

XIV. — CHARACTERISTICS OF YUKAGHIR FOLKLORE.

In the introductory remarks of the chapter dealing with the religion of the Yukaghir¹ I have stated that the tribe has been strongly influenced by its neighbors. The same is true of Yukaghir mythology. Elements borrowed from other tribes are found in many Yukaghir myths and tales. The people are conscious of this and they themselves point out the tribes from which some of their tales were borrowed. Thus, in texts and translations contained in the present pages,² as well as among those published by the Russian Academy of Sciences,³ there are myths and tales designated as Tungus, Russian, Yakut or Chukchee.

In my previous discussion I have pointed out that the novelistic interest enters into these tales and links true myths and imaginative tales which serve the purpose of entertainment.

Modern Yukaghir folklore consists chiefly of fairy tales which characterize the period of decline of primitive religion. Nevertheless, these tales are founded on their conception of the world.

In a survey of the contents of the tales it will be necessary to distinguish between Yukaghir and foreign elements. Most of the tales borrowed from other tribes have undergone, however, considerable modifications so that they conform to the general concepts of the Yukaghir. The borrowed tales are brief when compared to their known originals. They lack the flight of imagination and the completeness of the originals. This is true, for instance, of the Chukchee and Yakut tales. The whole of Yukaghir folklore appears to be in a period of decline. It is dying as the tribe itself, or it is submerged under the influence of the folklore of the neighboring tribes. This explains the absence of cosmogonic tales in the present Yukaghir folklore. Even the most communicative Yukaghir narrator, old Spiridonov of the Yassachnaya river, was unable to say anything regarding the creation of the world. "The ancient people knew it," said he, "the present people do not know it."

Farther on we shall see that the Raven does not appear as a creator or transformer, but it is possible that in former times he was assigned this role. The Yukaghir did not even adopt the biblical creation tale, as if the

¹ See above pp. 135—140.

² See texts and free translations of tales pp. 241—297.

³ W. Jochelson, *Materials for the Study of the Yukaghir Language and Folklore collected in the Kolyma District, Part I* (in Russian), Petrograd, 1900. Publications of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

appearance of man did not interest them. The only biblical tale which I heard among the Yukaghir is that of the deluge adapted to local conditions:

Once upon a time God sent a flood. The Kolyma river rose and overflowed the whole country, even the high mountains. Men and animals perished. One man only, by the name of Noah, built a large raft on which he saved his family and one pair of every kind of animal. Only one animal, the mammoth, was unable to find room on the raft on account of its enormous size and weight. When it placed its foot on the raft, attempting to climb up from out of the water, the raft came near turning over, and Noah hastened to push off the dangerous fellow traveler.

In this way the Yukaghir explain the complete extinction of the mammoth.

Most of the tales of the Upper-Kolyma Yukaghir were told by men. On the tundra I did not meet any women narrators. Among the Koryak, on the other hand, most of the narrators were women.¹

Let us turn next to a brief comparative review of incidents and plots found in Yukaghir tales. First we shall consider animal tales.

The old Yukaghir term for raven *xa'rameñ* has been preserved in the Tundra dialect. At present, the Kolyma Yukaghir call it *čomo'-paranā*, i. e., Great Crow, from the Russian word, *vorona* (*paranā*), and Yukaghir *čó'mo*, great. Old people, however, remember also the ancient word for raven, *čó'nmodo* or *čó'mmodi*, which means great bird, from *čomo*, great, and *no'do*, bird. It may be inferred from this term that the raven was looked upon as a distinguished mythical personality. Any conspicuous object of any class is called by the term *čó'mo*. Thus, they call the choicest and costliest fish, the nelma, (*Coregonus leucichtys*) *čó'mani*, i. e., great fish, from *čó'mo*, great, and *a'nil*, fish. The most important river of the polar region the Kolyma River, is called *O'nmun*, or *Čomó'jed-u'nuñ* which means great river.

I have stated before that in the remnants of Yukaghir mythology, the raven is nowhere regarded as a creator or an ancestor, but tales in which he appears as a contemptible trickster who picks up and devours excrements are still current on the Kolyma River as well as on the tundra. In a tundra tale we find also the motive of match-making.² The suits of the raven are everywhere rejected on account of his inclination to pick up excrements. We find the same story among the Chukchee, Koryak, Kamchadal, Asiatic Eskimo, Kodyak Eskimo, Indians, and in my recent collection of Aleut tales.

The incident of the white color of the raven being turned into black is found in two tales. In a tundra tale the grebe blackens the raven by means of deception³ and in a Kolyma tale the raven became black after a severe beating.⁴

The episode of the blackening of the raven is met with not only among the northwestern Indians⁵ but also among the Slavs, Esthonians, and Finns.⁶

¹ See W. Jochelson, *The Koryuk*, pp. 125—308.

² See p. 289.

³ See pp. 274—275.

⁴ See pp. 244—245.

⁵ F. Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 241.

⁶ O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, Band III, Tiersagen erster Teil, 1910, pp. 143, 311, 495.

In one tale¹ occurs the incident of the disappearance of the sun; but it is not the raven who liberates it. The ptarmigan pierces the sky with its beak. It is possible that this tale was borrowed from the Chukchee, for it leads up to the origin of the Chukchee tribe.

The hare occupies a prominent place in Yukaghir lore. He appears as a clever and alert animal who outwits all other beasts. In one tale² the hare, by means of a ruse, kills a young wolf. Then the wolf mother invites the elk, bear, reindeer, and wolf to try the hare. They go to the home of the hare who meets them with respect. He puts up a grass hut for them and leaves them inside under the pretext that he is going to prepare a reception. Then he shuts the hut and sets fire to it. The judges are suffocated and for a long time their roasted meat serves him as food. After that, the hare kills a Mythical-Old-Man.³ Then he invites all kinds of foxes to a feast, shuts them up in a storehouse, and gives them as a bride-price to his father-in-law who kills and skins them. This last episode is found also in tales of the Koryak⁴ and Eskimo.⁵

In other tales, the hare appears as a domestic animal.⁶ Hares instead of driving dogs⁷ are attached to a sledge, and reindeer tied up for a long time turn into hares.⁸ I have pointed out⁹ that the hare may have been the totem of the hare clan.

The origin of the black tips of the hare's ears¹⁰ is explained by means of an episode which occurs also in the tales of the Cheremiss, Finns, Votyak, and Ainu.¹¹ The origin of the black tip of the ptarmigan's tail¹² is explained in the same manner.

The fox appears as a sly and deceitful animal. In one tale¹³ the fox suggests to the elk to slide down a mountainside. The fox puts a sharp knife on the slope and the elk, sliding down on its knees, rips open its belly. The elk dies and the fox eats its meat. The incident of the wolf, at the advice of the fox, putting his tail in an ice hole is met in two Yukaghir tales.¹⁴ In one of these tales this incident is preceded by another one in which the fox feigns to be dead. A fisherman who carries fish, takes it and puts it on his sledge. The fox flings the fish on the trail, jumps down, collects the fish, and takes them home. When the wolf asks him where he got the fish, the fox answers that he caught them by putting his tail into an ice hole. It is likely that both episodes were borrowed by the Yukaghir from Russian tales in which they are often met. They are also found in European

¹ See pp. 288—289.

² See W. Jochelson, *Materials*, etc., pp. 11—17.

³ See p. 154, and later on.

⁴ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 319.

⁵ See Boas, *Baffin Land Eskimo*, pp. 216, 324.

⁶ See Jochelson, *Materials*, etc., p. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸ See p. 117.

⁹ See p. 117.

¹⁰ See pp. 252—254.

¹¹ See Dähnhardt, *Band III*, pp. 49, 72, 76, *Band IV*, p. 278.

¹² See p. 252—254.

¹³ See Jochelson, *Materials*, etc., p. 20.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 68.

tales, among American negroes, and also among those Indian tribes that obtained them directly or indirectly from European sources.¹ The tale of the little birds sitting on a tree is also met with in Russian folklore. The Yukaghir tell this episode as follows:²

A crow with her children are sitting in her nest in a tree. The fox strikes the tree with his leg and says, "A nice tree for building a house!" The crow asks the fox not to fell the tree. "Give me one of your children, and I will leave you in peace," says the fox. The crow throws down one of her children. The fox eats it and leaves, but twice more he repeats the same stratagem, and is given two children more. Finally, the crow is visited by a blackbird. After hearing what happened, the blackbird says to the crow, "Where have you seen a fox working with an axe?" After that the crow ceases to give her children to the fox.

This episode we meet also in Africa, Finland,³ and among the Koryak.⁴ Here belongs also the tale of the fox who causes the bear to be shot by a man.⁵ The fox meets a bear and asks him, "Grandfather, are you afraid of the being with a thin neck (i. e., the man)?" — "Not at all," answers the bear, "I eat them like berries." The fox goes to the man and leads him to the place where the bear is and the man shoots the bear with his bow. I recorded the same tale among the Koryak.⁶ In both cases the tale closes with another episode. The wounded bear runs home and sends for his cousin, the wolverine who is a shaman. The wolverine begins his performance, trying to cure the bear. Seeing fat come out of the wound, the wolverine eats it. The bear cries out with pain and kicks the wolverine. The wolverine falls into the fire of the hearth and his back is burnt. He runs home where his mother sews a strip of smoked skin on to the scorched back. From that time on, the wolverine's back is black.

In Koryak tales⁷ the fox himself cures the bear. He inserts a red hot stone into the wound. The bear dies and the fox tells his children that he has killed a bear.

In an Indian tale, Coyote disguised as a warrior, wounds Raccoon so that fat comes out of the wound. When raccoon comes home, Coyote, under the pretense of curing him, pulls out the fat and kills him.⁸

When describing the dresses of shamans⁹ I pointed out that in the belief of the Yukaghir men may turn into animals by putting on their skins. This idea is common to many primitive people, notably to all the Palae-Asiatic tribes, the Northwest Coast Indians, and the Aleuts. In a Yukaghir tale three sisters in order to avenge the death of their father turn into wolves by merely assuming the pose and movements of wolves.

¹ See Dähnhardt, Vol. IV, p. 228, Vol. III, p. 328 and *Journal of American Folklore*, 12, 112.

² See Jochelson, *Materials*, etc., p. 66.

³ See Dähnhardt, Vol. IV, p. 279.

⁴ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 184.

⁵ See Jochelson, *Materials*, etc., p. 13.

⁶ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 185.

⁷ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, pp. 185, 188.

⁸ See Boas, *Kathlamet Texts* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C., 1901) p. 153.

⁹ See pp. 169, 171.

Transformations of men into animals are a common element of Yukaghir stories. For instance, a dog becomes a man. Mythical-Old-Men turn into nice looking lads. A female reindeer is transformed into a pretty girl.

I have pointed out before¹ that it is difficult to draw a definite line between the concepts of animism and animatism. The characteristic features of these two concepts are well represented in two tales. In one of these, mountain-summits act like animated beings. It is a romantic legend, relating to summits on the banks of the Upper Kolyma.

A conical summit, called "Capacious Heart," a female beauty, has secret intercourse with two neighboring lad-summits. "Capacious Heart" conceives from one of her lovers and gives birth to a son. When the rival summit becomes aware of this, he grasps the son of "Capacious Heart" and throws him into the water. He floats down the river and is turned into a rocky island. "Capacious Heart" gives a thrashing to her jealous lover. His cries are heard all along the river. All the summits get agitated and say among themselves, "People are fighting there."

Here the summits call themselves "men."

According to another tale, the mountain itself does not appear animated, but a stone-girl lives in the mountain. When desirous to act, the stone-girl splits her stoney coat.

Some of the mythical monsters are described as headless people with one eye in the middle of the chest and the mouth under the arm, or as half men.

Head and heart appear as the most important vital organs. In one tale, the hero cannot be killed until his heart is cut in pieces or burnt; in another one, the severed head of a hero does not die and runs away from the enemy.

The incident that an arrow thrown or shot upward makes a trail to the sky is met with in one tale. All the other episodes of this tale are of Yakut origin so that this episode may also be of Yakut origin.

Marriages between men and animals are chiefly those between lads and mice or frog girls. In the Yukaghir language the names of these animals are synonyms of ugliness.

The occurrence, in Yukaghir tales, of iron men, iron houses, and of silver clothing, is due to Yakut or Tungus influence.

As stated before,² Old-Mythical-Men and Old-Mythical-Women belong to a class of beings hostile to men. Offerings are not given to them. They are not regarded as deities like the *ku'kul* who causes illness. Only the tundra Yukaghir use sometimes *ko'rel* which corresponds to the *ku'kul* of the Kolyma Yukaghir in place of the term "Mythical-Old-People". Although the Mythical-Old-Men have no place in the Yukaghir cult, they play an important role in life. The Mythical-Old-People are hostile agents with whom man has to wage constant war. As these harmful

¹ See p. 138.

² See p. 154.

agents cannot be appeased by offerings nor prayers, they have to be vanquished by other means, namely by trickery.

The Mythical Old Men are, according to the imagination of the Yukaghir, giants, cannibals, possessing physical as well as supernatural power, but of low intelligence, and by cunning escape may be effected from the danger of being eaten by the stupid monsters.

In some tales the Mythical-Old-People are described as giant-cannibals who hunt men in the same way as men hunt animals. The Mythical-Old-People are so tall that they carry killed elks tied to the strings of their coats. Mythical-Old-Men and Women are divided into sea and forest people.

The first place in Yukaghir folklore is taken by tales of the Mythical-Old-People. They are the most genuine Yukaghir folk tales. Out of the earlier series of twenty-seven Yukaghir tales, ten deal with the Mythical-Old-People.

I shall quote here the contents of some of these.

Three¹ lads went out to hunt. Instead of dogs, they harnessed hares to their sledge. On their way, they stopped for the night in a house inhabited by cannibals. Only the mistress with a boy were at home. She gave food to the lads. The guests asked for some grass to feed the hares. The mistress of the house complied with their requests. When the lads went out, they saw that instead of grass, the mistress had given them human hair. Then they guessed who were their hosts and they resolved to run away, but the boy was watching them. The lads cut off their little fingers and gave them to the cannibal-boy, asking him not to tell his mother of their escape. He did so. When his mother learned of their flight she killed her own boy and rushed to overtake them. But not being able to reach the lads, she returned home. When her husband came, they ate their boy, but after that they died.

Tale No. 4² refers to a girl, the daughter of man-eaters of the other side of the sea, who enticed a young man to follow her. She carried him in her canoe to her parents. In the night time when they were in bed, the lad killed the girl and escaped in her canoe. The parents mistook the body of their daughter for that of the young man, cooked her meat and ate of it. After that they died.

In text No. 14³ it is told that two brothers went to put up traps for foxes. They overheard the singing of the Mythical-Old-Man and hid under one of the traps. The Mythical-Old-Man came with his son and said to him, "Ah! I told you that my traps would give me some booty." He prepared spits on which to roast the hunters while his son played about and climbed up the trap. He pulled the hunters by the ears and said, "That is what I shall eat." Then the men whispered to the boy, "If you will kill your father, we will give you our younger sister." The Mythical-Old-Man was sitting under his iron snowshoes which were hanging on a tree. The boy hit the snowshoes, they fell down and cut off the head of his father. The hunters took

¹ See W. Jochelson, *Materials etc.* p. 6.

² See W. Jochelson, *Materials etc.* p. 7.

³ *Ibid.* p. 28.

the boy to their village and gave him their sister for a wife. The cannibal boy continued to hunt men for his food, but outside the circle of the relatives of his wife. One time his hunting was unsuccessful. He could not get food and came home hungry. Once, lying in bed with his wife, he touched her breasts and said, "My late father used to feed me with such things." The next morning when the cannibal went out to hunt men, his wife told her mother what he had said. Then the people resolved to kill him. They made a hole in the ice of the lake and covered it with snow. When the cannibal came home the young people of the village began to play on the lake and one of the parties cried out to him, "Brother-in-law, come and help us, we shall be vanquished." — "I am very tired," said he. "Never mind, come!" said the lads. He came and fell into the ice-hole. With his hands he grasped the edge of the ice, but the people cut off his hands with axes. He fell into the hole saying, "You killed me, but know ye that nevertheless I shall live."

The following morning when the people arose, they tried to start a fire, but every time it was extinguished by rising water. Thus the people, not having fire, died.

In another tale¹ of a Mythical-Old-Man, we find the episodes known as the magic flight. An old man went to an ice-hole to look for his net. While he was looking into the hole he was caught by his beard by the Mythical-Old-Man who was coming down the river on a raft. He said to the old man, "Give me your little son and your daughter and I will let you go." The old man promised to do so. The Mythical-Old-Man let him go and soon he brought his children and let them down into the ice-hole where the Mythical-Old-Man put them on his raft. They floated down the river. The Mythical-Old-Man took off his trousers and gave them to the children to louse them. Then he went to sleep. A falcon arrived and proposed to carry the children to their father. They sat down on his back and he flew up the river to the children's home. When the Mythical-Old-Man awoke and saw that the children had disappeared, he took off his lower jaw and began to divine. He threw it in the direction up the river and the jaw fell down with the upper part up, and at once the children found themselves back on the raft. The Mythical-Old-Man whipped them with a rod and warned them not to try again to escape.

Again the Mythical-Old-Man gave them his trousers, to be loused, and fell asleep. Then an eagle arrived and carried the children away up the river. When the Mythical-Old-Man awoke he repeated the divination practiced with his lower jaw and the children came back on the raft.

The third time, a cow² came and proposed to rescue the children. They

¹ See W. Jochelson, *Materials etc.* p. 19.

² The episode of the cow as a rescuer in the "magic flight" was evidently borrowed from the Russians.

sat on the back of the cow and she carried them up the mountains. The Mythical-Old-Man awoke and, not finding the children, began divinations with his lower jaw. He threw it in different directions, up the river, down the river, and up to the sky and every time the jaw fell down, the lower side up. Finally he threw it in the direction of the bank and it fell right side up. The Mythical-Old-Man left his raft and soon he took the scent of the children. He ran after them and nearly reached the cow. She said to the children, "Take from my neck my scraper and throw it backward." They did so and a high mountain arose. The Mythical-Old-Man could not cross it. He went back to his raft, took his drill, and bored a hole through the mountain. He passed through and nearly reached the cow. She ordered the children to take from her neck-hair her comb and to throw it backward. The children did so and the comb became a dense forest. The Mythical-Old-Man went to his raft, took his axe, and cut down the forest. When he approached the cow again, she ordered the children to take from her neck-hair her "chest-sun"¹ and to throw it backward. They did so. The "chest-sun" became a large sea in which the Mythical-Old-Man was drowned. Then the children were saved.

The Mythical-Old-People in their search for men wander in families like human beings. A tale² relates how a couple of Mythical People were following the trail of wandering Yukaghir. In this tale occurs the so-called "Parasiten-Motiv" and "die Entstehung des Ungeziefers", — episodes often met with in the tales of American Indians, and also the episode of the speaking dog.

Once upon a time, two Mythical People, husband and wife, came to a place where two paths met. They separated to pursue different wandering camps. The Mythical Woman reached a tent. She went in. The host was out hunting. Only his wife and infant child were at home. The Mythical Woman sat down in the middle of the tent. The hostess offered her every kind of food, but she refused to take anything. The guest said; "Let us louse each other." First, the hostess loused the guest and found mice in place of lice in her hair. Then the guest began to louse the hostess. She wound her hair around her neck and killed her. She stripped off the clothing of

Before the advent of the Russians and Yakut to the Yukaghir territory horned cattle was unknown to the Yukaghir. In Russian folk tales edited by Afanasyev the horse and the bull appear as rescuers in the "magic flight" (see A. N. Afanasyev, *Russian Folk Tales*, Moscow, 1873. Part II, pp. 195, 196; in Russian). But in some tales of the Yukaghir we find the episode of the magic flight without the animal rescuer (see W. Bogoras: *The Folklore of North-eastern Asia*. *American Anthropologist* IV, No. 2, p. 626). On the "magic flight" in the tales of the Koryak and Chukchee see W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, pp. 156, 259 and W. Bogoras, *Chukchee Mythology*, p. 40. For a comparative survey of the episode of the "magic flight" see W. Jochelson, *The Magic Flight as a Wide-spread Folk-lore Episode*. *Anuchin Anniversary Volume*, Moscow, 1913, pp. 155—156.

¹ "Chest-sun" — Yukaghir *me'lun-pojerxo'* is a metallic circle which women sew to their aprons on the chest as an ornament.

² See Jochelson, *Materials*, etc., p. 47.

the murdered woman and ate her body. Then she tried to dress in the clothing, but it was too tight. With an axe she cut off part of her body, and put on the clothing. When the house owner came home, she met him, pretending to be his wife, but he became suspicious and ordered her to be ready the next morning to move to his parents and made her sleep apart from him. The next morning, they moved. He left his team behind, hurried on to his relatives, and told them that a Mythical Woman, pretending to be his wife whom she had killed, was coming. They set fire to a great wood pile and when she arrived the man's brothers met her, took her by the hand, and said, "Sister-in-law let us play!" They danced and finally pushed her into the fire. She was burned to death. Mice ran out of her ashes.

The Mythical Old Man on his way reached a river. On the other side of the river people were fishing.

He began to sing, "Men, how do you cross the river? Men, let me cross over." The people answered, "Go down the river! There is a ford." The people went away, leaving behind a dog who could talk. They also made a grass hut. The Mythical Man came and asked the dog, "Where are the men?" — "They went away", said the dog. "I am hungry", said the Mythical Old Man, "Give me fish out of the weir." — "Take them yourself," replied the dog. The Mythical Old Man took all the fish out of the weir, ate and lay down to sleep in the grass hut. The dog set fire to the hut. The Mythical Old Man was burnt to death and his stomach burst. Thus both cannibals perished.

The episode of the talking dog is also found in a Koryak tale,¹ in somewhat different form. A cannibal kala asks the talking dogs of Great Raven how his son, Ememgut, has crossed the river. The dogs reply, "He drank all the water of the river, walked across to the opposite bank, and spat it out again." The kala drinks the water and drinks until he bursts.

We meet this episode also in Eskimo tales.²

In tale No. 27³ it is related how a Mythical Old Man, pursuing two sisters, overtook one of them, killed and ate her. The other girl met another Mythical Man who defended her and killed her pursuer. Afterwards he became a beautiful youth and married the girl.

I stated before⁴ that although the Mythical Old People are endowed with supernatural powers, they can do harm to human beings only because of their physical strength, that they are stupid and dull, and that men may defy them by cunning. We have seen from the tales to which I have referred, how these cannibals are overcome by the superior intelligence of men. In other tales the Mythical Old People are represented not as cannibals, but simply as funny wags and fools.

¹ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 141.

³ See Jochelson, *Materials*, etc. p. 70.

² See Boas, *Baffin Land Eskimo*, p. 177.

⁴ See p. 303.

In one tale to which I referred before¹ a Mythical Man came to the Hare's hut and through the smoke-hole in the roof, asked him for some food as he was hungry. The hare flung to him one end of a thong. The other end he tied to one of the house posts and said to him, "Pull hard, I tied much meat to the thong." The Mythical Old Man pulled with might and main. The thong broke off and the Mythical Old Man fell to the ground and was crushed to death.

In tale No. 22² it is related that a Mythical Old Man came to a deserted camp and found a dog tied to a post by a thong. The Mythical Old Man untied the dog. The dog made a sudden rush, threw the Mythical Old Man and dragged him along. The Mythical Old Man tied the lower end of the thong around his neck and said to himself, "Well, I do not need to walk; let the dog carry me to its mistress." The dog dragged him along until the Old Man was torn to pieces.

In another tale³ the hero, Debegei, made fun of a Mythical Old Man. He gave him a kettle saying that it cooked by itself. Then Debegei gave him a self-chopping axe. But neither the self-cooking kettle nor the self-chopping axe did the pretended work for the Mythical Old Man. In the end, Debegei by means of complicated artifices, killed the wife of the Mythical Old Man and the Mythical Old Man himself.

In order to escape the snares of men, the Mythical Old Man becomes invisible.⁴ At present, the Yukaghir say the Mythical Old People are invisible, and thus they attack lonely travellers. For that reason Yukaghir go hunting in company, and never singly.

On the Korkoden river I was told of an old man of their clan and of his wife who left for the Yassachnaya river and who were never seen again. The Korkoden Yukaghir were convinced that they had been killed and eaten by Mythical Old People.

The Yukaghir tales refer also to other cannibal-monsters besides the Mythical Old People. In tale No. 23⁵ a cannibal woman with teeth on her neck is described. She would kill young men who came to woo her daughters. This tale recalls the Koryak tale of a cannibal woman who had teeth in her anus⁶ and of tales of the Chukchee and Indians of the *Vagina dentata*.⁷ In all the variants of these tales the youth breaks out the teeth with a stone or a similar object.

In reviewing the Yukaghir tales of cannibal-monsters, there arises a question whether these tales do not supply some indications of the existence of canni-

¹ See p. 300.

² See Jochelson, *Materials*, etc., p. 54.

³ See Jochelson, *Materials*, etc., p. 38.

⁴ How this happened, see above, p. 287.

⁵ See Jochelson, *Materials*, etc., p. 54.

⁶ See Jochelson, *The Koryak*, p. 161.

⁷ See Bogoras. *The Folklore of Northeastern Asia* (*Amer. Anthropologist*, IV, p. 667); Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 24, 30, 61, 69; Farrand, *Chilcotin Indians*, p. 13.

balism among the Yukaghir in the far past. We are justified in making such a supposition on the ground that many episodes occur in which a cannibal dies after eating the flesh of a relative. From these episodes we may draw the conclusion that they reflect a period when cannibalism was practiced, but when only aliens were eaten. Thus, in tale No. 3¹ a cannibal and his wife die after eating their own child. Tale No. 4² refers to the daughter of cannibals who tries in vain to entice a young man in order to kill him. Instead, he kills her by cutting off her head while sleeping with her, and escapes in his canoe. The old cannibals arise in the morning, boil the flesh of their own daughter thinking that they are about to eat the lad. While eating, they say, "From what side is the man related to us? our hearts are so restless!" They look for their daughter and soon discover that they have eaten her flesh. They pursue the young man in a boat and are drowned at sea.

In another tale, No. 6,³ it is stated that Hare gives to his mother snow mixed with frozen blood taken from his own nose, instead of snow mixed with frozen reindeer blood. After eating the blood of her son, Hare's mother dies.

In a tale referred to before⁴ it is told that a cannibal who is married to a woman hunts for men outside the circle of her relatives.

The accurate knowledge of the Yukaghir of the anatomy of man could be explained not only by the custom of the dissecting and cutting of the bodies of the dead shamans, but also by the possible former existence of cannibalism. As stated before⁵ the flesh cut off from the bones of the dead shaman served as amulets. In one of the Yukaghir tales,⁶ it is told that one of three orphan sisters, after eating the flesh of her dead father, became a cannibal. The other two girls escaped from her by flying away on magical wings.

I have related before two cases of cannibalism during a famine which took place in recent times.⁷

My interpreter, Dolganoff, when questioned by me about cannibalism, told me that he had heard from his late grandfather of a cannibal tribe, *coro'-moleun-ul-o'mo*, who hunted men. His grandfather told him also that in a southern country there lived a tribe of reindeer-men whose bodies are those of reindeer while their heads and arms are those of men. They attack men, but men eat them when they are killed.

All the data related here may serve as indications of the possibility of the former existence of cannibalism among the Yukaghir.

¹ See Jochelson, Materials, etc., p. 6.

² See Jochelson, Materials, etc., p. 7.

³ See Jochelson, Materials, etc., p. 11.

⁴ See Jochelson, Materials, etc., p. 29 and p. 304 of this volume.

⁵ See pp. 163—165.

⁶ See Jochelson, Materials, etc., p. 201.

⁷ See p. 54.

We know that among some primitive tribes, as well as among some highly cultured people, for instance of Africa, cannibalism is connected with human sacrifices. A human sacrifice is mentioned in only one of the Yukaghir tales, but nothing is said about the use made of the body. The sacrificed girl was hanged,¹ and it does not seem likely that a person killed in this manner would have been eaten.

¹ See p. 147.

XV. — SONGS.

The Yukaghir were warlike, brave, and unmerciful in war, but their poetry is distinguished by an abundance of feeling, and their epics by a majestic simplicity. In epic form, they narrate their first meetings with the Russians, the struggles and relations between the Yukaghir clans and the wars with alien tribes. Everywhere reserve and simplicity are combined with deep feeling. In the Russian edition of Yukaghir folklore I have given some of their epic narratives.¹ I give here a few of the songs previously published in Russian, but corrected during my work for the Jesup Expedition. These are in the Kolyma dialect.

Li'gel coró'mon ya'xtek'.
Old Man's Song.²

Me'tke ligu'mul' ki'eč. Nigo'ye cāl ti'te ni'ñdem. Pe'den-koi'kil,
To me old age came. A fallen tree like (it) overthrew (me). A burnt stump
 ti'te kude'ye.
like (I) became.

Song of an Amorous Lad.

O'mni n-e'koberege³ i'ркиn a'dil' yo'ñdojege abu'dāi. Xo'doi. Yedi'egi
People after having one lad on his sleeping lay down. (He) is (always) Sister-in-
 separated place lying down. law his
 mo'nni: "Me-je'ñduoljek? Xo'diet' xo'dox?" — "Yedi'e, xo'diet je'ñduoliet
said (to him): "You may be hungry? What is the matter of your lying down?" "Sister-in-law, why being hungry
 xodo'tom? Pai'pe kobe'ige tabu'nget abu'dāye! Xo'do e'le tā'tletum?
should I lie down? The girl on account of her leaving that is why I lay down! How not to be otherwise can I?
 Met yu'olge ogo'gi omo'čed o'nmedie titeme'i. N-a'čegi yu'olge, pe'deče
I when I was (I saw) (to) a fine young larch is like. Her complexion when I looked, to pale yellow

¹ See Jochelson, Materials, etc., pp. 74, 94, 102, 168, 173, 177, 180, 185.

² This song was often sung by the old Yukaghir, Tulax, on the Yassachnaya river. His real name was Ivan Spiridonov. His nickname, Tulax, is a Yakut word meaning hairy and was given to him on account of his beard. He was the only Yukaghir having a full beard. His mother was a Yakut woman and without doubt he had also Russian blood. For his photograph, see Plate VII, Fig. 1 in Part I of this Vol.

³ Two wandering camps separated. A girl went away with one camp, and her lover stayed with the other camp.

pi'bil' titeme'i.¹ Xo'do el a'mdiletum? Kodi'n o'nme coru'ce. Met
 needles is like. How not should I languish? Quite (my) mind lost. I
 xo'doľuol-ňolu'o e'le le'diye. Nu'mud-o'nmeľe e'ntem? Yedi'ye, met o'nme
 what became not know. By what feeling I shall live? Sister-in-law, my mind
 čo'ľox. Ču'godegen kobei'teje?" Yedi'yegi mo'nni: "Ko'beik' pai-yoľā!"
 direct. After her path should I go?" His sister-in-law said: "Go after the girl!"

Taken down on the Korkodon River.

Song of a Lad Starting for a Match.

Mit o'mleji² aľu'nidul Ačuo'den³ No'do-Yogu'ľget'⁴ met e'ľľuo
 Of our ancient people with a song of the Rassokha from the Bird's nose my loving
 river (i. e., beak) girl
 leitei'teme. Xo'rxodonge ľedu'de met pe'nguxun-e⁵ imā'deľľe kei'beye
 I will call to mind. On the lower Korkodon river my canoe getting into (that) the
 delicate
 ti'bid-a'mun⁶ egu'mun-e-mun-uo-moľu' e'le a'ľaračiteye.
 fore-arm-bone may become tired (I) not will have pity.
 O'nmun-emei'ge la'xadelle oi'l-n-ačĩn egi'eñidege Laga'yek ā'ľbe
 The Kolyma mother reaching against the current getting the foot of the
 mountain Lahayek
 Kunjedabu'die ā'ľbepul i'rkinleňol toľi'gatut.⁷ Piľa'tixxe Pi'e-yo'gul⁸ yede'ide
 of the mountains feet at one sweep I will paddle At the (mouth The Stone Nose when will
 Kunjedabudiye through. of) Filatikka river appear
 po'pele pu'gud-uko'če ti'te yedei'nunui.
 a spring sun ray as if is appearing.
 Met eči'e, met emei'! me'tin o'moč ču'ñdeňik. Kujū'ge Me'mdeye-Eči'e⁹
 My father, my mother! on me well you mind. In the heaven the Fire-father
 me'tin Maru'xegeľe co'rilecken. Met emei'pe!¹⁰ met omó'n ču'ñdeňik, me-
 for me Marukhe may register. My mothers! one me well mind, now
 kobe'če.
 (1) am going.

¹ Needles of the larch tree. This is the only tree of the coniferae family the needles of which turn yellow in autumn and drop in winter. The pale yellow color of the autumn needles and leaves is regarded as beautiful (see part I, p. 25).

² *O'mleji* = om + le + ĵi. *Om* (from *o'mo*) — clan, tribe; *le* is the element of long past tense; *ĵi* means *people*. *O'mleji* is an ancient word. At present the Yukaghir say *ču'oled-omni* for ancient people. These two forms (*o'mleji* and *ču'oled o'mni*) clearly show the difference between the old synthetic and the present analytic form of speech.

³ The Yukaghir name for the chief tributary of the Korkodon river.

⁴ The name of a mountain peak.

⁵ An ancient word corresponding to the present *xo'dol'*.

⁶ *Ti'bid-amun* has also the meaning, wing (of a bird). This is the singular, but both arms are understood in handling the double-bladed paddle of a canoe.

⁷ An ancient word instead of the present *u'cet*.

⁸ Name of a mountain peak.

⁹ The deity, *Memdeye-Eči'e*, see p. 140.

¹⁰ Mothers is used instead of parents, but when the word "fathers" (*eči'epe*) is used the father and elder brother or brothers are meant.

A'din-ya'xtek'.

Of a Lad Song.

Ca'xadenget' ke'liede abu'čape lei'teñide Oi'je-pie, Oro'yek-ā'lbepul,
 From the Yassachnaya starting girls having in mind the Oi'je of the Oroyek foot,
 Mountain,
 Mono'go ā'lbepul i'rkileñol egi'rienu. Čo'mo-Čubo'je yedei'ñide če'rebro
 of Monoho feet at one sweep I am going by The Vast Heart¹ when appears silver
 ridge (in a canoe).
 a'ñjed-ai'bi ti'te yedei'nui. Či'ñen'je yedei'ñide če'rebro me'ľun-po'jerxo'² ti'te
 spectacles as if is appearing. Či'ñen'je when appears silver chest-sun as if
 (mountain)
 yedei'nui. Li'geľ me'tul yo'ľo'nlerik! Po'n-xo-po'jerxo'-če'nče niča's po'n-xo-
 is appearing. Old age of me on the back stay! Of the bright daylight the be it for of the bright
 delight a short time
 po'jerxo'-če'nče če'ngit.
 daylight the delight I will enjoy.

Ma'rxin-yaxtēk.

A Girl's Song.

Marxi'pe ko'ipeľe xo'do ya'xterinuñam.

Girls of lads how are singing.

Ča'xaden-eme'i! I'led uko'če o'nmiēdie titeme'i amu'ngi. Pi'bil ti'te
 The Yassachnaya mother! (To) grown-up young larch are like his bones. (Larch) like
 a recently tree needles
 n-e'rpegi caxa'lenñi, yo'gľugo-yo'o! Ye'ľoje titeme'i! A'ñjeľe me'tkeľe
 his clothing is red, my love! (To) the sun he is like! By his eyes on me
 yu'oľuopegi poi-yō! Čubo'je o'ľmon ye'joi o'ji ti'te.
 when he is looking halloo! The heart (is) quite floating water like.
 (melting)

Marxin-yaxtek'.

A Girl's Song.

Omni'n-e n-e'kobiereili.³ O'mni kobe'ige⁴ yu'odeye. Yogo'ro rebi'ne.
 With people (we) separated. The people when leaving I looked. George (like) of a
 mountain-ash
 no'nomo ku'dedelle mo'dič. Yu'olge⁵ yu'oľegiede-budi'en manai'egi yo'do'jube-
 young stem becoming he is to When I looked (that) on his shoulders his hairs squirrels'
 be seen. (I saw)
 la'xil ti'te ke'nľunei. O'mni amľai'ge nu'moñin co'uye. Po'reľe no'jerxo'
 tails like were spread. The people when disappeared into the house I went. A spring day (is)
 čomo'n- če'i'lič! Pon-yu'oleč xa'jič. Pon-yu'oleike xoli'ľek' medul'.
 very long! (But) came there. When it became a noise was heard
 evening dark (suddenly).

¹ Name of a mountain peak on the mouth of the Korkodon river, see pp. 139, 153.² A round metal ornament attached to the apron on the chest of girls.³ i. e., two camps separated in order to hunt by themselves.⁴ Literally, in their leaving.⁵ Literally, in my looking.

Kuti'en¹-xo'ndegen² ege'deče — le'mdik? Met Yogo'ra ke'lu! Niñi'e
 Through a hole in the cover I looked out (and) what My George has come! (My)
 (of the tent) (I saw)? intestines
 mo'li-ku'dečige cij'i'lñin abu'dāye.
 when became agitated to the lower edge I threw myself.
 of the tent's cover

Ma'rxin-ya'xtek.

A Girl's Song.

Mi'triebič³ Tolba'⁴-Añi'lget' mun-ojed-o'i'liegen e'reit emi'beye n-a'jubele
 Dmitrievich from the mouth of the on the sluggish current descending (and) a black handkerchief
 Stolbovaya (river)

igi'lat amla'il'e-mo'dič.⁵

waving he began to disappear.

Mono'gon-bōye Ko'jeden-bōye ā'lbepulge nu'mud o'nmele ereček?
 Of the Wild-Goat of the Kojeden mountain feet with what feeling (you) will pass
 mountain by (in your canoe)?

Ni'neyed-o'mni ca'xajibege ule'ge-co'rxogo la'xadele yō'nogotke abu'dōdele
 Of many people gathering the grass field reaching on a pillow in going to sleep
 me'tul' lei'tek'. Mi'triebič me'tin mo'nni, "El i'lugelelek', kei'beye-luju'die
 me remember. Dmitrievich to me said, "Do not be in sorrow, on the frozen thin
 (autumn)

ye'rxax-budi'en ke'lteye." Ta'bun-la'ñi pi'bil pe'dei-la'ñi nu'mud o'nmele
 ice-surface I (already) will That time till the larch will become with what feeling
 come back". needles yellow till

laxa'tem?

shall live I?

Čei'luge! xa'dibon-la'ñi i'u'geletum? N-a'deñot po'n-kudei. Luđu'jie-ye'rxax-
 How far! till what time I shall worry? The autumn came in. The thin ice
 budi'en Mitriebič po'n-xodo-ke'iyol tobo'kogi la'xač Čubo'je
 over of Dmitrievich white leader dog appeared With heart
 ko'jiege nu'moñin a'mleče.
 melting in the house I concealed
 (with joy) myself.

¹ *Kuti'e* is called the whole skin cover of a tent.

² *Xo'nde* is a hole in soft as well as in hard objects.

³ There is the lover named not by his name, but the father's name; *Dmitrievich* from *Dmitri*. In the Yukaghir, it becomes *Mitriebič* as one of two consonants in the beginning of a word is dropped; *b* is used instead of *v*.

⁴ *Tolba* is the Russian *Stolbovaya* where the *s* in the beginning and *voya* in the end are omitted.

⁵ Literally, disappearing he was to be seen.

XVI. — RIDDLES.

I.

Eu'reye, eu'reye met ču'go el yen.
 I am going, I am going (and) my path not is to be seen. Going in a canoe.

II.

Či'ne, či'ne lepu'gi el u'kči.
 I am cutting, cutting (and) his blood does not appear. Paddling.

III.

O'ji mo'lgodogo oļu'nuyulek xo'dol'.
 Of water in its middle a thief there lies. Fish-trap.

IV.

I'rkin če'kčil ci'ndamungen ni'ñeduļe u'ktecum.
 One workman through his neck is vomiting.¹ Plane and shavings.

V.

Co'nčed-ō'jinei, el-amu'nneye ani'nnei, lu'duļe porxo'yeni, po'mneye
 Tasteful water having, boneless fish having, iron banks having, a round
 yalgilek'. lake. Fat, cakes, and a frying pan.

VI.

El-yō'neye a'lma ya'lgin-et pie'le yurgu'enum.
 A headless shaman performing a stone is boring. A drill.

VII.

Yono'got molgodo'go n-a'čeye a'mun čogoyax' xodol'.
 Of a pillow in the middle a sharp bone knife lies. Thought.

VIII.

A'taxun alga'rneye coro'mopuļ n-e'ki'eyiņi n-e'xadile el mudei'nui.
 Two naked men are match running one another not overtaking. Snowshoes.

¹ Literally, the vomiting is letting out.

XVII. — VOCABULARY.

Introductory Notes.

The appended vocabulary is a part of my extensive Yukaghir Dictionary which I have in manuscript form. The present vocabulary contains the words that occur in the Yukaghir texts in this volume. Most of the words are given in their base forms and in both dialects, called by me the Kolyma and the Tundra dialects.

Words of the Tundra dialect are marked with an asterisk. Words used in both dialects are marked with a small circle (°). The Kolyma dialect was in use in the region of the Kolyma river and the valleys along its tributaries; the Tundra dialect in the northern tundra between the lower parts of the Kolyma and Lena rivers. At the present time the Kolyma dialect is confined to the region along the Yassachnaya and Korkodon rivers; and the Tundra dialect to the tundra between the Great Chukchee and the Alaseya rivers. (See p. 44 of this volume and Map of the Yukaghir Territory, appended to Part I.)

Following is a description of the phonetic elements of the Yukaghir language:

a, e, i, o, u, have their continental sounds (short).

ā, ē, ī, ō, ū, are long vowels.

To avoid the introduction of unnecessary marks, I do not annotate here the obscure vowels separately. It may be said only, that all short vowels are obscure when preceding a spirant or n, or following a spirant.

The series of diphthongs is as follows:

ai, ei, oi, ui

ie, iu, uo, eo

au, eu, ou

Their pronunciation is as in German.

Triphthongs are not frequent:

y as in year

l as in German

l̥ as in English all

¹ For the formation of derivatives, see Waldemar Jochelson, "Essay on Grammar of the Yukaghir Language," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 15, part 2, March 1905; reprinted as Supplement to *The American Anthropologist*, Vol. 7, N. S., April-June, 1905.

- l' has a spirant added
 r as in French
 m as in English
 n as in English
 ñ is pronounced on the end of the word as ng, as in being, and in the middle as ng, as in the German word *Enge*.
 m· palatized m (similar to my)
 n· palatized n (similar to ny)
 b and p are pronounced with aspiration, owing to which these consonants are intermediate between b and v, and p and f. There is no v or f in the Yukaghir language. The Tundra dialect, however, has a sound that corresponds to the English w. When placed between two vowels, b approaches very nearly the sound of v.
 d as in English
 ḍ like dr
 g like g, in good
 h as in English
 k as in English
 t', k', have a spirant added. They are placed at the end of a word, if the following word does not commence with a vowel. The same applies to l'.
 ṭl t before l is pronounced soft, by pressing the tip of the tongue to the front part of the palate. t and l blend into one sound.
 ṭn are blended into one nasal sound
 g̣ velar g
 c like the English sh
 č is equal to ty; but old men pronounce it so that it sounds more like ch, in chance, while with women and children it sounds closer to c, in the German word *Ceder*. This seems to be a trace of the difference between the pronunciation of men and women, just as it exists in the Chukchee language. At the end of the word, č is pronounced by women almost like s.
 j̣ is dy; but old men pronounce it more like j, in the word joy, while women and children pronounce it like dz. If it occurs between two vowels, one of which has a long sound, j̣ is pronounced like the French j, in *jour*.
 x like ch, in the German *Bach*.
 x' like ch, in the German *ich*, at the end of the word.

YUKAGHIR-ENGLISH VOCABULARY.

A.

- ā, to make; to do; to create.
 abu'čie, girl.
 *) a'bučie, grandmother.
 abu'dā, to lie down; to go to bed. abudō'yi, (iterative form).
 abu'dac (see po'nik), to put, lay, set, place, conserve, preserve, save.
 abu'dacut, horizontally.
 abu'du, to draw, drag, pull.
 abu'jā', abu'i, abu'oltañpai, elder sister.
 abu'je, fringe, tassels (of an apron).
 abu'jeni, having tassels.
 abu'oltañ, older one.
 a'but, case; quiver; den, burrow; hole; nest.
 abu'te, to make a den, burrow, nest, hole, case, quiver.
 ā'če, domesticated reindeer.
 ā'či, (v. a.) to draw, pull, attract; to string (a bow).
 ā'de, to draw, carry, drag.
 ā'deget, from below, below, from under.
 a'di, (adverb) hard, strong, firm, solid.
 °) a'dil, young man, youth, lad; lover, beloved.
 adu'lbe, to become hard; to become strong.
 adu'bel, vigour, courage, strength.
 adu'let, to strengthen; to gather strength; to grow strong.
 °) adu'o, son; young man; boy.
 adu'ode, to have a son.
 adu'odie, adu'olie, (diminutive) son; young man; boy.
 adu'one, to be with a son.
 adu'otege, (augmentative) son; young man; boy.
 agi', secret, clandestine.
 a'gid-u'ok, illegitimate child.
 agi'di, to hold in secret.
 agi'du, to conceal, hide one's self.
 agi'dun-ul lo'dol, play at hide and seek.
 agi'ji, to steal up to; to walk stealthily.
 °) agi'te, to conceal, hide; to put away.
 agu'rpe, to trouble, fatigue, weary one's self; to suffer.
- agu'rpec (v. a.), to trouble, fatigue, weary; to torment, torture.
 agu'rpel', suffering, pain, trouble.
 agu'rpelbon, one who works hard.
 agu'rpelič, difficult (adv.).
 agu'rpeni, wearied; difficult, hard.
 *) a'hare (v. a.), to conceal, hide.
 *) a'harol', to conceal, hide one's self.
 ai, again; and; also.
 a'ibi, soul; shadow; drawing; portrait; picture.
 a'ibiji, world of the dead.
 a'iga, afterward.
 ajo'i, early (adv.).
 ajo'n, early (adj.).
 ajū', word; language; promise.
 *) a'kā, elder brother.
 āl, under. ye'loje-āl, under the sun.
 āl (see ā), work, action, conduct, creation,
 *) āl, raft (from the Yakut ā-ship).
 al-ā', near; thereabout.
 a'l'a (v. n.), to thaw, melt.
 al'a'c (v. a.), to melt, fuse.
 al'al, thawing, melting.
 a'lbe (v. n.), to run out (of liquids); to be poured out.
 ālbe, foot (of a mountain); base, foundation.
 a'lbec, to pour out.
 a'lbiye, to fall out from a canoe, boat; to capsize.
 ālbō', to be vanquished; to lose.
 ālbo'ji to vanquish; to conquer, to gain.
 ālbol', loss.
 ālbon, maker; creator; result of a work. omo'če ālbon, benefactor.
 a'ldege, near him, her, it.
 alga'duol' lebie', the Lower World (see a'ibiji).
 a'lgalañdet, below; from below.
 *) a'lgan, afterwards.
 *) a'lgañ, fish.
 alga'rče, cloudless; uncovered.
 a'lgarkude, to undress or uncover one's self; to clear up, brighten up.
 a'lgarlei, a'lgarnei, naked, bare, undressed.

algarnugo'de, (v. a.) to undress; to uncover.
 ā'lgude, *) a'lgudeñ, below, down, downwards.
 *) a'lhañ, fish.
 ali'je see ani'je.
 ali'kte, to harness (dogs, reindeer); to load (a sledge).
 *) a'lke, to run.
 °) al'o'i, not frozen; melted.
 a'lma, shaman.
 alu'du, (v. a.) to curse, damn; to imprecate.
 alu'duja, to swear.
 alu'dul', curse, malediction, imprecation.
 alu'dule, frog.
 *) a'mā, father.
 *) a'malei, to be ashamed.
 *) a'mali'jeñ, shame
 a'mde, to die.
 a'mdel, death.
 *) a'mdur, soon.
 a'mladai, to swallow.
 a'mlai, to dive.
 °) a'mun, bone.
 °) a'ña, mouth.
 ana'bucka, canoe (dug out); see e'kčil.
 *) a'ñad-ā'lbeñ, under lip.
 a'ñalañni, to yawn, gape.
 *) a'ñañ, mouth.
 *) a'nañ, mountain.
 a'ñanmuge, lip.
 a'ñapugelbie, moustache; beard.
 *) a'ñan-pu'goceñ, moustache; beard.
 *) a'ñan-puro'ireñ, upper lip.
 *) a'napalā, old woman.
 aña'ye, bifurcated arrow.
 a'ñči, to look for; to seek, search; to inherit.
 a'ñčil', inheritance.
 a'ñde, to deprive of; to cheat a person of his share.
 a'ñdil', waist, stature.
 ani'jā'; vile man, filthy man, ribald.
 ani'jā'boi, vile, obscene, filthy.
 ani'je, elder, chief, leader; official, commander.
 ani'jepul, authorities.
 a'nil', fish.
 a'ñil', hole, opening; barrel of a gun.
 a'ñiltobul', cover; cork, stopper.
 a'ñincā, hoop.
 a'nin-ca'ngar, scale.
 ani'nei, rich in fish.
 a'nin-kini'je, September.
 a'nil-titemei (like a fish), patient, mild; one who cannot justify one's self.
 a'nin-to'nmul' gills.
 a'ñje, eye.

a'ñjed-a'ibi, spectacles, goggles.
 a'ñjed-o'ji, tear.
 a'ñje-ke'lge, bridge of the nose.
 a'ñje-puge'lbie, brow; eye-lashes.
 a'ñjile, falcon, hawk.
 a'ñilelet, gradually.
 a'ñličin, full.
 a'ñlu, fiery, passionate, violent, hot; Russian.
 a'ñlud-o'ji, brandy.
 *) a'n-mel, riding reindeer.
 °) a'n-n-e, to talk, tell; to roar, cry, neigh (of animals); to copulate (of animals); to caw (of raven).
 a'n-n-el, story, lore, legend.
 a'n-n-eyol, talkative.
 a'ñnume, beginning, commencement; first.
 a'ntaja (v. n.), to conjure.
 a'ntajaboi, conjurer; sorcerer.
 a'ntajal, sorcery; witchcraft; charm.
 *) a'ntajajeñ, conjurer; sorcerer.
 *) antajayen (v. n.), to conjure.
 a'ntet (v. a.), to conjure.
 anu're, to wish, desire; to prefer; to like; to love.
 anu'ret, willingly, ready, voluntary.
 *) a'panalā', wife; old woman (see miri'ye).
 ara'jei, to care, to be anxious; to take care of to look after; to be jealous.
 ara'n-n-ei, light, easy, playful, sportive.
 ara'n-n-eyed-āček, racing-reindeer.
 °) a'raulei, naked, bare, undressed.
 °) a'rau, a'raulei, naked, bare.
 a'raukude, to undress one's self.
 ara'uye, grayling.
 ā're, tail of an infant's dress.
 *) a'rei, to stop, halt; to reach.
 *) a'reil, stopping, halting.
 *) a'rendi, to imprecate.
 *) a'ri, bow.
 ari'jemei, pale, pallid (see eli'jemei).
 °) ari'me, sole (of the foot and shoe).
 ari'mel', bottom.
 a'rnumoya, wolverene.
 a'rpa (v. n.), to ascend, to climb up; to be on one's guard; to hang one's self; to be hung.
 a'rpac (v. a.), to guard, defend, protect.
 a'rpai, to rise, get up.
 *) arū', word; language; promise.
 a'rxā, near, by the side of, beside.
 at, to be strong.
 *) at, prefix for the conditional and subjunctive moods.
 āt, from under.
 *) a'tarei (v. a.), to stop, arrest, keep back, detain.

a'taxun, a'taxud, two (as modifier).
 a'taxlecte, second.
 a'taxloi, two (independent).
 a'tče (adj.), hard, strong, firm, solid.
 ati'ne (v. n.), to end, terminate.
 a'tla, near, beside (see a'rxā).
 *) a'wa, to sleep; to go to bed.
 *) a'wal, dream, sleep.
 *) a'wiñ, blanket.
 *) a'wiya, yesterday.
 *) awo'rai, to draw, attract; to string a bow.
 *) a'wur, case; quiver; den, burrow, hole; nest.
 *) ax, only, alone.
 *) a'xčahoje, barefooted, barelegged.
 a'xče, border, edge, brim.
 axmu'relei, barefooted, barelegged.
 a'ya (v. n.), to rejoice; to amuse one's self.
 ayā'boje, love making.
 ayā'bol, disorderly, licentious man or woman.
 a'yac, a'yar (v. a.), to amuse, rejoice.
 aya'l, joy; gladness; amusement.
 °) a'yi, to shoot; to fire.
 ayi' (Yakut word), everyone; every.
 ayi'le, to wash.
 ayi'nu (iterative from a'yi- to shoot), to catch
 (a reindeer with a lasso).
 *) ayi'yi, to offend.
 *) ayi'yō, to be offended.
 ayu'yi, to offend, affront, injure.
 ayu'yō, to be offended.

C.

*) ca'banje, net.
 ca'ci, trap (for animals).
 *) ca'ga, to lose one's way, err, stray, to go
 astray.
 *) caga'n-e, to sit; to live.
 *) cagan-et, to seat, place; to make one sit down.
 *) caga'nā, to seat one self.
 *) caga'nac, to seat; to place.
 *) ca'ireñ, falcon, hawk.
 °) cāl, tree; staff, stick.
 *) ca'legañ ca'lgañ, grebe.
 *) calil' mouse.
 ca'lopedie, hilly place.
 car, to overtake, reach; to find something.
 ca'ra, to lose one's way, err, go astray.
 ca'rie, to offend, injure; oppress (from car- to
 overtake).
 *) ca'rime-go'dek, guest, visitor.
 ca'rmorie, to practise shamanism; hysterics; a
 nervous attack.
 ca'rxun, all the fingers together.

*) ca'woñ, hide, skin.
 *) cawo'nei, cloudy.
 caxa'le, fox.
 *) ca'xce, to descend, go down; to fall out from
 a canoe, boat; to capsize.
 *) ca'xcere, to pour out.
 *) caxleñ, white owl.
 *) ce'caxarai, to break to pieces.
 °) ce'cped-a'ñil', door, entrance.
 ce'lgede (v. a.), to break.
 ce'lge (v. n.), to break, crack, be broken.
 *) ce'lgere (v. a.), to break.
 *) ce'lhahiñ, tooth.
 *) ce'mañ, a low river bank.
 *) ce'mji, to steal up to; to walk stealthily.
 ceu'd-i'gil', a pebbled river bank.
 ceu'l, stone.
 ce'ulbul', mouse.
 ceu're, to shove in; to run away.
 *) ci'cil, chest.
 ci'ñle, frozen crust upon snow; as a season —
 the end of winter.
 co'biya, swallow.
 co'gi, bag, sack, pouch.
 *) co'gu, to enter.
 °) cogu'ce, to lose.
 co'łgi, to club, stun, beat (to death).
 co're, to lose one's way, err, stray, go astray.
 cori'lec, to paint; to write; to draw.
 cori'le, letter.
 cori'lecul, painting.
 coro'mo, man; somebody; husband.
 co'u, to enter.
 *) cu'cei, to throw.
 *) cu'ckaral, hook for hanging kettle.
 *) cugo'jie, heart.
 *) cugo'je, to run; running.
 *) cu'gure (v. n.), to stick, cleave.
 *) cu'gurer (v. a.), to paste to; to attach.
 *) cu'kin, on the tundra; on a treeless place; on
 other side.
 cu'kun, all.
 *) cu'kunawoñ, cloud.
 *) cu'kunmolgel' (all joints), year.
 cu'lo, hilly place.

Č.

čā'dile, *) čā'rile, path, trail.
 *) ča'gaje (v. n.), to move.
 °) čagi'te (v. a.), to rub, smear.
 °) čagi'tin-n-a'n-ma, (the painting willow) alder
 tree.
 *) čai'le, day.

*) čai'led-o'rje, noon.
 *) ča'lje, hand; arm.
 *) ča'ljed-ari'meñ, the palm of the hand.
 *) ča'ljed-o'iče, finger.
 *) ča'lje-ǰō, ring.
 ča'ndalče, brave (hunter); alert.
 ča'ndelul', bravery; alertness.
 *) ča'nmoñ, older.
 *) ča'yayañ, frozen crust upon snow.
 čegi'nme, deep.
 če'kčil', *) če'kčieñ, skilled worker.
 če'mei (v. n.), to end, terminate.
 če'merei (v. a.), to end, terminate, finish.
 *) če'nde, to fly.
 čie'je, winter; cold, coldness.
 čie'jeme, during the winter, in the winter time.
 *) čie'meñ, blood (see le'pul).
 *) čie'me-ya'wul (blood path) vein.
 *) čie'gerči, lame.
 °) čie'lge, branch (of the tree).
 *) čie'lgen-pu'nka, needle (of a larch).
 *) čie'pe, men, people (see o'mni).
 °) čie'rei (v. n.), to drown; to sink.
 *) čie'rei (v. n.), to dive.
 °) čie'ru'ce v. a., to drown, sink.
 °) čie'ru'yi, to drown one's self.
 *) čie'remedie, swallow.
 čie'rxaci, knife (ancient word).
 °) čie'tnei, long.
 °) čie'ō, iron.
 °) čie'ogoye, knife.
 čie'olgo'ro, hare.
 °) čie'ōmo, great, big.
 čie'ōmodi, raven.
 *) čie'ōmole-čie'me-ya'wul (great blood path) artery.
 °) čie'ōmo'n, very.
 °) čie'ōmo'mu, to grow big, grow up.
 *) čie'ōrul', marrow of the leg bone; leg.
 čie'ōrxo, tundra; treeless place.
 čie'ōrxo'je, aloud.
 čie'ōxočal, bank (of a river), shore, coast;
 °) čie'ōu, to cut.
 *) čie'ōud-awur, quiver.
 *) čie'ōur, arrow.
 čie'ōubo'je, heart; to run.
 čie'ōugo, way, road, trail, path.
 čie'ōugo ati'nei, the road terminates (see ati'nei).
 °) čie'ōul, meat, flesh.
 čie'ōumu, whole; all.
 °) čie'ōumuče, fishing line, fishing rod.
 *) čie'ōumur, mountain ridge; back, spine.
 čie'ōumut, totally; all.
 čie'ōumu'tagi, every one; all.
 °) čie'ōuñde, mind, opinion.

*) čie'ūndi'je, runner (of a sledge).
 čie'ūoli'ji, čie'ūole'ji, myth, tale; mythical; ancient.
 °) čie'ūole, old, ancient.
 čie'ūote, always; often; continuously.

E.

e! yes!
 ebi'bec, to blacken; to make dirty.
 ebi'bemu, to become black.
 ebi'bei, black.
 e'but, snow (not trampled, beaten).
 eči'e, father.
 *) e'die (v. n.), to burn.
 edi'e, wife of elder brother.
 e'ge, e'gei, ege'de, ege'dei, ege'nu, ege'nunu, to
 look, to look in, peep in.
 ege'ibe, halting place.
 ege'iluol, stopping place; stopping.
 ege'il, stoppage, halting.
 ege'te, to put, place, set; to punish; to spread
 the table.
 ege'tede, to detain, stop, keep back, arrest, suspend.
 egi'e (v. n.), to get up; to stop; to reach (v. a.)
 to lead; to carry.
 egi'ec (v. a.), to call (at a distance); to call out
 (from the house).
 *) egi'ec, to furnish with strips.
 egi'ere, to tread on a person's toes.
 e'gu, to walk; to drive; to visit.
 egu'ju, (iterative), to walk; to drive; to visit.
 egu'nbe, the walking place; parish.
 egu'rie, to begin to start, walk or drive.
 *) e'heren, to breathe, respire.
 *e'hereñ, soul, breath, breathing (also ye'hereñ).
 ei, to cough, sniff (of reindeer).
 e'iji, shaman's spirit.
 *) ei'le, self; in person; met-e'ile I myself.
 e'ilere (v. a.), to impede, put restraint on; (v. n.)
 to fear, be afraid.
 e'ilereboi, timid, fearful, weak-hearted.
 e'iloi, ample, full; spacious.
 e'ime, price, payment, remuneration; barter.
 e'imec, to pay, reward, recompense; revenge,
 avenge.
 e'imei, valuable.
 e'imeni, for barter; having a value.
 e'imegude, on the other side, bank (of a river).
 e'imegulaget, the opposite side.
 e'imunde, a half.
 e'imundec, to divide, cut in two.
 e'je, excrement; dung.
 e'jet, to go to stool.
 °) e'ji, animated, living.

°) e'jie (v. a.) to revive, bring to life again; to profit by.
 °) e'jie (v. n.), to be saved.
 eji'te (v. a.), to animate; to deliver, release, save, preserve; to do good.
 e'jul, *) ejil, life; age.
 e'jul-le'pun-ču'go (living blood path), artery.
 *) e'juol', e'ju'ole, to be frightened.
 e'kčil, dug-out canoe.
 *) ekī'e, elder sister.
 *) e'kuñ, hole.
 °) el, e'le, no, not.
 e'leat or e'lat weak, feeble, delicate, not solid, breakable, brittle.
 *) e'le-ču'on, without; el met eči'e ču'on, without my father.
 e'lejuo, to disappear; to die.
 *) e'lejuolbon, bold, fearless.
 °) ele'ñnei, idle, lazy, indolent.
 *) e'lere, to swallow.
 ele'rpe, incautious, inadvertent.
 elexi'nmuyi, bold, fearless, daring; to be bold, fearless; to dare.
 elexi'nmuyibo, boldly, fearlessly.
 ele'yi, to bear, to carry; to drive; to wear.
 ele'yile, to begin to bear, carry, drive, wear.
 eli'eyiyei, to go to bear, carry, drive, wear.
 eli'je, eli'jemei, pale.
 e'lil, burden, load, freight, weight.
 eli'n, past (prep.), by.
 eli'nei, loaded, laden.
 eli'te, to load, to pack, to saddle.
 *) elkuri'lije-ru'kun, devil, the invisible-one (evil spirit).
 elo'nmunnei, *) e'lonmurnei, hornless.
 *) elō'yi, to carry.
 elu'lum-ku'de, to run mad; to go mad; (see oļu'lum-kude).
 eme'i, mother.
 °) e'mje, younger; younger brother or sister; one who belongs to the younger generation.
 *) eñde, to light, make fire.
 e'ndie, brooklet (see o'ndie).
 °) e'ndje, living.
 *) e'nieñ, mother.
 e'ñul', front part of the body; belly of fish.
 e'ñur, palate; back of the chimney.
 epi'e, grandmother.
 e'rčed-a'ñil', (dirty-opening), anus.
 e're (also ye're), to descend a river in a boat, canoe or raft, or swimming.
 *) eri'meñ, snow.
 °) eu're, to walk.
 *) eru'lboi, weak, feeble, breakable.

e'ye, bow.
 e'yedulbon, devil, the invisible-one (evil spirit).
 e'ye-marai, bow string.
 e'yu, to fall; to throw one's self.
 °) eyu'ko, near; nearly; close.
 eyu'komei, near.
 eyu'konugode, to move near, draw near, to push.

I.

ibe'le, to weep, cry.
 i'biči, breast; milk.
 i'bol', mountain (rocky).
 *) i'bol', bank (of a river).
 i'če, point, tip, spear head.
 i'či, sexual organs; ko'iped-i'či penis; pa'iped-i'či vulva.
 *) i'čiñ, breast; milk.
 i'či-n-a'čeñ, nipple.
 *) i'ckelon, deep.
 *) iču'o, to see; to look; (see yu'o).
 *) idi'e, wife of elder brother.
 idie'tek, uncle (father's younger brother).
 i'gde (v. a.), to sew.
 °) igē'ye, strap; strip; rope, cord; string; thong.
 igē'yec, to furnish with strips.
 i'gil, bank, shore; limit; edge, border.
 *) i'ji, to kiss.
 °) i'ji, now.
 *) i'kiwi, to frighten.
 i'lbe, reindeer (domesticated).
 *) i'le, reindeer (domestic).
 *) i'le'te, to curse, damn.
 °) ile'ye, wind; cardinal point.
 °) i'lugi (v. n.), to grieve; to be sad; to be in sorrow at the absence of.
 *) imi'jiye, to dance.
 *) imi'jičeñ, dance.
 i'mol, riding reindeer.
 *) i'mui, mad; intoxicated.
 *) i'n-bet, on all fours.
 *) i'ñiye, to be frightened to fear (v. n.).
 °) i'nje (v. n.), to sew.
 °) i'ñji, thread.
 °) i'ñjin-čogō'ye, woman's tailoring knife.
 i'ñle, to fear; to be frightened.
 i'ñliče'bodek, bear.
 i'ñlije, fear.
 *) i'nmeñ, wolverene.
 i'nni, to frighten.
 *) i're, to tie, bind; to sew.
 i'rgujeye, awl; star.
 i'ril, belly, abdomen.

iri'nei, pregnant, with child.
 i'rkei to shudder.
 i'rkeye, shaman.
 irki'ei, one (independent).
 i'rkilañi, constantly.
 i'rkin, one (as modifier); only; although.
 i'rkinlañide, constantly; always.
 *) i'ruce, hunter.

K.

ka'udie, to lead away, kidnap.
 *) ka'ure, to lead away, kidnap.
 kei, to give.
 *) kei, boy; young man.
 ke'ile-lebe'idi (red berry), red bilberry.
 keiye'n, keiyo'x, before, in front, ahead, in advance.
 °) ke'iyoi, °) ke'iyol, °) ke'iyoje, fore, front; anterior,
 first.
 kel, to come.
 *) ke'lguterei, to ring (a bell).
 ke'nme, friend.
 *) ke'riye, to fall (down, from a high place).
 *) ke'riyec, to let fall, take off.
 *) ke'ule (v. n.), to break, be broken; crack.
 *) ke'ulec (v. a.), to break, crack.
 °) ke'yegude forward.
 *) ke'yefileñ, front, fore, anterior; first.
 °) ke'yen, beginning.
 *) ki, to give.
 kič. *) kit, to teach.
 °) ki'čil, end.
 kič'i'te, to carry on a business to the end.
 °) kič'i'ye, to learn, study.
 ki'e, friend.
 ki'gi, *) kige, to stab; to prick.
 kigi'yi (durative), to stab; to prick.
 kimda'n-e, to deceive; to lie.
 ki'mje, to fight.
 kin, two.
 *) ki'nek, °) ki'ntek, who; somebody.
 kini'je, *) ki'nje, moon, month; pomo'geče-kini'je,
 full moon.
 ki'riyeñ, name.
 °) ki'tne (v. n.), to end, terminate.
 *) ki'tner, to, till, until, so far.
 ko'be, *) ke'be, *) ko'we, to go away, depart, go.
 *) ko'čege, to jump, leap, hop.
 *) ko'čegeire, to go jumping, leaping.
 *) ko'čige, to reach.
 *) ko'čigeire, to go in order to reach, to overtake.
 *) ko'de man; husband; somebody. (Go'de- after
 a vowel).
 ko'diel, wolf.
 koi, boy; young man.

*) ko'idieñ, older.
 ko'lgeļ, high river bank covered with larches.
 *) ko'lu, to come.
 *) ko'nme, friend, comrade.
 *) ko'rel, devil, evil spirit.
 *) ko'reu, to lead away, kidnap.
 *) ko'riel, wolf.
 *) koro'wal, tale, myth.
 *) ko'tke, to reach, come.
 *) ko'tleñ, lote (Lotha vulgaris).
 ko'ude, to beat; to strike.
 ku'de, to become.
 kude'de, to kill.
 kude'je, to war, make war; warrior.
 kude'jel, war.
 *) ku'dere, to shove in.
 kude'ye, *) kure'ye, clan; origin.
 *) ku'goñ, penis.
 *) kugu'ruckeñ, testicles.
 ku'jun-xar (sky's skin), cloud.
 °) ku'kul', devil, evil spirit.
 kuni'yin, ten.
 *) ku'ri, to become.
 *) ku'rili, to know.
 ku'rul, storehouse (on posts); grave (on posts).

L.

labu'nda, root of a fallen larch-tree.
 labu'ndad-u'ok', illegiti mate child.
 *) labu'nma, ptarmigan.
 *) la'čil', wood for fire; fire.
 *) la'dil, wrist.
 *) la'dinjo (wrist-iron) bracelet.
 *) la'ine, to fight.
 *) la'inije, to war, make war.
 *) la'limañ, sledge.
 *) la'lwiral, storehouse (on posts).
 *) la'ma bu'rie (dog berry), red bilberry.
 *) la'me, dog.
 lañi'de, to, till, until, so far.
 lañi'de, during; on the side, close to.
 la'rxul, root; (see o'ju).
 la'ude, to take off; to throw off; to let fall.
 *) la'uye, water.
 la'xa, to reach, come.
 °) la'xil', tail; buttock.
 *) la'yemu, to remain.
 *) la'yere, to leave, abandon.
 °) le, to be; to live.
 lebe'idi, berry.
 lebie', earth, land; ground; place, country; world,
 universe.
 °) le'bul', armour (of bone).
 le'git, to feed.

le'gul', food.
 le'idi, to know.
 *) lemn-eñ, chief, official, commander, elder.
 le'ñde, to eat (intrans. v.).
 le'ñduol', to hunger, starve.
 °) le'pul, blood; kin; kinship.
 le'pun-ču'go (blood path), vein.
 *) le'rčieñ, squirrel.
 le'u, to eat (trans. v.).
 *) leu'de (v. a.), to eat.
 *) lewei'n-burube, world, universe.
 °) li, to have.
 li'gei, old.
 ligo'mu, to grow old.
 *) li'rkeye, drum.
 *) li'rkeyen, to perform shamanism; to beat a drum.
 *) li'tegec, to beat, strike.
 *) li'tegejeyeñ, smith.
 lo'čil', wood for fire; fire.
 lo'cingaire, to visit, to make the round, to go walking about, to go up and down.
 lo'dol', *) lo'rol', play; contest.
 *) lo'hore (v. a.), to wash.
 *) lo'hoje (v. n.), to wash one's self.
 *) l'o'leñ, wound.
 *) l'o'lerk, to wound.
 lo'ñčo, bell.
 lo'ndo, to dance.
 lo'ndol', a dance.
 *) lo're, to rejoice; to amuse one's self; to play.
 lo'udo, to pull out.
 lo'udu, to fall (down, from a high place).
 lu'če, breathing, breath.
 lu'čede, to breathe, respire.
 lu'duļ, iron.
 lu'dunūyil-coro'mox, smith.
 *) lu'goi, old.
 *) lugu'mu, ligo'mu, to grow, to become old.
 *) lu'kul, earth, land; ground, place, country; world, universe.
 *) lu'kun-burube', earth, land; ground; place, country; world, universe.
 *) luku'on, small, little.
 lu'tegeđe, to break, to pieces.

M.

madā', to seat one self; to begin to live.
 ma'dac, to seat; to place.
 *) ma'lagalec, to skin, take off the hide.
 ma'lagude, both.
 *) malā'lec, to skin, take off the hide.
 *) ma'roje, happy, fortunate.
 *) ma'rxel, ma'rxil, girl.

me'dči, to resound, be heard.
 me'di, to hear.
 medi'n, at once, immediately, directly, instantly.
 me'du, to sound, to become audible.
 m-ei, copper, brass.
 me'ji, sledge.
 mele'yi, to drive (v. a.).
 me'ļut, chest.
 *) men-, to take; catch (reindeer in the herd).
 me'nmege, to jump, leap, hop.
 me'nmegeire, to go jumping, leaping.
 me're, to fly.
 me'reiño, to wander, to migrate.
 meri'je, to awake.
 *) me'ru, to sound, to become audible.
 met, I, my.
 me'tle, mine.
 mi'be, clan, sib; origin; base, end.
 mide'je, needle.
 mide'jed-a'but, needle-case.
 mi'dō, to migrate, wander, move with family camp.
 mi'doče, wandering camp.
 mi'dol', a day's march; mile.
 *) mi'rol', a day's march; wandering camp; mile.
 mi'laget, right; the right side; from the right side, on the right side.
 min-, to take.
 mi'no, raft.
 *) miri'ye, wife; wandering train.
 *) miri'yec (v. a.), to marry.
 *) miri'yer, to marry, to get a wife, to be married.
 mo'do, to sit; to live.
 mo'dot, to seat; to make one sit down, to place.
 °) moi, to hold, keep.
 *) mo'ičeñ, elder, chief, leader.
 *) moinebu, moinube, handle.
 *) mo'je, to rub, smear.
 *) mo'jediñ, snow shoe.
 molgodo'go, inside, in the middle.
 moli'n, only, alone.
 *) mo'liñ, staff.
 mo'lgil', *) mo'lgel', joint.
 °) mon, to say.
 mona'ile, *) mo'nile, hair (of a man).
 *) mo'nil', belly, abdomen (of animals).
 *) moni'nei, pregnant, with child.
 *) mo'nje, to awake.
 °) mono'go, mountain sheep.
 mono'god-aibi, Ursa Major (constellation).
 *) mo'ñor, noise; thunder.
 *) mo'ñor-čo'ur, thunder-bolt.
 *) mo'rči, to resound, be heard.
 *) mo'ri, to hear.
 mo'ro, to put on.

moro'je, to ascend a river in a boat, canoe, or raft, or swimming.

*) mo'rxon-, one; only.

mo'florxai (v. n.), to dry up; to become emaciated.

mu'čin-lebie', world, universe.

mude'de, to pass by.

*) mu'ge, to undress one's self.

*) muge'te (v. a.), to undress.

*) mu'iboñ, nail, peg.

mu'mdile, white owl.

*) mu'ndid-a'mun, jaw; jaw-bone.

mu're, boot; footwear.

N.

°) n-ače, face; edge, blade.

n-a'čec (v. a.), to return, let go back.

n-a'cede, to return, come back.

n-a'čeni, sharp.

°) n-a'čin, to meet.

*) n-a'čpugač (hairy face), Russian.

°) n-aga, together.

*) na'ga, to fall.

n-a'gatie, to be divided into two; to be bifurcated.

°) nan, jugular fossa:

°) n-a'nič, sin; taboo.

°) n-a'n-me, willow.

n-a'nxar, cloud.

*) n-a'rče-la'uyeñ, brandy.

°) n-a'ñle, fox.

n-a'ñlebie, ptarmigan.

n-a'ñemuya, lote (*Lotha vulgaris*).

*) n-awai, pale, pallid; white; light.

n-e'gojelme, yesterday.

n-e'ji, to tell; to converse.

n-e'lbet, to skin, take off the hide.

*) ne'liye, fringe, tassels (of an apron).

n-ema'logude, from all sides.

*) n-e'mijimkeñ (long necked one), swan.

n-emin-, to take each other.

n-e'molgil' (all joints), year.

*) n-e'rce, buttocks.

*) n-e'rčed-a'ñil' (bad hole), anus.

*) ne'regei (v. n.), to dry up.

*) ne'regere, to club, beat, kill.

*) ne'regerei, to club (to death), stun.

*) ne'rejie, to become emaciated.

*) ne'uriče, to shudder.

*) ni'amil, neck.

nige'yebon, nige'yebun, apron.

*) ni'mdo, all, whole.

*) ni'me, house, hut, tent, dwelling.

*) ni'melec, to paint; to write.

*) ni'melecul, painting, writing.

*) ni'meleñ, letter.

°) ni'miec (v. a.), to put out, blow out, extinguish.

ni'nbe, woman's tailoring board.

ni'ñei, many, much, plenty.

*) ni'ñieñ, belly, abdomen.

*) ni'olol', duck.

ni'u, name.

ni'uđe, to be named.

ni'uni, to name.

*) ni'xoxorai, to pull out.

no'do, animal (excl. man); bird.

no'gdi'jaye, guest, visitor.

noil', leg; marrow of the leg bone.

no'no, handle.

*) no'ñor, pillow.

*) n-o'rxoñ, copper, brass.

*) no'ttec, to draw, drag.

no'udijaye, guest. See no'gdi'jaye.

no'udiye, no'gdiye, *) no'uriče, watchman, guard; sentry, sentinel; herdsman; assistant of a shaman.

°) no'xco, sable.

n-o'xočox, runner (of a sledge).

°) nu, to find; to meet; to hunt.

nu'go, to fall (v. n.).

nu'gon, hand; arm.

nu'gon-čubo'jie (hand-heart), pulse.

nu'gon-l'u'dul' (hand iron), bracelet.

°) nu'leje, crowd.

°) nu'mje, chin.

nu'mjit, all, whole.

nu'mo, house, hut, tent, dwelling.

°) nu'moji, axe, adze.

nu'mot, to build a house for somebody, to provide with a house.

*) nu'ñni, soul.

*) nu'ñniji, The Realm of Shadows.

*) nu'ñnen, to dream.

*) n-u'ñurukun, apron.

*) n-u'ñuyi, to wrestle.

*) nu'ril', woman's tailoring board.

n-u'ñne, to stand, be standing; to find one's self.

O.

°) o, to take from the bottom of a kettle; to draw out; (see min-).

°) o, trousers; breeches.

*) o'čidie, uncle (father's younger brother).

o'de, white frost, hoar frost, rime.

o'dul', Yukaghir.

o'dun-lebe'idi (Yukaghir-berry), blea-berry.

odu'rči, to gather strength.

*) odu'rčore, to be zealous; to endeavor, strive.

°) o'go, to stand.

o'go, dam; weir; to put a weir.

ogo'de, to put a weir.

- ogo'iye, to-morrow, the following day.
 ogo'iye-ta'ndiyekli'ye, the day after to-morrow.
 ogo'te, to put up a weir.
 *) ogo'to, to put, place, set.
 ogo'ye, to-morrow; morning.
 ogoye'lme, the next morning; to-morrow morning.
 ogu'nbe, wet, moist.
 ogu'nbec, to wet, make wet, moisten.
 ogu'nge hook, crook.
 ogu'rce, snow-shoe (lined with fur); see ugu'rčiye.
 ogu'rčerā, snow-shoe (without fur).
 *) o'iče, point, edge, tip, spear-head.
 o'ici, to avenge, revenge, to take vengeance; to be angry, to become angry.
 o'icil', vengeance, revenge; le'pud-o'icil', blood vengeance; lepkudice-oicil', vengeance of a relative by blood.
 °) oije (v. n.), to bark.
 oil', rapid.
 °) o'ile, no, not; to be absent, stay away.
 o'inei, rapid (course).
 o'inu (v. a.), to take away.
 o'inujaboi, robber.
 o'iriči, lame.
 *) o'iyegodiyen, Pleiades.
 o'je, to drink; to smoke (tobacco).
 o'ji, water.
 o'jil', hoof.
 o'jin-no'do (water bird), duck.
 o'jin-to'lou (water wild reindeer), walrus.
 o'jin-to'loud-ige'ye, thong of walrus hide.
 o'jite, to pour water into.
 o'jū, root (small).
 o'juol', to be thirsty.
 o'juolil', thirst.
 o'lbole, wife (archaic).
 o'ldec, to suspect somebody of stealing.
 o'lgodonei, empty.
 o'lgodenugode, to empty.
 *) o'libec, to saddle.
 *) o'libeñ, saddle.
 *) o'lje, canoe of boards.
 *) o'lke, to run.
 o'lo (v. a.), to steal.
 o'lol', theft.
 *) o'lmañ, shaman; (see wo'lmañ).
 o'lujoboi, deaf.
 o'lumleboi, stupid, foolish.
 o'lumlel', stupidity, folly.
 o'lu'lum-ku'de, to become mad, insane.
 olu'nu (iterative), to steal.
 olu'nuboi, thief.
 °) o'mdile (v. a.), to hasten, hurry.
 °) o'mdu (v. n.), to hasten, make haste; to hurry.
- °) o'mduči, to be in time, arrive in time.
 °) o'mdul, haste, promptitude.
 o'mdut, *) omdur, promptly, quickly, hurriedly.
 omge'de, saddle.
 omge'dec, omge'te, to saddle.
 omge'deje, omge'deye, saddled.
 omge'de-yo'gul', saddle bow.
 o'mni, men, people.
 o'mo, clan, tribe.
 o'moč, well, all right; quite.
 omo'če, beautiful, nice; kind; good-natured.
 omo'či, sufficiently well.
 omočeduil', virtue; benefit.
 omo'čeni, virtuous; beneficent.
 omo'ileoi, dull of apprehension, stupid, dull.
 *) o'moji, to wish, desire.
 o'mol, beauty; quality of being beautiful, handsome; kindness.
 omo'lbo, to recover health; to be convalescent.
 omo'lije, shame.
 omo'lot (v. a.), to cure, heal; to improve.
 omo'lui, to be ashamed.
 *) o'nič, to look for, seek, search; to inherit.
 o'ničie, reindeer buck.
 *) o'ničil', inheritance.
 o'nđa, larch tree.
 o'nđe, to descend, go down.
 *) o'ndie, brook.
 *) o'nđo, to harness (reindeer, dogs).
 o'ni, wet, damp, moist, humid; raw; uncooked.
 o'nije mu're, wet boots.
 o'nme, o'nmo, mind, sense; opinion.
 o'nmenei, clever, wise, witty.
 o'nmen, to listen to reason.
 °) o'nmiedie, young larch tree.
 o'nmoni, witty, clever.
 °) onmun, every one, each.
 °) O'nmun, Kolyma river.
 onmu'nei, horned.
 *) o'nmur, horn; antler.
 o'nmut, antler; horn; tooth, tusk (ivory) of walrus and mammoth.
 o'no, to rob, plunder, pillage; to take by force.
 *) o'noi, bag, sack, pouch.
 o'nor, tongue.
 o'nor-eu'rec, calumniate, detract.
 o'nor-eu'recul, calumny, detraction.
 o'norn-el, cheat, deceit.
 ono'rn-eri, to cheat, deceive.
 *) o'no'ro, to put on.
 *) o'nuñ, river.
 °) o'rje, middle; to order; to bequeath.
 o'rjeyed-a'jū', testament, will.
 *) o'ron-e, to weep, cry.

o'rn-e (v. n.), to scream, shout, cry.
 orn-eri (v. a.), to call after; n-e'orn-eri (v. rec.),
 to call one another.
 o'ro, to show.
 o'rpo (v. n.), to hang.
 o'rpol', weight.
 orpu'činulbon, offering (to deities).
 orpu'fejaye, balance, scales.
 orpu're (v. a.), to hang, hang up; to suspend;
 (see a'rpa).
 o'ruł', cry, shout, scream, clamor.
 ot, prefix for the condition. and subjunct. moods;
 tu'del ot-ki'eč, he would come.
 o'uyebodek', truth; el-o'uyebodek', untruth, false-
 hood.
 o'uyed-a'ju'be, promise.
 *) oxo'l', always, constantly.
 *) o'yagoñ, hare.
 o'ye, father (see eči'e).
 °) o'yi (v. a.), to bark at.
 oyo'! exclamation expressing pain.

P.

pa'bā', elder sister.
 *) pa'gajed-iče, star.
 *) pa'gajeñ, awl.
 pa'gul, draw-net.
 °) pai, girl; woman.
 °) pai, to beat, knock, strike.
 *) pa'n-ā, to remain.
 *) par, to cook.
 °) pa'rčeha, to gossip.
 *) pa'rol', clan, sib; origin.
 pat, to cook.
 *) pa'uñ, vulva.
 pe'bel', cradle.
 pe'čecei, to throw.
 pe'de (v. n.), to burn.
 pe'det (v. a.), to light, make fire.
 pe'diče, finger.
 *) pe'gečil', thief.
 *) pegi'te, to steal.
 peju'inei, happy, fortunate.
 *) pel, to overtake, reach.
 *) pe'ludie, little old man.
 *) pelut, old man; husband.
 pe'me, louse.
 *) pe'ñe (v. n.), to return, go back.
 *) pe'ñere (v. a.), to return; let go back.
 *) pen-ge, to return, come back.
 pe'ye, *) po'eñ, cheek.
 pi'bil', needle (of a larch).
 picka, penis.
 pi'e, mountain (covered with vegetation).

pie'je, elk.
 pi'gonđa, hook for hanging kettle.
 *) pi'me, louse.
 po'gil', owner, master, host.
 *) po'gil', widow, widower.
 *) po'godoñ, money.
 pogo'jā'x, on all fours.
 po'inei, white; light.
 pojerxo', day; light; white.
 pojerxo'd-o'rje, noon.
 *) po'koluñ, tin, pewter.
 polu'ndie, little old man.
 po'lut, old man; husband.
 polu'tte, to get a husband, to marry.
 po'mki, testicles.
 °) po'mnei, round, circled.
 pomo'go (v. n.), to turn, turn round.
 pomo'goc (v. a.), to turn, turn round.
 *) po'mogore, to walk around.
 po'ñdiberāl, hook for hanging kettle.
 po'ñdo, money.
 °) po'ni, to leave, abandon, forsake.
 po'n-ō, to remain.
 po'ñoje-pai, widow.
 po'ñoje-ro'mo, widower.
 po'n-xarā, birch tree.
 po'n-xarā-xar, birch bark
 po'n-xo-pi'e, mountain (treeless, covered with
 lichens and moss).
 po'pol', vulva.
 *) po'rpeče, to take care of; to look after.
 porxo'ye, a high river bank.
 *) poyō'i, many, much, plenty.
 pu'bel', dog (ancient word, now tobo'ko).
 °) pu'de, outside, in the yard.
 pudet, from outside, from the yard.
 *) pu'dinnimeñ, neighbor.
 °) pugolbe, to warm one's self.
 *) pugoler, pugolet, to warm.
 pu'gu, sun.
 puke'led-e'ye, self-acting bow.
 puki'je, *) puki're, to jump out.
 *) pu'lge, to go out, come out; to go to stool.
 *) pu'nkeñ, hill.
 pu'nnume, neighbor.
 *) pun, to kill.
 *) pu'ño (v. n.), to rejoice, be glad.
 *) pu'ñol' (v. a.), to rejoice, give joy, gladness,
 amuse.
 *) pu'ren, past, by.
 *) purie, berry.

T.

ta'bun, that.
 tā'čile, then, after that.

- *) tadā't, then, after that, thus.
 °) ta'di, to give.
 ta'hane, then; nevertheless.
 *) ta'rol', to conceal, hide one's self.
 °) tañ, that.
 *) ta'n-jeñ, merchant, dealer.
 °) ta'nnu, to deal, trade, carry on a trade; to buy, purchase.
 ta'nnujaye, merchant, dealer.
 tāt, then, after that, thus.
 t'a't'a, elder brother.
 ta'tmei, such a —.
 te'člo (Russian teslo), adze.
 *) te'nebun, to hunger, starve.
 teri'ke (from Russian staru'kha), old woman; wife.
 teri'ken, to be married.
 teri'kenje coro'mox, a married man.
 te'tčiel, rich man.
 °) te'tčien, rich.
 *) te'tčieñola, te'tte, to become rich.
 *) ti'bo, rain; to rain.
 tiñ, this.
 *) tindā', long ago.
 ti'te, titeme'i, like, as.
 to'di, tooth.
 to'did-a'mun, jaw; jaw-bone.
 todu'te (v. a.), to paste to, attach.
 *) to'rne, to conserve, preserve, save.
 °) tolo'u, reindeer (wild).
 *) to'nmañ, throat.
 to'nmul, throat.
 to'nmule, to hunger, starve.
 *) to'ñoro (v. a.), to pursue, run after, chase.
 *) toro'nei, black.
 *) to'rorei, to become black.
 *) toro'to, to blacken.
 *) toro'ye, elk.
 to'tu (v. n.), to stick, cleave.
 tudā', long ago.
 °) tu'de, his.
 tu'dejie, *) tu'rejje, he alone, self.
 °) tu'del', he.
 *) tu'die, to draw, drag (on the ground).
 *) tu'duru, inside, in the middle.
 tu'kne, nail, peg; cān-tu'knek, wooden nail; lu'dun-tu'knek, iron nail.
 *) tuñ, this.
 *) tu'nie, to impede.

U.

- ū, to be born; to go out.
 *) ua'l' also wal', near.
 ubu'i (a Yakut word), truly; in fact.

- *) u'ce, to lead, carry.
 *) u'či, to pass by.
 *) ugu'rceñ, leg, foot.
 *) ugu'rčieñ, grayling.
 *) ugu'rčiye, boot.
 °) u'il', business; work.
 u'kei, to go out.
 ul', birth.
 °) uļe'ge, grass.
 °) u'lgele, to urinate, pass water.
 u'lte, to tie.
 °) u'neme, ear.
 *) u'nemečō, une'me-lu'dul, earring.
 u'nuñ, river.
 °) u'o, child; plural uo'rpe and uo'rpepul; also *) wo'rpe, *) wo'rpepul.
 u'od-a'but, cradle.
 *) u'od-a'wur, cradle.
 *) uwo'rai, to draw, pull, attract; to string (a bow).

W.

- *) wai, again; and; also.
 *) wa'igai, to go up or down a river in a boat; to swim; see e're.
 *) wal', near.
 *) wa'rai, to draw, drag, pull.
 *) wā're, to pull out.
 *) wa'rpuriče, herdsman.
 *) wa'wačeñ, Russian.
 *) wi'e, to make, do, create.
 *) wi'en, another.
 *) wie'te, to untie, loose.
 *) wie'tu, to get untied, to come loose.
 *) wo'dul, Yukaghir.
 *) wodu'rči, to gather strength; to grow strong.
 *) wo'gie, to lead, carry; to drag.
 *) wo'ldiče-la'uyeñ, brandy.
 *) wo'le, price, payment.
 *) wo'lhareñ, a half.
 *) wo'lil', burden, load, freight.
 *) wo'lire, to harness (a reindeer); to load, freight (a sledge).
 *) wo'liye (v. n.), to hang.
 *) wo'lmañ, shaman.
 *) wo'lmañmubo, to practise shamanism.
 *) wo'luduleñ, frog; (found on the tundra where cloudberry is growing).
 *) wo'lte (v. a.), to hang; to tie.
 *) wo'ñči, to search, look for.
 *) worclon, alert; brave (hunter).
 *) wo'rolu, root.
 *) wo'rui, strong, hard, firm.
 *) wo'rwei, strong, firm.
 *) worwel, vigor, courage.

X.

xa'cid-a'lbe, armpit.
 *) xa'dič, cold, coldness.
 *) xa'gameñ, Raven.
 *) xa'gedu, always; often; continuously.
 xa'gel', grebe.
 *) xa'ícaral, snowshoe without fur; ski.
 *) xa'ičietege, bear.
 xa'jič, *) xa'jir, there.
 *) xa'lde, to run away.
 *) xā'ledere, also xā'leđigil, charcoal.
 *) xa'liče, handsome, nice looking.
 *) xā'lijeñ, fear.
 °) xa'nā, to migrate, to wander, to move.
 xa'n-ba, palm of the hand.
 xa'n-ba-lu'dul', ring.
 *) xanče (adj.), cold.
 xa'ñi, to pursue, run after, chase.
 xañi'če, hunter.
 xañi'de, where.
 *) xa'n-ĵemañ, winter.
 xa'n-meye, the bag for the feet in which the fur blanket ends.
 xar, hide, skin.
 *) xa'ratči, to tell lie.
 *) xa'ričere, to deceive.
 xa'rnei, cloudy.
 *) xa'yeruk, head of a sledge runner.
 *) xeil', stone.
 *) xo'dier, xo'diet, xo'do, *) xo'doñ, why, how.
 xo'do (v. n.), to lie.
 xo'dol', canoe made of boards.
 xo'dot (v. a.), to lay down.
 *) xo'lgul, xolgut, mammoth.
 xolil, noise.
 xo'llume, soon.
 *) xo'mo-bu'rie, blea berry.
 xon, to go, go out.
 *) xo'ndietege, reindeer-buck.
 xo'nđo (v. n.), to break, be broken; crack.
 xo'nđoc (v. a.), to break.
 *) xo'ral', Ursa Major (constellation).
 *) xo'udeñ, where.
 *) xu'dei, to rise, get up.

Y.

*) ya'ba, to die.
 ya'duo, wife; husband; spouse.
 yalgi'de, to ring (a bell).
 ya'lgil, lake; drum.
 *) ya'lgil, lake.
 yalgi'ne, to beat a drum.

ya'loi (independent), three.
 yan, three (as modifier).
 *) yañ, birch tree.
 °) ya'ñđe, goose.
 *) ya'nel', self acting bow.
 *) ya'nxaldewoñ, *) ya'rewoñ, birch bark.
 *) ya'uge, to end, finish.
 *) ya'une, whole; all.
 *) ya'uner, all; all over; whole.
 *) ya'uroč, full, ample.
 ya'xa, to reach, come.
 ya'xad-āče, horse.
 *) ya'xad-i'leñ, horse.
 °) Yaxal, Yakut.
 ya'xan-pe'me, flea (Yakut-louse).
 °) ya'xte, to sing.
 °) ya'xtai, to begin to sing.
 °) ya'xtel', singing; song.
 °) ya'xteyol, singer.
 ye'degude, on another side, place.
 yedi'e, wife of elder brother; see edi'e.
 ye'du, to get untied, to come loose.
 ye'dul, thunder.
 ye'dun-ce'ul, thunder-bolt.
 *) ye'gel, bank, shore; limit; edge, border.
 yegi'je, staff.
 ye'here, to breathe.
 ye'katin, hook for hanging on kettle (Tungus word); see pi'gonđa.
 *) ye'megur, on the other side.
 yen, another.
 yenđo'je, blanket.
 yenđo'jen, to dream.
 yenđol, dream.
 ye'nđu, to lie down to sleep.
 °) ye'nđu, to go to sleep.
 *) ye'njer, to go to stool.
 ye're (see e're).
 °) ye'reme, club, stick.
 *) ye'ru, to pursue, run after, chase.
 *) ye'ruče, hunter.
 °) ye'rxā ice.
 ye'te, to untie, loose.
 *) ye'wul, way, path, trail.
 ye'xlemeye, hook for fishing.
 yō, *) yoñ, head (of men).
 yobo'ro, back, spine.
 yobo'rod-a'mun, backbone, spine, spinal column.
 °) yōd-a'mun, skull.
 yo'do, to tie, bind.
 yō'doice, crown of the head.
 yo'dudĵubo, squirrel.
 yo'gi, to kiss.
 yogo'mu, to become, to be angry.

- yogo'ti, arrow.
 yogo'tid-a'but, quiver.
 °) yogu'mu, to be angry.
 yo'hor, wound.
 yoho'rto (v. a.), to wound.
 °) yo'i, to ache, ail, pain.
 *) yo'ibože, yoli'nui, not well, sick.
 *) yoil', bank; shore, coast.
 *) yoli'n, past, by.
 yo'lojo (v. a.), to leave, abandon.
 yo'lomu (v. n.), to remain.
 yo'mdil', sign, mark.
 yo'mgo (v. n.), to turn, turn round.
 yo'mgode, to walk around.
 yo'mgot (v. a.), to turn, turn round.
 yo'mičomo (long necked one), swan.
 yo'mil', neck.
 yo'mul', height (on river bank).
 *) yo'ñčie, bell.
 *) yōncomor, crown of the head.
 yo'nđo, to sleep.
 yo'nđoje, blanket.
- yōn-ki'čil, forehead.
 *) yōnmo'neleñ, brain.
 yōnogot, pillow.
 yo'ñoje, *) yoño'ro, to anger, make angry.
 yōnxode, brain.
 *) yōromur, forehead.
 yo'ñeye, mountain ridge.
 yo'uye, net.
 *) yo'wul', way, road, trail, path.
 *) yugu'lbe, to trouble, fatigue, weary one's self;
 to suffer.
 *) yugu'lbec (see agu'rpec).
 *) yugu'llagande, right; the right side, on or
 from the right side.
 °) yuku'oi, small, little. ♣
 °) yu'o, to see, to look.
 *) yu'odid-a'wi, spectacles, goggles.
 *) yu'odiñ, eye.
 *) yu'odin-la'uyeñ, tear.
 *) yu'odin-pu'geče, brow; eye lashes.
 yu'ok-ma, ah!
 yu'olo, to signify.

ENGLISH-YUKAGHIR VOCABULARY.

A.

abandon, to, *) la'yere (v. n.), °) po'ni (v. a.),
 yo'lojo (v. a.).
 abdomen, i'ril, *) mo'nil' (of animals), *) ni'ñieñ.
 absent, to be absent, °) o'ile.
 ache, to, °) yo'i.
 act, to, ā.
 action, āl.
 advance, in advance, keiye'n, keiyo'x.
 adze, te'člo (Russian teslo); °) nu'moji.
 afraid, to be, i'ñile, e'ilere.
 affront, ayu'yi (v. a.).
 after that, tā'čile, *) tadā't, tāt.
 afterward, a'iga, *) a'lğan.
 again, ai, *) wai.
 ah! (interj.), yu'ok-ma! oyo'! (in case of pain).
 ahead, keiye'n, keiyo'x.
 ail, to, °) yo'i.
 alder-tree, °) čagi'tin-n-an-ma.
 alert, ča'ndalče; *) wo'rclon.
 alertness, ča'ndelul'.
 all, ču'mut, ču'mu, *) ni'mđo, cu'kun, *) ya'une,
 nu'mjit, *) ya'uner.
 all right, o'moč.
 alone, *) ax, moli'n.
 aloud, čorxo'je.
 also, ai, *) wai.
 although, i'rkın.
 always, i'rkilañi, i'rkınlañide, ču'ote, *) oxo'l',
 *) xa'gedu.
 ample, e'iloı, *) ya'uroč.
 amuse, to, a'yac (v. a.), a'yar (v. a.), *) pu'ñol'
 (v. a.), to amuse one's self, a'ya, *) lo're,
 *) pu'ño.
 amusement, aya'l.
 ancient, °) ču'ole, ču'oleji, ču'oliže.
 and, ai, *) wai.
 angry, to be (at some one, v. a.), oi'ci.
 angry, to be, (v. n.) yogomu, °) yogumu.
 angry, to make angry, yoño'je (v. a.), yoño'ro (v. a.).
 animal, no'do.
 animate, to, eji'te (v. a.).
 animated, °) e'ji.

another, *) wien, yen.
 anterior, °) ke'iyoi, ke'iyol, *) ke'yejileñ, ke'iyoje.
 antler, o'nmut, *) o'nmur.
 anus, e'rčed-a'ñil, *) n-e'rčed-a'ñil.
 anxious, to be anxious, ara'jei.
 appear, to, ye'dei.
 approach, to, mye'ko-kude.
 apron, nige'yebon, orige'yebun, *) n-u'ñurukun.
 arm, *) ča'lje, nu'gon.
 armor (of bone), °) le'bul'.
 armpit, xa'cid-a'lbe.
 arrest, to (detain), *) a'tarei (v. a.), ege'tede (v. a.).
 arrow, *) čo'ur, yogo'ti; bifurcated arrow, aña'ye.
 artery, *) čomo'lel-čie'me-ya'wul; e'jul-le'pun-
 ču'go.
 as, ti'te, titeme'i.
 ascend, to, a'rpa.
 ascend a river (in a boat, canoe or raft, or
 swimming), moro'je.
 astray, to go, *) ca'ga, ca'ra.
 at once, medi'n.
 attach, to, *) cu'gurer (v. a.), todute (v. a.).
 attack, nervous attack, ca'rmore.
 attract, to (v. a.), a'či, *) awo'rai.
 authorities, ani'jepul.
 avenge, to, e'imec (v. a.), o'ici (v. a.).
 awake, to, meri'je, *) mo'nje (v. n.).
 awl, i'rgujeye, *) pa'gajeñ.
 axe, °) nu'moji.

B.

back, *) ču'mur (noun), yobo'ro; to keep back,
 ege'tede (v. a.).
 back-bone, yobo'rod-a'mun.
 bag, co'gi, *) o'ñoi.
 balance, orpu'jejaye.
 bank (of river), čo'xočal, *) i'bol', i'gil', *) ye'gel',
 *) yoil.
 a low river bank, *) ce'meñ.
 a pebbled river bank, ce'ud-i'gil.
 on the other bank, e'imegude.
 high river bank covered with larches, ko'lge ;
 high river bank, porxo'ye.

bare, °) a'raulei, °) a'rau.
 bared (adj.), alga'rlei, alga'rnei, alga'rče.
 barefooted, barelegged, *) a'xčahoje, axmu'relei.
 bark, to, °) o'ije (v. n.), °) o'yi (v. a.).
 barrel of a gun, a'ñil.
 barter, e'ime; for barter, e'imeni.
 base, ā'lbe; mī'be.
 be, to, °) le.
 bear, i'ñličebodek, *) xa'ičietege.
 bear, to (to suffer), °) yugu'lbe, agu'rpe.
 bear, to, to be born, ū.
 bear, to, to carry, ele'yi (v. a.), *) elō'yi (v. a.).
 beard, a'ñapugelbie; *) a'ñan-pu'gočeñ.
 beat, to, co'lgi (v. a.), ko'ude (v. a.), *) li'tegec
 (v. a.), *) ne'regere (v. a.), °) pai (v. a.).
 beautiful, omo'če.
 beauty, o'mol.
 become, to, ku'de (v. n.), *) ku'ri (v. n.).
 become audible, to, me'du (v. n.), *) me'ru (v. n.).
 bed, to go to, *) a'wa (v. n.).
 beginning, a'ñnume (adv.), °) ke'yen.
 bell, lo'ñčo, *) yo'ñcie.
 belly, *) mo'nil', *) ni'ñieñ (only of man), i'ril.
 belly of fish, e'ñul'.
 below (adv.), ā'lgude, *) ā'lguden.
 below, from below (prep.), āde'get, a'lgalañdet.
 beneficent, omo'čeni.
 benefit, omo'čeduil.
 bequeath, to, °) o'rje.
 bereave, to, a'ñde (v. a.).
 berry, lebe'ide, *) pu'rie; red bilberry, ke'ile-
 lebe'idi, *) la'ma-bu'rie; blea-berry, o'dun-
 lebe'ide, *) xo'mo-bu'rie.
 beside, by the side of, a'rxā, a'řla.
 big, °) čo'mo; to grow big, °) čomo'mu.
 bind, to, *) i're, yo'do.
 bird, no'do.
 birch (tree), po'n-xarā, *) yañ.
 birch-bark, po'n-xarā-xar, *) ya'rewoñ, *) yanxal-
 dewoñ.
 birth, ūl'.
 black, ebi'bei, *) toro'nei; to become b., ebi'bemu,
 *) to'rorei.
 blacken, to, ebi'bec (v. a.), *) toro'to.
 blanket, *) a'wiñ, ye'ndoje, yo'ndoje. The bag
 for the feet by which a fur blanket ends, xa'n-
 meye.
 blood, *) či'emeñ, °) le'pul'.
 blow, to (out), °) ni'miec.
 board (woman's tailoring), ni'nbe, *) nu'ril'.
 bo'dy, °) čul, cu're (only of man); front part
 of the body, e'ñul'.
 bold, *) e'lejuolhon, elexi'nmuyi.
 bold, to be, elexi'nmuyi.

boldly, elexi'nmuyibo.
 bone, °) a'mun.
 boot, mu're, *) ugu'rčiye.
 border, a'xče, i'gil, *) ye'gel.
 both, ma'lagude.
 bow, a'yi, *) a'ri, e'ye.
 bow-string, e'ye-mara'i; self acting bow, puke'led-
 e'ye, *) ya'nel'.
 bottom, ari'mel'.
 boy, *) kei, koi.
 bracelet, *) la'din-řō, nu'gon-lu'dul'.
 brain, *) yōnmo'neleñ, yō'nxode.
 branch (of a tree), °) čilge.
 brandy, a'ñlud-o'ji, *) n-a'rče-la'uyeñ; *) wo'ldiče-
 la'uyeñ.
 brass, m-ei, *) n-o'rxon.
 brave (hunter), ča'ndalče, *) wo'rclon.
 bravery, ča'ndelul'.
 break, to, ce'lgede (v. a.), ce'lge (v. n.), *) ce'lgere
 (v. a.), *) ke'ule (v. n.), *) ke'ulec (v. a.),
 xo'nđo (v. n.), xo'nđoc (v. a.).
 break, to pieces, lu'tegede, *) ce'caxarai (v. a.);
 to be broken, ce'lge (v. n.), *) keule (v. n.),
 xo'nđo (v. n.).
 breakable, e'lat, e'leat, *) eru'lboi.
 breast, i'biči, *) i'čiñ.
 breath, breathing, *) e'hereñ, *) ye'hereñ, lu'če.
 breathe, to, *) e'here, *) ye'here, lu'čede.
 breeches, °) o.
 bridge of the nose, a'ñje-ke'lge.
 bright to become, a'lgarkude.
 brim, a'xče.
 brooklet, e'ndie, o'ndie.
 brother (elder), *) a'kā, řa'řa.
 brother (younger), °) e'mje.
 brow, a'ñje-pugelbie, *) yu'odin-pu'geče.
 burden, e'lil', *) wo'lil'.
 burn, to, *) e'die (v. n.), pe'de (v. n.).
 burrow, a'but, *) a'bur; to make a burrow, abu'te.
 business, °) u'il'.
 buttocks, °) laxil', n-e'rče.
 buy, to, °) ta'nnu.
 by, eli'n, *) pu'ren, yoli'n.

C.

call, to-after, o'rn-eri (v. a.).
 call, to, at a distance, egi'ec (v. a.).
 call, to, out (of the house), egi'ec (v. a.).
 call, to, one another, n-eorn-eri (v. rec.).
 calumniate, to, o'nor-eu'rec (v. a.).
 calumny, o'nor-e'urecul.
 canoe, ana'bucka (dug-out); e'kčil (dug-out);
 *) o'lje (of boards); xo'dol' (of boards).

capsize, to, a'lbiye, *) ca'xce.
 care, to, to take care, ara'jei (v. a.), *) po'rpeče (v. a.).
 carry, to, ā'de (v. a.), egi'e (v. a.), ele'yi (v. a.), *) elō'yi, *) u'ce (v. a.), *) wo'gie (v. a.).
 case, a'but, *) a'bur.
 catch, to (reindeer with a lasso), ayi'nu, *) men.
 caw (of raven), a'n-n-e (v. n.).
 caw (noun), a'n-n-el.
 charcoal, *) xā'ledere, *) xā'ledigil.
 charm, a'ntajal.
 chase, to, *) to'ngoro, xa'ni, *) ye'ru.
 cheat, ono'rn-el.
 cheat, to, ono'rn-eri (v. a.).
 cheek, pe'ye, *) po'yeñ.
 chest, *) ci'cil, me'lut.
 chief, ani'je, *) lemn-eñ, *) mo'ičeñ.
 child, °) u'o; with child, iri'nei, *) moni'nei.
 child (illegitimate), labu'ndad-u'ok', a'gid-u'ok'.
 chi'mney (back of it), e'ñur.
 chin, °) nu'mje.
 circle, °) po'mnel.
 circled, °) pomnei.
 clamor, o'rul.
 clan, mi'be, o'mo, *) pa'rol', kude'ye, *) kure'ye.
 clandestine, agi'.
 clear up, to, a'lgarkude.
 cleave, to, *) cu'gure (v. n.), to'tu (v. n.).
 clever, o'nmoni, o'nmonei.
 climb up, to, a'rupa.
 close to, lañi'de.
 cloud, *) cu'kun-ca'woñ, ku'jun-xar, n-a'n-xar.
 cloudless, alga'rče.
 cloudy, *) cawo'nei, xa'rnei.
 club, °) ye'reme.
 club, to (to death), co'lgı, *) ne'regerei.
 coast, čo'xočal, *) yo'il'.
 cold, coldness, čie'je, *) xa'dič.
 come, to, kel (v. n.), *) ko'lu (v. n.), *) ko'tke (v. n.),
 la'xa (v. n.), ya'xa (v. n.);
 to come back, n-a'čede (v. n.);
 to let come back, n-a'čec (v. a.);
 to come out *) pu'lge (v. n.).
 commander, ani'je, *) le'mn-eñ.
 commencement, a'ñnume (adv.).
 comrade, ke'nme, ki'e, *) ko'nme.
 conceal, to (v. a.), °) agi'te, *) a'hare.
 conceal one's self, agi'du, *) a'harol'.
 conduct, āl.
 conjure, to, a'ntet (v. a.); a'ntaja (v. n.); *) a'n-tajayen (v. n.).
 conjurer, anta'jaboi; *) a'ntajayeñ.
 conquer, to (v. a.), ālbo'ji; to be conquered, ā'lbō.
 conserve, to, abu'dac (v. a.), *) to'line (v. a.).

constantly, i'rkinlañide, *) oxo'l'.
 contest, lo'dol', *) lo'rol'.
 continuously, ču'ote, *) xa'gedu.
 convalescent, to be, omo'lbo (v. n.).
 converse, to, n-e'ji (v. n.).
 cook, to, *) par, pat (v. a.).
 copper, m-ei, *) n-orxon.
 copulate, to, a'n-n-e (of animals).
 cord, °) ige'ye.
 cork, a'ñil-to'bul'.
 cough, to, ei (of reindeer).
 country, lebie', *) lukul, *) lukunburube.
 courage, *) wo'rwel.
 cover, a'ñil-to'bul'.
 cradle, pe'bel', *) u'od-a'wur.
 crack, to, ce'lge (v. n.), *) ke'ulec (v. a.), *) ke'ule (v. n.), xo'ndo (v. n.).
 create, to, (v. a.), ā, *) wi'e.
 creation, āl, wi'el.
 creator, ā'lbon.
 crook, ogu'nge.
 crowd, °) nu'leje.
 cry, to, ibe'le (v. n.), *) o'ron-e (v. n.), °) o'rn-e (v. n.).
 cry, to (of animals), an-n-e (v. n.).
 cry, o'rul'.
 cure, to, omo'lot.
 curse, alu'dul (noun).
 curse, to, alu'du (v. a.), *) ile'te (v. a.).
 cut, to, °) čo'u (v. a.).

D.

dam, o'go.
 damn, alu'du (v. a.), ile'te (v. a.).
 damp, o'ñi.
 dance, *) imi'jičeñ, lo'ñdol'.
 dance, to, *) imi'jiye, lo'ñdo.
 dare, to, elexi'nmuyi.
 day, *) ča'ileñ, po'jerxo'.
 deaf, o'ju'joboi.
 deal, to, *) ta'nnu.
 dealer, *) ta'n'jeñ, ta'nnujaye.
 death, a'mdel.
 deceit, o'norn-el.
 deceive, to, kimda'n-e, ono'rn-eri, *) xa'ricere.
 deep, čegi'nme, *) i'ckelon.
 defend, to, a'rpac (v. a.).
 delicate, e'lat, e'leat.
 deliver, to, eji'te (v. a.).
 den, a'but, *) a'bur; to make a den, abu'te.
 depart, to, ko'be, *) ke'be, *) ko'we.
 deprive, to, of, a'ñde (v. a.).
 descend, to, *) ca'xce, o'nde.

descend a river, to (in a boat, canoe or raft), e're.
 desire, to, anu're (v. a., *) o'moji (v. a.).
 detain, to, *) a'tarei (v. a.), ege'tede (v. a.).
 detract, to, o'nor-e'urec (v. a.).
 detraction, o'nor-e'urecul.
 devil, *) elkuri'lije-ru'kun, e'yedulbon, e'ledulbon,
 *) ko'rel, °) ku'kul'.
 die, to, a'mde (v. n.); e'lejuo (v. n.), *) ya'ba (v. n.).
 difficult (adj.), agu'rpeni.
 difficulty, with (adv.), agu'rpelic.
 directly, medi'n.
 disappear, to, e'lejuo (v. n.).
 disorderly (man and woman), aya'bol.
 dive, to, a'mlai (v. n.), *) ci'rei (v. n.).
 do, to, ā, *) wi'e.
 dog, *) lame, pu'bel', tobo'ko.¹
 door, °) ce'cped-a'nil, *) ce'cepa.
 down, downwards, ā'lgude, *) ā'lgudeñ.
 drag, to (v. a.), abu'du, ā'de, *) nottec, *) tu'die
 (on the ground), *) wa'rai, *) wo'gie.
 draw, to (v. a.), abu'du; ā'ci; ā'de, *) no'ttec,
 *) tu'die, *) uwo'rai, *) wa'rai.
 draw, to (design), cori'lec (v. a.).
 draw, to, out, °) o.
 drawing, a'ibi.
 dream, ye'nqol, *) nu'ñnel.
 dream, to, *) nu'ñnen (v. n.), yendo'jen.
 drink, to, o'je (v. a.).
 drive, to, e'gu (v. n.); mele'yi (v. a.).
 drown, to, °) ci'rei (v. n.), °) ci'ru'ce (v. a.).
 drown, to, one's self, ci'ru'yi.
 drum, *) li'rkeye, ya'lgil; to beat a drum, *) li'rkeyen
 (v. n.), yalgi'ne (v. n.).
 dry, to, up, mo'łloxai (v. n.); *) ne'regei (v. n.).
 duck, *) ni'olol', o'jin-no'do.
 dull, omo'ileoi.
 dung, e'je.
 during, lañi'de.
 dwelling, nu'mo, *) ni'me.

E.

each, °) o'nmun.
 ear, °) u'neme.
 earring, *) u'neme-čō, u'neme-łu'dul.
 early (adv.), a'jo'i; a'jon· (adj.).
 earth, lebie', *) lu'kul, *) lu'kunburube.
 easy, ara'n-n-ei.
 eat, to, le'ñde (v. n.), °) le'u (v. a.), *) le'ude (v. n.).
 edge, a'xče, i'gil, °) n-ače, *) o'iče, *) ye'gel.
 elder (of a clan, village), ali'je, ani'je, *) lemn-eñ,
 *) mo'ičeñ.

elk, pie'je, *) toro'ye.
 ema'ciate (to become), mo'łlorxai (v. n.), *) ne'-
 rejie (v. n.).
 empty, o'lgodonei, *) eldū'nnei.
 empty, to, o'lgodenugode (v. a.), *) ca'xcerei (v. a.).
 end, °) ki'čil'; mi'be.
 end, to, ati'ine (v. n.), če'mei (v. n.), če'merei
 (v. a.), °) ki'čne (v. n.), *) ya'uqe (v. a.); to
 carry on a business to the end, °) kiči'te.
 endeavor, to, *) odu'rčore, ara'jei.
 enter, to, *) co'gu, co'u.
 entrance, ce'cped-a'nil, ce'cepa.
 err, to, co're (v. n.), *) ca'ga (v. n.), ca'ra.
 every, every one, ayi' (Yakut word), cumu'tagi,
 °) o'nmun.
 exclamation expressing pain, oyo'!
 excrement, e'je, *) ye'n-jel.
 extinguish, to, °) ni'miec.
 eye, a'ñje, *) yu'odiñ.
 eyelashes, a'ñje pugelbie, *) yu'odin-pu'geče.

F.

face, °) n-ac'e.
 fact, in fact, ubu'i.
 falcon, a'ñjile, *) ca'ireñ.
 fall, to e'yu (v. n.), *) na'ga, nu'go (v. n.).
 fall, to, out from a canoe or boat, a'lbiye, *) ca'xce.
 fall, to, down, from a high place, *) ke'riye, lo'udu.
 fall, to, let, *) ke'riyec, la'ude.
 falsehood, el-o'uyebodek.
 father, *) a'ma, eči'e, o'ye.
 fatigue, to (v. a.), agu'rpec.
 fatigue one's self, agu'rpe.
 fear, i'ñlije, *) xa'lijeñ.
 fear, to, e'ilere (v. n.), i'ñle (v. n.), *) i'ñiye (v. n.),
 *) e'djuol'.
 fearful, e'ilereboi.
 fearless, *) e'lejuolbon, elexi'nmuyi.
 fearlessly, elexi'nmuyibo.
 feeble, e'lat, e'leat, *) eru'lboi.
 feed, to, legi'te, *) lo'gite.
 fiery, a'ñlu.
 fight, to, ki'mje, *) la'ine.
 filthy, ani'ja'boi.
 find, to, °) nū.
 find one's self, n-u'ñne.
 finger, *) ča'ljed-o'ice, pe'diče; all five fingers
 together, ca'rxun.
 finish, to, ci'merei (v. a.), *) ya'uqe (v. a.).
 fire, fuel, *) la'čil, lo'čil.
 fire, to (a gun), °) a'yi.

¹ From the Russian soba'ka.

fire, to (make fire), *) e'ndę, pe'det.
 firm, a'di (adv.), a'tče (adj.), *) wo'rui, *) wo'rwei.
 first, a'ñume, °) ke'iyoi, ke'iyol, *) ke'yejileñ,
 ke'iyoje.
 fish, a'nil, *) a'lgañ; rich in fish, ani'nei, *) alga'nei.
 fishing line, fishing rod, °) ču'mučę.
 flea, ya'xan-pe'me.
 flesh, °) čul.
 fly, to, *) čęde (v. n.), me're (v. n.).
 folly, oļu'mlel'.
 food, °) le'gul'.
 foolish, oļu'mleboi.
 foot (of a mountain), ā'lbe.
 foot, nail, *) ugu'rčeñ.
 footwear, mu're.
 fore, °) ke'iyoi, ke'iyol, *) ke'yejileñ, ke'iyoje.
 forsake, to, °) po'ni (v. a.).
 fortunate, *) ma'roje, peju'inei.
 forward, °) ke'yegude.
 foundation, ā'lbe.
 fox, caxa'le, °) n-a'fle.
 freight, e'lil', *) wolil'.
 freight, to (a sledge), eli'te, *) wo'lire.
 friend, ke'nme, ki'e, *) ko'nme.
 frighten, to (v. a.), *) i'kiwi, i'nmi; to be frightened,
 eju'ole, *) e'juol', *) i'ñie, i'ñle.
 fringe, abu'je, *) ne'liye.
 frog, aļu'dule, *) wo'luduleñ.
 front, *) ke'yejileñ, °) ke'iyoi, ke'iyol, ke'iyoje;
 in front, keiye'n, keiyo'x.
 frost, white, hoar frost, o'de.
 fuel, fire *) la'čil, lo'čil.
 full, a'ñličin, e'ilo, *) ya'uroč.
 fuse (v. a.), a'lac.

G.

gain, to (v. a.), ālbo'ji.
 gape, to, a'ñalañni (v. n.).
 get up, to, a'rpai (v. n.), egi'e (v. n.), *) xu'dei (v. n.).
 gills, a'nin-to'nmul'.
 girl, abu'čie, ma'rxil', *) ma'rxel', °) pai.
 give, to, kei (v. a.), *) ki (v. a.), °) ta'di (v. a.).
 glad (to be), *) pu'ño (v. n.).
 gladness, a'yal; to give gladness, *) pu'ñol' (v. a.).
 go, to, xon (v. n.); ko'be, *) ke'be, *) ko'we.
 go (to bed), abu'dā.
 go (away), ko'be, *) ke'be, *) ko'we.
 go (back), *) pe'ñe (v. n.); n-a'čede; yo'dai; let
 go back, *) pe'ñere (v. a.); n-a'čec.
 go jumping, go leaping, *) ko'čegeire, menmegeire.
 go (out), *) pu'lge, ū (v. n.), u'kei (v. n.), xon
 (v. n.).
 go up and down, lo'cingaire.
 go, down, *) ca'xce, o'ndę.

goggles, añjed-a'ibi, *) yu'odid-a'wi.
 good (to do), eji'te.
 good natured, omo'če.
 goose, °) yañde.
 gossip, to, °) pa'rčeha (v. n.).
 gradually, a'ñlelet.
 grandmother, *) a'bučie, epi'e.
 grass, °) ule'ge.
 grayling, ara'uye, *) ugu'rčieñ.
 grebe, *) ca'lgañ, *) ca'legañ, xa'gel.
 grieve, to, °) i'lugi (v. n.).
 ground, lebie', *) lu'kul, *) lu'kunburube.
 grow up, to, čomo'mu.
 guard, no'udiye, no'gdie, *) no'uriče.
 guard, to, a'rpac (v. a.), *) na'uri, *) wo'rpac;
 to be on one's guard, a'rpa, *) wo'rpa.
 guest, *) ca'rime-go'dek, no'gdiŋaye, no'udijaye.

H.

hair, monai'le (of man), *) mo'nile.
 half, ei'munde, *) wo'lhareñ.
 halt, *) a'rei (v. n.), e'gei.
 halting, *) a'reil, ege'il.
 halting place, ege'ibe.
 hand, *) ča'lje, nu'gon.
 handle, mo'inube, *) mo'inebu, no'no.
 handsome, omo'če, *) xa'liče.
 handsomeness, o'mol.
 hang, to, o'rpo (v. n.), orpu're (v. a.), *) wo'liye
 (v. n.), *) wo'lte (v. a.).
 hang up, to, orpu're (v. a.); to hang one's self,
 to be hung down, a'rpa (v. n.).
 happy, *) ma'roje, peju'inei.
 hard agu'rpeni; a'di (adv.), *) wo'rui.
 hard to become, adu'lbe.
 hard, worker, agu'rpelbon.
 hare, čolgo'ro, *) o'yagoñ.
 harness, to (dogs, reindeer), ali'kte, *) wo'lire,
 *) o'ñdo.
 haste, °) o'mdul.
 hasten, to, °) o'mdile (v. a.), °) omdu (v. n.).
 have, to, °) li (v. a.).
 hawk, a'ñjile, *) ca'ireñ.
 he, tu'del.
 he alone, tu'deŋie, *) tu'reŋie.
 head, °) yō (of man); crown of the head, *) yōd-
 o'iče, *) yō'ncomor; forehead, yōn-ki'čil,
 *) yō'romur.
 heal, to, omo'lot (v. a.).
 health (to recover), omo'lbo (v. n.).
 hear, to, me'di (v. a.), *) mori; to be heard,
 me'dči (v. n.), *) mo'rči.
 heart, čubo'je, *) čugo'jje.

height (on a river bank), yo'mul'.
 herdsman, no'gdiye, no'udiye, *) no'uriče,
 *) wa'rpuriče.
 hide, *) ca'woñ, xar.
 hide, to take off, *) ma'lagalec, *) malā'lec, n-e'lbet.
 hide, to (v. a.), °) agi'te, *) a'hare.
 hide one's self, to, agi'du, *) a'harol'.
 hill, *) pu'nkeñ, pu'nke; hilly place, cu'lo,
 ca'lopedie.
 his, °) tu'de.
 hold, to, °) moi (v. a.).
 hold, to, in secret, agi'di.
 hole, a'but; a'ñil; *) a'bur; *) e'kuñ; to make
 a hole, abu'te, *) a'bure
 hoof, °) o'jil'.
 hook, ogu'nge
 hook for hanging kettle, *) cu'ckarāl, pi'gonḁā,
 *) po'ñdiberāl, ye'katin (a Tūngus word).
 hook for fishing, ye'xlemeje, čumu'ce (small hook).
 hook for taking meat from kettle, lu'dud-ū'ni.
 hoop, a'ñincā.
 hop, to, *) ko'čege, me'nmege (v. n.).
 horizontally, abu'dacut.
 horn, o'nmut, *) o'nmur.
 horned, onmu'nnei, *) onmu'rnei.
 horse, ya'xad-a'če, *) ya'xad-i'leñ.
 host, po'gil'.
 hot, a'ñlu.
 house, nu'mo, *) ni'me; to build a house for
 somebody, to provide with a house, nu'mot.
 how, xo'diet, xo'do, *) xo'dier, *) xo'doñ.
 humid, o'ñi.
 hunger, to, le'ñduol' (v. n.), *) te'nebun (v. n.),
 to'nmule (v. n.).
 hunt, to, °) nū (v. a.).
 hunter, *) i'ruče, xañi'če, *) ye'ruče.
 hurriedly, o'mdut, *) o'mdur.
 hurry, to, °) o'mdile (v. a.), °) o'mdu (v. n.).
 husband, coro'mo, *) ko'de, po'lut', *) pe'lur,
 ya'duo; to get a husband, polu'tte.
 hut, nu'mo, *) nime.
 hysteria, ca'rmoreie.

I.

1, °) met'.
 ice, °) ye'rxā.
 idle, °) ele'ñnei.
 immediately, medi'n.
 impede, to, e'ilere (v. a.), *) tu'nie (v. a.).
 imprecate, to, alu'du (v. a.), *) a'rendi.
 imprecation, alu'dul.
 improve, to, omo'lot (v. a.).
 inadvertent, ele'rpe.

incautious, ele'rpe.
 inherit, to, *) o'ñči, a'ñči.
 inheritance, a'ñčil', *) oñčil'.
 injure, to, ayu'yi (v. a.), ca'rie (v. a.), *) ayi'yi.
 insane (to become), alu'lum-kude, *) i'mu.
 inside, molgodo'go, *) tu'duru.
 instantly, medi'n.
 intoxicated, *) i'mui.
 iron, °) čō, lu'dul.

J.

jaw; jaw bone, *) mu'ndid-a'mun, to'did-amun.
 joint, mo'lgil', *) mo'lgel.
 joy, a'yal.
 joy, to give, *) pu'ñol' (v. a.).
 jugular fossa, °) nan.
 jump, to, *) ko'čege (v. n.), me'nmege.
 jump out, to, puki'je, *) pu'kire.

K.

keep, to, °) moi (v. a.).
 keep back, *) a'tarei (v. a.).
 kidnap, to, ka'udie, *) ka'ure, *) ko'reu.
 kill, to, kude'de (v. a.), *) ne'regere (v. a.), *) pun
 (v. a.).
 kin, kinship, °) le'pul'.
 kind, °) omo'če.
 kindness, o'mol.
 kiss, to, *) i'ji (v. a.), yo'gi (v. a.).
 knife, čirxači (ancient word); °) čogo'ye.
 knife (woman's tailoring), °) i'ñjin-čogo'ye.
 knock, to, °) pai (v. a.).
 know, to, *) ku'rili (v. a.), lei'di (v. a.).
 Kolyma river, O'nmun, Čo'mod-u'nuñ.

L.

lad, a'dil', *) u'oñodjed-u'o.
 laden, (see to load), eli'nei.
 lame, *) čigerči, o'lriči.
 lake, °) ya'lgil'.
 land, lebie', *) lu'kul, *) lu'kun-burube'.
 language, ajū', *) arū'.
 larch tree, o'nda, *) o'ñjeral.
 larch tree (young), o'nmedie, *) o'nmedie.
 lazy, °) ele'ñnei.
 lay down, (v. a.), abu'dac xo'dot, *) ku'dere.
 lead, to, egi'e (v. a.), *) u'ce (v. a.), *) wo'gie
 (v. a.).
 lead away, to, ka'udie (v. a.), *) ka'ure, *) ko'reu.
 leader, ani'je, *) mo'ičeñ.
 leap, to, *) ko'čege (v. n.), me'nmege (v. n.).

learn, to, °) ki'čiye.
 leave, to, *) la'yere (v. a.), °) po'ni (v. a.), yo'lojo (v. a.).
 leg, *) čor'ul', noil', *) ugu'rčeñ.
 legend, an·n·el.
 letter, cori'le, *) ni'meleñ.
 licentious, ayā'bol, *) ču'ñdede-pu'gačeje, o'nmegi-ki'juoje.
 lie, to, ki'mdane, *) xa'ratči.
 lie down, abu'dā, xo'do (v. n.).
 life, e'jul', *) e'jil'; to bring to life again, °) e'jie.
 light, to, pe'det (v. a.), *) e'nde.
 light, *) n-a'wai, po'inei, pojerxo'.
 light (easy), ara'n·n·ei.
 like, ti'te, titeme'i, *) ti'tebani.
 like, to, anu're (v. a.), *) o'moji.
 limit, i'gil, *) ye'gel.
 lip, a'ñanmuge; upper lip, *) a'ñan-puro'ireñ; lower lip, *) a'ñad-ālbeñ.
 little, *) luku'on, °) yuku'oi.
 live, to, *) caga'ne (v. n.), °) le (v. n.), mo'do (v. n.).
 live, to begin to, madā'.
 living, e'ji, °) endje.
 load, e'lil, *) wo'lil.
 load, to (a sledge), ali'kte; eli'te, *) wo'lire.
 loaded, eli'nei.
 long (adj.), °) čit'nei.
 long ago, *) tindā', tudā'.
 look, to, e'ge (v. n.), *) i'čuo (v. a.), °) yu'o (v. n.).
 look after, ara'jei (v. a.), *) po'rpeče (v. a.).
 look for, a'ñči (v. a.), *) o'ñči, *) wo'ñči.
 look in, e'ge (v. n.).
 loose, to, *) wie'te (v. a.), ye'te (v. a.); to come loose, *) wie'tu (v. n.), ye'du (v. n.).
 lore, a'n·n·el.
 lose, to, °) cogu'ce; ā'lbō (in a contest), to lose one's way, co're (v. n.).
 loss, ā'lbol' (in a contest).
 lote (Lotha vulgaris), *) ko'fleñ, n-a'ñnemuya.
 louse, pe'me, *) pi'me.
 love, to, anu're (v. a.), *) o'moji.
 love-making, ayā'boje.
 lover, a'dil, *) o'mojiye, anu'reme.

M.

mad, *) i'mui; to run, to go, become mad, eju'lum-ku'de, o'llum-ku'de, oļu'lum-ku'de.
 make, to, ā, *) wi'e.
 malediction, alu'dul.
 mammoth, xo'lgut, *) xo'lgul.
 man, coro'mo, *) ko'de.
 vile man, filthy man, anijā'.
 men, people, *) čipe, o'mni.

old man, *) pe'lut', po'lut'.
 little old man, pe'ludie, polu'ndie.
 many, ni'ñei, *) poyō'i.
 march (a day's march), mi'dol', *) mi'rol'.
 mark, yo'mdil'.
 marrow (of the leg bone), *) co'ru'ul', noil'.
 marry, to, polu'tte (v. a.), *) mi'riyec (v. a.), *) mi'riyer (v. n.); to be married, *) mi'riyer, teri'ken.
 master, po'gil, *) ni'men-ko'dek, nu'man-čomo'jel.
 meat, °) čul.
 meet, to, °) n-a'cin, °) nu.
 melt, to, a'l'a (v. n.), a'l'ac (v. a.).
 melted, a'l'oi.
 melting, a'l'al.
 merchant, *) ta'n-jeñ, ta'nnujaye.
 middle, °) o'rje; in the middle, molgodo'go, *) tu'duru,
 migrate, to, *) me'reiño, °) xanā', mi'dō (with a family camp).
 mild, a'nil-titeme'i.
 mile, mi'dol', mi'rol'.
 milk, i'biči, *) i'ciñ.
 mind, o'nmo, °) o'nme, °) ču'ñde.
 moist, ogu'nbe, °) o'ñi.
 moisten, to, ogu'nbe.
 money, *) po'godeñ, po'ñdo.
 month, kini'je, *) ki'nje.
 moon, kini'je, *) ki'nje; full moon, pomo'geče-kini'je, *) ki'njen-po'morxok.
 mother, eme'i, *) e'nieñ.
 mountain, *) a'nañ, i'bol' (rocky).
 mountain (covered with vegetation), pi'e.
 mountain (covered with mosses and lichens), po'n-xo-pie.
 mountain ridge, *) ču'mur, yo'ñneye,
 mountain sheep, °) mono'go.
 mouse, *) ca'dil', ceu'lbul'.
 moustache, a'ña-puge'lbie, *) a'ña-pu'gočeñ.
 mouth, °) a'ña.
 move, to, *) caga'je (v. n.), °) xa'nā, mi'dō.
 much, ni'ñči, *) poyō'i.
 my, °) met; mine, °) me'tle.
 myth, mythical, ču'oleji, ču'oliji, *) koro'val.

N.

nail, tu'kne, *) mu'ilbon.
 nail (wooden), cān-tuknek'.
 nail (iron), lu'dun-tuknek'.
 naked (adj.), alga'rlei, alga'rnei, alga'rči.
 name, *) ki'riyeñ, ni'u.
 name, to, ni'uni (v. a.).
 named, to be, ni'ude (v. n.).

near, al'ā', a'rxā, a'īla, °) eyu'ko, eyu'komei, *) ua'l',
 *) wal'; near him, her, it, ā'ldege; to move,
 draw, push near, eyu'ko-nugo'de.
 nearly, °) eyu'ko.
 neck, *) ni'amil', yo'mil'.
 needle, mide'je, *) mu'rjeñ.
 needle-case, mide'jed-a'but, *) mu'rjed-a'bur.
 needles of a larch, *) čič'gen-pu'nka, pi'bil'.
 neighbor, *) pu'dinnimeñ, pu'nnume.
 nest, a'but, *) a'bur.
 nest, to make a, abu'te, *) a'burwie.
 net, *) ča'banje, yo'uye.
 net (draw), pa'gul'.
 nice, °) omo'če.
 nice looking, *) xa'liče, n-a'idelič
 nipple, *) i'čin-n-a'čeñ, i'biči-n-a'če, i'bičid-i'če.
 no, not, el, e'le; °) o'ile.
 noise, *) mo'ñor, xo'ilil'.
 noon, *) ča'iled-o'rje, pojerxo'd-o'rje.
 now, °) i'ji.

O.

obscene, anija'boi.
 offend, ayu'yi (v. a.), *) ayiyi (v. a.), ca'rie; to
 be offended, ayu'yō, *) a'yiyō.
 offering (to deities), orpu'činulbon.
 official, ani'je, le'mn-eñ.
 often, ču'ote, *) xa'gedu.
 old, li'gei, *) lu'goi.
 old age, li'gel.
 old, to grow, ligo'mu, *) lugu'mu.
 older, *) ko'idieñ, ča'nmoi.
 older one, abu'oltañ, *) ča'nmoñ.
 on all fours, *) i'n-bet, pogo'jāx.
 one, i'rkin, *) mo'rxon.
 only, *) ax, i'rkin, moli'n, *) mo'rxon.
 opening, a'ñil, *) e'kuñ.
 opinion, o'nmo, o'nme, °) ču'ñde.
 oppress, ca'rie (v. a.).
 order, to, °) o'rje.
 origin, kude'ye, *) ku'reye, mi'be, *) pa'rol'.
 overtake, to, car, *) ko'čigeire, *) pel.
 our, °) mit.
 ours, °) mi'fle.
 outside, °) pu'de; from outside, pu'det.
 owl (white), *) ca'xleñ, mu'ñdile.
 owner, po'gil, *) ni'men-ko'dek.

P.

pain, agu'rpel, *) yo'mjil'.
 pain, to, °) yoi (v. n.), *) yo'mjile.
 paint, to, cori'lec (v. a.), *) ni'melec (v. a.).

painting, cori'lecul, *) ni'melec.
 palate, e'ñur.
 pale, ari'jemei, eli'jemei, eli'je, *) n-a'wai.
 pallid, ari'jemei, eli'jemei, *) n-awai.
 palm (of the hand), *) ča'ljed-ari'meñ, xa'n-ba.
 parish, egu'nbe.
 pass by, to, mude'de, *) u'či.
 passionate, a'ñlu.
 past, eli'n, *) pu'ren, *) yoli'n.
 paste, to, *) cu'gurer (v. a.), todute (v. a.).
 path, čā'dile, *) čā'rile, ču'go, *) ye'wul', *) yo'wul'.
 patient, a'nil-titeme'i.
 pay, to, e'imec (v. a.), *) wo'lec (v. a.).
 payment, e'ime, *) wo'leñ.
 peep in, to, e'ge.
 peg, *) mu'iboñ, tu'kne.
 penis, ko'iped-i'či, *) ku'goñ, pi'cke.
 pewter, *) po'koluñ, o'lube (Russian o'lovo).
 picture, a'ibi.
 pillage, to, o'no (v. a.).
 pillow, *) no'ñor, yō'nogot.
 place, lebie', *) lu'kul, *) lu'kunburube; at another
 place, ye'degude.
 place, to, abu'dac (v. a.), *) caga'n-et (v. a.),
 *) caga'nac (v. a.), ege'te (v. a.), ma'dac (v. a.),
 mo'dot (v. a.), *) ogo'to (v. a.).
 play, lo'dol', *) lo'rol'.
 play, to, lo'do, lo're.
 play at hide and seek, agi'dun-ul lo'dol'.
 playful, ara'n-n-ei.
 Pleiades, *) O'yegodiyen.
 plenty, ni'nei, *) poyō'i.
 plunder, to, o'no (v. a.).
 point, i'če, *) o'iče.
 portrait, a'ibi.
 pouch, co'gi, *) o'noi.
 pour out, to, (v. a.) a'lbec, *) ca'xcere; to be
 poured out, a'lbe.
 prefer, to, anu're (v. a.).
 prefix for the condit. and subjunct. moods,
 *) at, ot.
 pregnant (woman), iri'nei, *) mo'ninei.
 preserve, to, abu'dac (v. a.), eji'te (v. a.), *) to'lnē
 (v. a.).
 price, e'ime, *) wo'leñ.
 prick, to, ki'gi (v. a.), *) kige (v. a.).
 profit by, to, °) e'jie.
 promise, ajū', *) arū', o'uyed-aju'be.
 promptitude, °) omdul.
 promptly, o'mdut, *) o'mdur.
 protect, to, a'rpac (v. a.).
 ptarmigan, *) labu'nma, n-a'tlebie.
 pull, to, (v. a.) abu'du; ā'či; *) uwo'rai, *) wa'rai.
 pull out, to, lo'udo, *) ni'xoxorai, *) wāre.

pulse, nu'gon-čubo'jie.
 punish, to, ege'te (v. a.).
 purchase, to, °) ta'nnu.
 pursue, to, *) to'ňoro (v. a.), xa'ňi (v. a.), °) ye'ru.
 put, to, abu'dac (v. a.), ege'te (v. a.), *) ogo'to (v. a.).
 put away, to, °) agi'te (v. a.).
 put on, to, mo'ro, *) oňo'ro (v. a.).
 put out, to, °) ni'miec (v. a.).

Q.

quickly, o'mdut, *) o'mdur.
 quite, o'moč.
 quiver, a'but, *) a'wur, *) čo'ud-a'wur, yog'o'tid-a'but.

R.

raft, mi'no, *) āl (Yakut word for ship).
 rain, °) ti'bo.
 rain, to, °) ti'bo.
 rapid (noun), oil'.
 rapid (adj.), o'ine.
 raven, čo'modi, *) xa'gameň.
 raw, o'ňi.
 reach, to, *) a'rei (v. n.); car (v. a.), egi'e (v. n.), *) ko'čige, *) ko'tke, la'xa, *) pel, ya'xa,
 ready (willingly), anu'ret.
 reason, o'nmo; to listen to reason, o'nmen.
 recompense, to, e'imec (v. a.).
 reindeer (domesticated) ā'če, i'lbe, *) i'le.
 reindeer (riding), *) a'n-mel, i'mol.
 racing-reindeer, ara'n-n-eyd-aček.
 reindeer (wild), °) tolo'u.
 reindeer-buck, °) o'nčie, *) i'le-ličieň.
 rejoice, to, a'ya (v. n.), *) lo're (v. n.), *) pu'ňo (v. n.), *) pu'ňol' (v. a.), a'yac (v. a.), a'yar (v. a.).
 release, to, eji'te (v. a.).
 remain, to, *) la'yemu, *) pa'n-ā, po'n-ō (v. n.), yo'lomu (v. n.).
 remuneration, e'ime.
 resound, to, me'dči, *) mo'rči.
 respire, to, *) e'here, *) ye'here, lu'čede.
 restraint, to put, on, e'ilere (v. a.)
 return, to, n-ač'e'de (v. n.), n-a'čec (v. a.), *) pe'ňe (v. n.), *) pe'ňere (v. a.), *) pe'n-ge (v. n.).
 revenge, o'icil.
 revenge, to, e'imec (v. a.), o'ici (v. a.).
 revive, to, °) e'jie.
 reward, to, e'imec (v. a.).
 ribald, anijā'.
 rich, °) te'tčieň; rich man, te'tčiel.
 rich, to become, *) te'tčieňola, ti'tte.
 right, mī'laget; the right side, from the right side, on the right side, mī'laget.

rime, o'de.
 ring, *) ča'lje-žō, xa'n-ba-lu'dul'.
 ring, to, *) kē'lguterei (a bell), yalgi'de.
 rise, to, a'rpai (v. n.), *) xu'dei (v. n.).
 river, u'nuň, *) o'nuň; to go up or down a river in a boat, *) wa'igai.
 road, ču'go, *) yo'wul.
 roar (of animals), a'n-n-e (v. n.).
 rob, to, o'no (v. a.).
 robber, o'inu'jaboi
 root, la'rxul', o'jū (small root), *) wo'rolu.
 root of a fallen larch tree, la'bunđa.
 rope, °) ig'e'ye.
 round, °) po'mnei; to make the round, lo'cingaire (v. n.).
 to turn round, pomo'go (v. n.), pomo'goc (v. a.).
 rub, to, °) čagi'te (v. a.), *) mo'je.
 run, to, *) a'lke (v. n.), čubo'je (v. n.) *) čugo'je, *) o'lke.
 run out, to, (v. n.), a'lbe (of liquids).
 run away, to, ce'ure, *) xa'lde.
 run after, to, *) to'ňoro, xa'ňi, *) ye'ru.
 runner (of a sledge), *) ču'ňdi'je, n-o'xočox.
 runner (head of a sledge), *) xa'yeruk.
 running, *) čugo'je.
 Russian, a'ňlu, *) n-a'čpugač, *) wa'wačeň.

S.

sable, °) no'xco.
 sack, co'gi, *) o'ňoi.
 sad (to be), °) i'lugi.
 saddle, *) o'libeň, omge'de.
 saddle, to, (v. a.) *) o'libec, omge'te, omge'dec.
 saddled, o'mgedeye, o'mgede'je.
 save, to, abu'dac (v. a.), eji'te (v. a.), *) to'ľne (v. a.).
 saved (to be), °) e'jie (v. n.).
 say, to, °) mon (v. n.).
 scale (of fish), a'nin-ca'ngar.
 scales, orpu'fejaye.
 scream, °) o'rul.
 scream, to, °) o'rn-e.
 search, to, a'ňči (v. a.), *) o'ňči, *) wo'ňči.
 season (the end of winter), ci'ľne.
 seat, to, *) caga'n-et (v. a.), *) caga'nac, ma'dac (v. a.).
 seat one self, to, *) caga'nā, madā'.
 second, a'taxlecte.
 secret, agi'.
 see, to, *) i'čuo (v. a.), yu'o (v. a.).
 seek, to, a'ňči (v. a.), *) o'ňči.
 self, °) e'ile.
 sense, o'nmo, o'nme.
 sentinel, sentry, no'gdiye, no'udiye, *) no'uriče.

- September, a'nin-kini'je.
 set, to, ege'te (v. a.), *) ogo'to (v. a.).
 sexual organs, i'ci.
 sew, to, °) i'nje (v. n.), i'gde (v. a.), *) i're (v. a.).
 shadow, a'ibi; the realm of shadows, *) nu'ñiji, a'ibiji.
 shaman, a'lma, irke'ye, *) o'lmañ, *) wo'lmañ.
 shaman's spirit, °) e'iji, *) o'no.
 shaman's assistant, no'gdiye, no'udiye; *) no'uriče.
 shamanism (to practise), ca'rmore, *) li'rkeyen, *) wo'lmañmubo.
 shame, *) a'malijeñ, o'molije; to be ashamed, *) a'malei, omo'lui.
 share (to deprive a person of his), a'ñde.
 sharp, °) n-a'čeni.
 shoot, to, °) a'yi (v. a.), °) ayi'nu (iterative).
 shore, č'o'xočal, i'gil, *) ye'gel, *) yoił'.
 shout, °) o'rul.
 shout, to, °) orn-e.
 shove, to, in, ceu're, *) ku'dere.
 show, to, o'ro (v. a.).
 shudder, to, i'rkei (v. n.), *) ne'urice.
 sib, mi'be, *) pa'rol'.
 sick, yoli'nni, *) yo'iboje.
 side, on the other side, *) cu'kin, e'imegude, e'imegulaget, ye'degude, *) ye'megur.
 on the side, lañi'de.
 from my side, me't-laget, *) me't-lager.
 the right side, from the right side, *) yugu'lla-gande, mi'laget.
 sign, yo'mdil'.
 signify, to, yu'olo (v. a.).
 sin, °) n-a'nič.
 sing, to, °) ya'xte.
 singer, ya'xteyol.
 singing, °) ya'xtel'.
 sink, to, °) č'i'rei (v. n.), °) čiru'ce (v. a.).
 sister (elder), abu'jā, a'bui, abu'oltañ-pai, *) eki'e, pa'bā.
 sister (younger), °) e'mje.
 sit, to, *) ca'gan-e (v. n.), mo'do (v. n.); to make one sit down, *) caga'net (v. a.), mo'dot.
 skin, *) ca'woñ, xar.
 skin, to, (v. a.) *) ma'lagalec, *) ma'lalec, n-e'lbet.
 skull, °) yod-a'mun.
 sledge, *) la'limañ, me'ji.
 small, *) luku'on, °) yuku'oi.
 sleep, to, yo'nđo, *) a'wa.
 sleep (noun), *) a'wal, yo'nđol.
 sleep (to go to, to lie down), °) yenđu (v. n.).
 smear, to, (v. a.) °) čagi'te, *) mo'je.
 smith, *) li'tegejeyeñ, lu'dun-ū'yil-coro'mox.
 smoke, to (tobacco), o'je, *) la'u.
 sniff, to, ei (of reindeer).
 snow, *) e'rimeñ, puko'le.
 snow (not trampled), e'but; frozen crust upon snow, *) ča'xayañ, ci'ne.
 snow-shoe, *) mo'jediñ, ogu'rče, ugu'rče (lined with fur); ogu'rčera, *) xa'icaral (without fur).
 so far, *) ki'tner, la'ñide.
 sole (of the foot and shoe), °) ari'me.
 solid, a'di (adv.), a'tče (adj.), *) wo'rui; not solid e'lat, e'leat.
 somebody, °) ki'ntek, *) ki'nek, coro'mo, *) kode.
 something, cār, *) ne'meñoleñ.
 son, °) adu'o; to have a son, adu'ode; to be with a son, adu'on'e.
 song, ya'xtel', *) yextel'.
 soon, *) a'mdur, xo'llume.
 sorcerer, a'ntajaboi, *) a'ntajayeñ.
 sorcery, °) a'ntajal.
 sorrow, to be in sorrow at the absence of, °) i'lugi.
 soul, a'ibi, *) nu'ñni.
 sound, to, (v. n.) me'du, *) meru.
 spacious, e'ilo.
 spear-head, i'če, *) o'iče.
 spectacles, a'ñjed-a'ibi, *) yu'odid-a'wi.
 spinal column, yobo'rod-a'mun.
 spine, *) ču'mur, yobo'ro.
 spirit (evil), *) elku'rilije-ru'kun, e'yedulbon, e'ledulbon, *) korel, °) ku'kul'.
 spread, to (the table), ege'te.
 squirrel, *) le'rčieñ, yo'dudjubo.
 stab, to, (v. a.) ki'gi, *) ki'ge.
 staff, °) cāl, *) mo'liñ, yegi'je.
 stand, to, °) o'go,
 stand, to (be standing), n-u'ñe.
 starve, to, (v. n.) le'ñduol', *) te'nebun, to'nmule.
 stature, a'ñdil.
 stay away, to, o'ile.
 steal, to, (v. a.) o'lo, *) pegi'te; to suspect somebody of stealing, o'ldec.
 steal up, to, *) če'mji.
 stick, °) cāl, °) ye'reme.
 stick, to, (v. n.) *) cu'gure, to'tu.
 stone, ceul, *) xeil.
 stool, to go to, (v. n.) e'jet, *) pu'lge, *) ye'njer.
 stop, to, *) a'rei (v. n.), *) a'tarei (v. a.), ege'tede (v. a.), egi'e (v. n.).
 stoppage, ege'il.
 stopper, a'ñil-to'bul'.
 stopping, *) a'reil, ege'iluol.
 stopping place, ege'iluol.
 storehouse on posts, ku'rul'. *) la'lwiral.
 story, °) a'n-n-el.
 strap, °) ige'ye.

stray, to, to go astray, (v. n.) *) ca'ga, co're.
 strength, adu'lbel.
 strengthen, to gather strength, (v. n.) odu'rči,
 *) wo'durči.
 strike, to, (v. a.) ko'ude, *) li'tegec, °) pai.
 string, °) ige'ye; bow-string, e'ye-mara'ye, e'ye-
 mara'i.
 string, to (a bow), (v. a.) a'či, *) uwo'rai.
 strip, °) ige'ye.
 strips (to furnish with), *) egi'ec, ege'yec.
 strive, to, *) odu'core.
 strong, a'di (adv.); a'tče (adj.), *) wo'rui, *) wo'rwei,
 to be strong, at; to become strong, adu'let,
 wodu'rči.
 strong, to become, adu'lbe.
 study, to, °) ki'čiye.
 stun, to, co'lgi, *) ne'regerei.
 stupid, olu'mleboi, omo'ileoi.
 stupidity, olu'mjel'.
 such a, ta'tmei.
 suffer, to, agu'rpe, *) yugu'lbe.
 suffering, agu'rpel.
 sun, pu'gu, *) ye'rpeyeñ.
 suspend, to, (v. a.) ege'tede, orpu're.
 swallow (bird), *) či'remedie, co'biya.
 swallow, to, (v. a.) a'mladai, *) e'lerei.
 swan, *) n-e'mijikeñ, yo'mičomo.
 swear, to, alu'du'ja (v. n.).
 swim, to, *) wa'igai; to descend a river swimming,
 e're.

T.

taboo, °) n-a'nič.
 tail, °) la'xil'.

tail (of an infant's dress), ā're.
 take, to, (v. a.) *) men-, min-.
 take, to, (by force), o'no (v. a.).
 take, to (off), *) ke'riyec, la'ude.
 take, to (each other), n-e'min-.
 take, to (from the bottom of a kettle), °) o.
 take, to (away), o'inu (v. a.).
 tāle, ču'oleji, cu'oliji, *) koro'wal'.

talk, to, °) a'n-n-e (v. n.).
 talkative, a'n-n-eyoi.
 tassels (of an apron), abu'je, *) ne'liye; having
 tassels, abu'jeni.
 teach, to, kič, *) kit.
 tear, a'ñjed-o'ji, *) yu'odin-la'uyeyñ.
 tell, to, °) an-n-e (v. n.), n-e'ji (v. a.).
 ten, ku'nel, kuni'yin.
 tent, nu'mo, *) ni'me.
 terminate, to, ati'lne (v. n.), če'mei (v. n.), če'merei
 (v. a.), °) ki'łne (v. n.).
 testament, o'rjeyed-a'jū', o'rjeyed-arū'.

testicles, *) kugu'ruckeñ, po'mki.
 that, ta'bun, °) tañ.
 thaw, to, a'l'a (v. n.), a'l'ac (v. a.).
 thawing, a'l'al.
 theft, o'lol.
 then, tā'čile, *) tadā't, taha'ne, tāt.
 there, xa'jič, *) xa'jir.
 thereabout, ala'.

thief, olu'noboi, *) pe'gečil'.

thirst, o'juolil.
 thirsty (to be), o'juol'.

this, tiñ, *) tuñ.

thong, °) ige'ye.
 thread, °) i'ñji.
 three, yan (as modifier); ya'loi (independent).
 throat, *) to'nmañ, to'nmul'.

throw, to, *) cu'cei, pe'cecei (v. a.).
 throw, to (one's self), e'yu (v. n.).
 throw, to (off), la'ude.
 thunder, *) mo'ñor, ye'dul'.

thunder-bolt, mo'ñor-čo'ur, ye'dun-ce'ul.
 thus, *) ta'dāt, tāt.

tie, to, (v. a.) *) i're, u'lte, *) wo'lte, yo'do.
 till, *) ki'tner, lañi'de.
 timid, ei'lereboi.
 time (to be, to arrive in time), o'mduči.
 tin, *) po'koluñ.
 tip, i'če, *) o'ice.
 to, *) ki'tner, lañi'de.
 toe (see finger); to tread on a person's toes,
 egi'ere.
 together, °) n-a'ga.
 to-morrow, ogo'iye, ogo'ye, *) egōye.
 to-morrow morning, ogoye'lme; the day after
 to-morrow, ogo'iye-ta'ndiyekli'ye.
 tongue, o'nor, *) wo'nor.
 tooth, *) ce'lhahiñ, to'di.
 tooth (of walrus and mammoth, ivory), o'nmūt,
 *) o'nmur.
 top, pu'denbon, *) oi'čeñ.
 torment, to, (v. a.) agu'rpec.
 torture, to, (v. a.) agu'rpec.
 totally, ču'mut.
 trade, to; to carry on a trade, °) ta'nnu.
 trail, čā'dile, *) čā'rile, ču'go, *) ye'wul', *) yo'wul'.

trap, ca'ci (for animals).
 tree, °) cāl.
 treeless place, čorxo, *) cu'kin.
 tribe, °) o'mo.
 trouble, agu'rpel.
 trouble, to, (v. a.) agu'rpec, *) yugu'lbec.
 trouble, to, one's self, *) yugu'lbe, agu'rpe.
 trousers, °) o.
 truly, ubu'i.

truth, o'uyebodek.
 tundra, čorxo; on the tundra, *)cu'kin.
 turn, to, to turn round, pomo'go (v. n.), yo'mgo
 (v. n.), pomo'goc (v. a.), yo'mgot (v. a.).
 tusk (of walrus, mammoth), o'nmut, *)o'nmur.
 two, a'taxun (as modifier), ata'xud (as modifier),
 a'taxloi (independent), *)kin; to divide, cut
 in two, ei'mundec.

U.

u'ncle, idie'tek (father's younger brother),
 *)o'čidie.
 uncooked, o'ni.
 uncover, to, (v. a.) a'lgarnugode.
 uncover, to, one's self, a'lgarkude.
 uncovered, a'lgarče.
 under, from under, āt; from under him,
 āde'get.
 undress, to, (v. a.) a'lgarnugode, *)mu'gete.
 undress, to, one's self, a'raukude, a'lgarkude,
 °)a'raulei, *)mu'ge.
 undressed (adj.), a'lgarlei, a'lgarnei, *)a'raulei.
 universe, lebie', *)lewei'n-burube', *)lu'kul',
 *)lu'kunburube, mu'čin-lebie'.
 untie, to, *)wie'te (v. a.), ye'te (v. a.); to get
 untied, *)wie'tu (v. n.), ye'du (v. n.).
 until, *)kiñner, la'ñide.
 untruth, elo'uyebodek.
 urinate, to, °)u'lgele.
 Ursa Major, mono'god-a'ibi, *)xo'ral'.

V.

value, e'ime, *)wo'leñ.
 valuable, e'imai; having a value, e'imeni.
 vanquish, to, (v. a.) ā'lboji; to be vanquished,
 ālbō'.
 vein, *)čie'me-ya'wul, le'pun-ču'go.
 vengeance, o'icil'; blood-vengeance, le'pud-o'icil'.
 vengeance of a relative by blood, le'pkudiče-
 o'icil'; to take vengeance, o'ici.
 very, čomo'n, *)čo'mone.
 vigour, adu'lbēl, *)wo'rwel.
 vile, anijā'boi.
 violent, a'ñlu.
 virtue, omo'čeduil.
 virtuous, omo'čeni.
 visit, to, e'gu (v. a.), *)lo'cingaire (v. a.).
 visitor, *)ca'rime-go'dek, no'gdijaye.
 voluntary, anu'ret.
 vulva, pa'iped-iči, *)pa'uñ, po'pol'.

W.

waist, a'ñdil'.
 walk, to, e'gu (v. n.), °)e'ure (v. n.).
 walk, to, about, *)lo'cingaire.
 walk, to, stealthily, aģi'ģi, *)ce'mģi.
 walk, to, around, *)po'mogore, yo'mgode.
 walking place, egu'nbe.
 walrus, o'ģin-to'lou; thong of walrus hide, o'ģin-
 to'loud-ige'ye.
 wander, to, *)me'reiño (v. n.), °)xa'nā, mi'do
 (with family camp).
 wandering camp, mi'dol', *)mi'rol', *)mi'riye.
 war, to, to make war, kude'ģe, *)la'iniģe.
 war, kude'ģel.
 warm, to, pugo'let (v. a.), *)pu'goler (v. a.).
 warm, to, one's self, °)pugo'lbe.
 warrior, kude'ģe.
 wash, to, ayi'le (v. a.), *)lo'hore.
 wash, to, one's self, *)lo'hoģe (v. n.).
 watchman, no'gdie, no'udie, *)no'uriče.
 water, *)la'uyen, o'ģi; to pour water into, o'ģi'te
 (v. a.); to make water, °)u'lģele.
 way, ču'go, *)ye'wul', *)yo'wul'; to lose one's
 way, *)caģa, ca'ra.
 we, °)mit.
 weak, e'lat, e'leat, *)eru'lboi.
 weakhearted, e'ilereboi.
 wear, to, (v. a.), ele'yi.
 wearied, agu'rpeni.
 weary, to, (v. a.), agu'rpec.
 weary, to, one's self, agu'rpe.
 weep, to, ibe'le (v. n.), *)o'rone.
 weight, e'lil', o'rpol'.
 weir, o'go.
 weirs (to put), ogo'de, o'go ogo'te.
 well, o'moč; sufficiently well, omo'či.
 wet, ogu'nbe, o'ni, *)o'ñui.
 wet, to, to make wet, ogu'nbec.
 where, xañi'de, *)xo'udeñ.
 white, *)n-awai, po'inei, pojerxo'.
 who, °)ki'ntek, *)ki'nek.
 whole, ču'mu, *)ni'mdo, nu'mģit; *)ya'une,
 *)ya'uner.
 why, xo'diet, xo'do, *)xo'dier, *)xo'doñ.
 widow, widower, *)po'ģil'.
 widow, poño'ģe-pai.
 widower, poño'ģe-ro'mo.
 wife, *)a'panalā, *)miri'ye, o'lbole (arch.), teri'ke,
 ya'duo.
 wife of elder brother, edi'e, *)i'die, ye'die; to
 get a wife, *)mi'riyer.
 willingly, anu'ret.

willow, °) n-a'n-me.
 wind, °) ile'ye.
 winter, čie'je, *) xa'ujemañ; during the winter,
 in the winter time, čie'jeme.
 wise, o'nmonei.
 wish, to, anu're (v. a.), *) o'moji (v. a.).
 witchcraft, a'ntajal.
 without, e'le-ču'on; without me, e'le met ču'on.
 witty, o'nmoni, o'nmonei.
 wolf, ko'diel, *) ko'riel.
 wolferene, *) i'nmeñ, a'rnumoya.
 woman, °) pai; old woman, *) a'napalā, teri'ke.
 word, a'jū, *) arū'.
 work, to, ā.
 work, āl, °) uil'.
 worker (skilled), če'kčil, *) čekčieñ.
 world, lebie', *) lewe'in-burube', *) lu'kun-burube';
 *) lu'kul.
 World of the Dead, A'ibiji; Lower Wold, a'lgaduol
 lebie'.
 wound, *) l'o'eñ, yo'hor.

wound, to, (v. a.) *) l'o'lerk, yoho'rto.
 wrestle, to, *) n-u'ñuyi.
 wrist, *) la'dil'.
 write, to, cori'lec (v. a.), *) ni'melec.
 writing, cori'lecul, *) ni'melecul.

Y.

Yakut, °) Yaxal.
 yard, in the yard, pu'de; from the yard, pu'det.
 yawn, to, a'ñalañni (v. n.).
 year, *) cu'kun-mo'lgel', n-e'mo'lgil'.
 yes! e!
 yesterday, *) a'wiya, n-e'gojelme.
 young man, °) a'dil, adu'o, *) kei, koi.
 youth, °) a'dil.
 Yukaghir, O'dul', *) Wo'dul'.

Z.

zealous (to be), ara'jei, *) odu'rčore.

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