

THE  
ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE  
OF THE KEREK

Vladilen V. Leont'ev

*Translated by*  
Richard L. Bland



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*The Ethnography and Folklore of the Kerek*

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*Etnografiya i fol'klor Kerekov*

Автор: Владилен В. Леонтьев

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Служба национальных парков

Программа «Общее наследие Берингии»



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## TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

This book was originally published in 1983 as *Etnografiya i fol'klor kerekov* (Moscow: Nauka). I have tried to remain as faithful to the original as possible. However, I have changed the formatting from endnotes at the end of chapters to citations by author and date with these listed in a bibliography at the end of the work.

Every translation, particularly from Russian to English, has the problem of finding a suitable form of transliteration. None of the three systems available (U.S. Board of Geographic Names [BGN], Library of Congress [LOC], or the "Linguistic" system [Ling]) was felt to be entirely adequate. I have therefore "created" my own system. In this I use some of the BGN system with a slightly modified version of the LOC. For example, the "ye" of BGN is written as "e" following LOC. The Russian "ë" is also written as "e" (not "yo"), following Ling. The Russian "э" is written as "e," following BGN. Both the Russian "и" and "й" are transliterated as "i," unlike in any of the three systems. The Russian "ю" and "я" are written as "yu" and "ya," following the BGN. The Russian soft sign, which is often dropped in transliterations or replaced with an "i," is retained here as an apostrophe, following BGN. In this case, I transliterate the archaeologist's name as "Kir'yak" rather than "Kiryak" or "Kiryak," forms that can be found in the literature. I have also settled on one ending for words, as the English language forces us to do, rather than the providing the appropriate ending (masculine, feminine, neuter, plural/nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, prepositional) that can occur in Russian. And having twenty-four possible grammatical endings is not the end of it. In the masculine nominative, for a name ending in "-sky" there are at least five possible endings that can be found in English ("-sky," "-skiy," "-skij," "-skii," "-ski"). In addition, there are aberrant spellings that have been accepted in the literature—for example, Wrangell instead of the Russian Vrangel'—and already been adopted in English. Some names are "semi" formalized in English. For names that do not have an accepted English form I have used my system above for transliterating. All this in no way exhausts the possibilities and problems the translator faces, but rather provides a notion of the difficulties attendant upon any translation project. Nonetheless, I hope the explanation of my method will aid the reader, especially if he or she should want to go back from English to Cyrillic, and I apologize to all whose names I have unintentionally "corrupted."

Some of the native names resulted from forms that can only be appreciated by dealing with the Cyrillic and the phonetic alphabets. This becomes far too cumbersome without a great deal of explanation. For those interested in name and word origins, it is recommended that the original text be used.

No original photographs were available to the translator. Therefore, the illustrations in the book had to be scanned. Soviet-quality photographs, the age of the Soviet-quality book, and the scanning leave much to be desired. Nevertheless, the photos in this translation are approximately as good as in the original book.

I have created a bibliography in addition to the endnotes. A number of the works cited have been translated into English. Rather than clutter up the endnotes, I have cited the appropriate translations in the bibliography.

All notes are those of the author unless otherwise indicated.

I would like to thank Anna Gokhman for proofreading the text to see that the translation followed as closely as possible the original text, Laura Eidam for turning the translation into idiomatic English, Terry Duffy for laying out the manuscript in camera-ready form, Julia Knowles for proofreading the final manuscript for anything missed up to that point, and Nan Coppock for important contributions toward making the translation better. I would also like to thank Andrew Tremayne (director) of the Shared Beringian Heritage Program for making this publication possible. The greatest thanks must go to the V. V. Vladilen's son Victor, who gave permission for the National Park Service to publish his father's monograph.

## ON THE HISTORY OF THE QUESTION

The history of the peoples of Northeast Asia was comparatively broadly elucidated both in pre-Revolutionary and Soviet literature. The works of S. P. Krasheninnikov, G. A. Sarychev, F. P. Wrangell, W. G. Bogoras, W. I. Jochelson, and others served as the fundamental basis for further, more profound studies of these peoples in the Soviet era (Krasheninnikov 1949; Sarychev 1811, 1952; Wrangell 1948; Bogoras 1934, 1939). The works of Soviet archaeologists (Rudenko 1947; Okladnikov 1947; Okladnikov and Nekrasov 1957; Arutyunov and Sergeev 1969, 1975; Vasil'evskii 1974; Dikov 1971, 1977, 1979; and others), physical anthropologists (Debets 1951; Levin 1958; T. I. Alekseeva and V. P. Alekseev 1973; and others), ethnographers (Gurvich 1966, 1975, 1980; Vdovin 1965, 1973; and others), and linguists brought significant precision to the classification of the peoples of Northeast Asia. If at the beginning of the 19th century, according to the "Paleoasiatic" hypothesis of L. I. Shrenk, the Eskimos, Aleuts, Chukchi, Koryak, Itel'men, Yukagir, Nivkhi, and Ket (who lived in Western Siberia) were assigned to the Paleoasiatics, then the further study of languages of these peoples permitted distinguishing smaller related groups: Eskimo-Aleut (to Eskimos and Aleuts); Chukotsk (Chukchi, Koryak, and Itel'men); Yukagir, Nivkhi, and Ketsk (the Ket proper, Kott, Arin, and Assan proper) (Vdovin and Tereshchenko 1959:3).

Now the term "Paleoasiatics" is provisionally maintained in the literature, and under it are five linguistic subgroups (Vdovin and Tereshchenko 1959). Later, the more precise term "Northeast Paleoasiatics" appeared, which includes the Chukchi, Koryak, and Itel'men, who were assigned to the Chukotsk-Kamchatsk group of languages (Skorik 1958a).

The Chukchi and Koryak are two peoples related by language and material and spiritual culture, with the Itel'men considered close to them. However, in recent times a rather substantiated point of view has appeared, that the Itel'men are not genetically connected with the Northeast Paleoasiatics, and specifically not with the Chukchi and Koryak (Vdovin 1970). The question with the Kerek has not yet been resolved, but based on their language they are assigned to the Chukotsk-Kamchatsk group (Skorik 1968:310).

The Chukotsk people have preserved their compactness and unity of language. The existing dialects, which P. Ya. Skorik calls dialects (Skorik 1958a:35), do not prevent them from freely communicating among themselves. Among the Koryak there occurred the division of one, or possibly several, ethnic groups into smaller subdivisions that have substantial differences in language and economic occupations. Based on linguistic data and economic occupations of the Koryak, it is common to divide them into Itkani, Pareni, Kameni, Apukini, Alyutori, Kargini, Palani, and Chavchuvani (Stebnitskii 1937:286). Each of these subdivisions of the Koryak has been more or less studied in linguistic regard, though poorly or almost not studied with regard to culture, economy, and daily life. This gap was filled by the work of I. S. Vdovin, in which the author examines the ethnic history of the Koryak within the profile of each subdivision, revealing this or that local feature. At the same time he states the reservation that the "work being proposed does not pretend to a full, or even more, an exhaustive elucidation of all questions connected with the ethnic history of the Koryak. Meanwhile, we have almost no information on the Pareni, their language, folklore, or physical anthropological data. The same should be said about the Apukini. The Kerek remain almost a complete enigma" (Vdovin 1973:5).

As the history of the opening up of Chukotka, Kamchatka, and the Okhotsk coast attests, the Russian explorers followed two basic routes: to Kamchatka from Nizhnekolymsk through the Anadyr' fort along the basin of the Penzhina River, and to the Okhotsk coast overland from Yakutsk. Because of this, the land of the Kerek was bypassed. Before the beginning of the 20th century, the coast of the Bering Sea from the Anadyr' Estuary to Cape Olyutorskii, where, historians suppose, the Kerek lived in the 17th century (Dolgikh 1960: Map on p. 557), was left unstudied by ethnographers and archaeologists, and the shoreline from Cape Navarin to the settlement of Khatyrka was placed on the map with dots. The eminent ethnographer and linguist W. Jochelson, in his monograph *The Koryak*, wrote that "before the visit of the Jesup Expedition no white man had penetrated Kerek territory" (Jochelson 1905:439).

Jochelson was not quite right. In 1728 Vitus Bering approached the south cape of Anadyr' Bay. He named this cape Cape Sv. Faddeya. In 1777 the quartermaster sergeant Ivan Anukhinov visited the region of Cape Olyutorskii to collect taxes. He wrote detailed notes, cited interesting ethnographic information, and gave the names of the native elders. "Their livelihood," wrote T. I. Shmalev, "is from sea mammals, birds, and fish, as well as from collecting roots and berries" (Kosven 1962:286).<sup>1</sup> This same note tells about hunting birds in the cliffs, and enumerates the kinds of fish that the natives caught. One of the documents points out that two merchant ships visited the mouth of the Khatyrka River.

In September 1828 F. Litke, on the naval sloop *Senyavin*, entered Sv. Gavriil Bay. According to legends of the Kerek and traces of dwellings, there was a large settlement in Gavriil Bay, but unfavorable winds did not permit Litke to stop there. He was forced to withdraw to Cape Olyutorskii and return to Kamchatka (Litke 1948:217). It is also quite possible that the mariners could not see the Kerek dwellings on the shore from the ship *Senyavin*, since the Kerek tried to conceal their dwellings because of frequent raids by the Chukchi.

In 1885 A. A. Resin, an official from the Priamur'e governor-general, visited the bays of Anas-tasiya and Dezhneva, the Opuka Lagoon, Tumanskaya, and the Anadyr' Estuary on the schooner *Sibir*'. He cites interesting data about the peoples of the Northeast. "The main part of the population consists of Koryak, contiguous with Kamchatka, and the Chukchi on the Chukchi Peninsula and to the north of the Anadyr' River," wrote Resin. "Between them (along the Apukinsk and Tumensk shores) live people related by language to both the former and the latter, which probably descended from marriages between the Koryak and Chukchi, and are known in the community by the name Chukmari" (Resin 1888:36).

At the end of the 19th century the term "Kerek" appears in documents and literature. N. L. Gondatti, who administered the Anadyr' District and who gathered a small collection of local objects of daily life, hunting, and art, introduced it into scientific circulation. He wrote: "Among the peoples who occupy the Anadyr' District are also the Kerekit people. The language of this people is unintelligible to the Chukchi, the Lamut, and even the Koryak. The Chukchi separate the Kerekit from the Koryak, recognizing them as an entirely separate people" (Gondatti 1897:217).

In 1900–1901 the eminent ethnographer W. G. Bogoras passed through the "land of the Kerek." He noted that the Eskimos played a large role in the origin of the Kerek; however, "in reality they are the most primitive offshoot of the Koryak and Chukchi tribes" (Bogoras 1934:3). Bogoras did not support his conclusion with any documentary materials.

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<sup>1</sup> T. I. Shmalev was occupied from 1753 with various military-administrative duties in the Anadyr and Gizhiga forts, in Okhotsk and Kamchatka.

In 1937 a more detailed investigation of the Kerek was conducted by N. B. Shnakenburg. Based on the collected materials he concluded that “the type of economy, material culture, and language attest that the ‘Kerek’ belong to the coastal Nymylan Koryak. There is no basis for separating the ‘Kerek’ as an independent people” (Shnakenburg 1939:103).

It would seem that the Kerek problem was resolved: the Kerek are one of the Koryak groups, and their language is a dialect of the Koryak language. But Shnakenburg limited his research to the southern group of Kerek, who lived in the territory of the Koryak National District in Anastasiya Bay and on Lake Mimyl’gytgyn, and who were greatly influenced by the Koryak—the Apukini and Alyutori, as well as the Chukchi. At the same time, the somewhat isolated Meinypil’gin group that better preserved features of spiritual and material culture—more precisely, the Navarin group of the Kerek—remained entirely unexamined by him.

Since 1957 P. Ya. Skorik has been occupied with the investigation of the Kerek language. On the basis of folklore records and the study of phonetics, morphology, and syntax of the language, he concluded that the Kerek language is an independent language, in which he notes significant influence of the Chukchi and Koryak languages and reveals elements of the Eskimo language (Skorik 1958b, 1959, 1968).

Since the beginning of 1970 the author of this monograph has conducted a systematic investigation of the Kerek. The author was able to visit the Meinypil’gin and Khatyrka Kerek several times, to go the difficult route along the coast from the Anadyr’ Estuary to Dezhneva Bay, and to collect a large amount of factual material. Folklore texts, stories about their lives, and recollections were recorded, and some information from the Chukchi and Koryak was obtained. Archival and literary sources were found in Moscow and Leningrad that contain information about the Kerek and the places where they lived; collections of the Leningrad Division of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR were studied, among which were some from the Kerek, passed along by N. L. Gondatti.

At present, restoration of the ethnic history of the Kerek is very difficult. The chief difficulty consists of the fact that almost no Kerek remain who know the native language, old customs, traditions, hunting and gathering, and occupations. The Kerek have adopted Chukchi culture, and from the beginning of the kolkhoz era changed to new collective forms of work activities. In this connection, information on the spiritual and material culture of the Kerek is far from complete since much has already been forgotten. Nevertheless, what we were successful in collecting, in our view, is of great scientific interest for researchers and provides the possibility of drawing certain conclusions.



## ETHNONYM, SETTLEMENT, AND NUMBER

In the earliest historical documents the Kerek were called Koryak, and only at the end of the 19th century appear the names “Chukhmari,” and then “Kereki.” The latter lastingly entered the ethnographic and historical literature.

The name “Chukhmari” originates from the name, widespread in Kamchatka, of the Chukchi “Chukhmar” (Bogoras 1934:3). This disdainful nickname was given to the Chukchi by the Kamchadal, and quite rightly did not become widespread in the scientific literature.

The name “Kerek” was introduced into the literature by the head of the Anadyr’ District, N. L. Gondatti. This term he borrowed from the Chukchi, who even now call the Kereki “Kerekit” (singular, Kerek), in distinction from the Koryak, whom they call “Tannyt” or “Lygetannyt,” and the Alyutori—“El’utel’yt.” The origin of the term “Kerekit” and its meaning meanwhile is difficult to explain, but “it hardly has anything to do with the word ‘Koryak,’ created by the Cossacks from the word “korak,” which in the southeastern Koryak dialect means “being with deer” (Bogoras 1934:8).

The Kerek themselves prefer the name “Ankalakku”—“Coastal,” but they also use the name “Karakykku” from the Chukchi “Kerekit.”

Modern Kerek, based on language and origin, are separated into two groups: the Navarin (we adopted this name) and the Khatyrsk. The Kerek call the first “Yiulallakku” (“Upper”), the second—“Nutyllakku” (“Lower”). These two groups of Kerek also have their own dialects: Meinypil’ginsk, as P. Ya. Skorik calls it, and Khatyrsk (Skorik 1968:333).

Regarding the number of Kerek, all the available information cannot be considered accurate; even the data of N. B. Shnakenburg does not provide a general idea of settlement of the Kerek.

The first information of the 18th century states, “in Khatyrka is a multitude of non-paying Koryak who live in earthen yurts in three *zhilo*, the fourth at a distance from Khatyrka at the mouth of the Anadyr” (Kosven 1962:286). It can be assumed that under the understanding of “zhilo” in the notes of the Russian explorers was meant a certain group of Kerek or, more precisely, a Kerek clan. This information was received by the Russians from the closest neighbors of the Kerek—the Chukchi and Koryak, who usually named a specific group by the settlement where the inhabitants were located. The fourth *zhilo* evidently was the Navarin group of Kerek, who had settlements in Gavriil Bay, Ushakov Bay, on Cape Otvesnyi, at the mouth of the Amamkut River, and in Ugol’naya Bay. The settlements of this group of Kerek were not permanent. In some years the Kerek were concentrated in Gavriil Bay or on Cape Otvesnyi—it all depended on the state of hunting in this or that place. As a rule, in summer the Kerek split up into smaller groups, built summer dwellings, and were occupied with fishing. This was the form of life N. B. Shnakenburg found in the 1930s:

The family of the Kerek Yukavav has been settled in a small house near the mouth of the Vatyna River since fall. At the end of winter they will again go to Lake Mimyl’gytgyn to a second settlement point (occupied only in summer). On the shore of the lake three households (14 people) are settled. The head of one of them, the Chukchi Rul’tynkavav,

was once a reindeer herder. . . . The two other households are Kerek. In fall the inhabitants of the settlement move to Anastasiya Bay and Nataliya Bay, remaining there until the beginning of the next summer. Anastasiya Bay is the third settlement point of the described region (Shnakenburg1939:95).

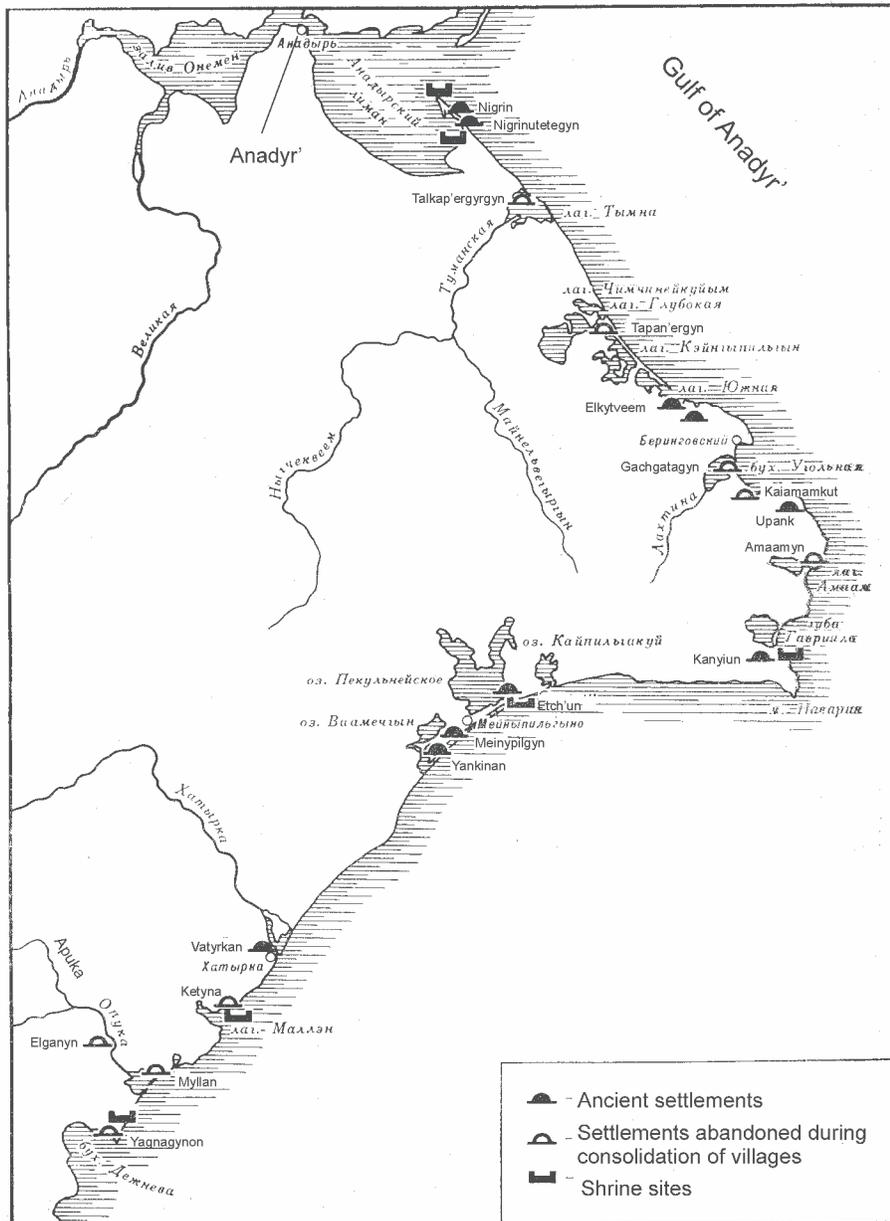


Figure 1. Map of Kerek settlements and shrines.

The Coastal Chukchi and Asiatic Eskimos from Cape Shelagskii along the coast to the east, and then to the south to Kresta Bay, had settled villages (Valkat' an, Ryrkaipii, Vankareman, Nutepylmyn, Toivynynvyn, Nesken, Net'en, Inurmin, Sechanen, Chegtun, Inch' uvin, Uv' elen, Nuukan, Keniskun,

Nun`emun, Yanranai, and others), which existed until the beginning of collectivization and consolidation of Chukchi villages. The Kerek by contrast had no permanent settlements, though there were seasonal living places in summer and winter. This possibly explains the imprecision in the information about Kerek settlements. Thus, the census of 1897 gives five settlements in the territory of Kerek occupation; W. G. Bogoras (1901)—twelve; the polar census (1926–1927)—ten; N. B. Shnakenburg (1937)—eight settlements.

As a result of field investigations, reports of informants (Kerek and Chukchi), and the study of historical documents, the following early and later Kerek locations of settlements have been revealed:

1. Nigrin—this settlement was located at the entrance to the Anadyr' Estuary on Cape Geka. It was comprised of high hill-like knolls with a depression in the center. A large concentration of pithouses was located 1 to 2 km from the end of Cape Geka.

In connection with this settlement two questions are of interest: whom did Semen Ivanovich Dezhnev encounter at the mouth of the Anadyr' Estuary, and where did he hunt for walruses?

The historical literature dedicated to the voyage of Semen Ivanovich Dezhnev indicates in some cases that Semen Dezhnev procured walrus ivory and met with the "Koryak" at Russkaya Koshka (Vdovin 1960:31); other literature indicates this meeting took place on Zemlya Geka (Vdovin 1965:107). But all these assertions are not corroborated by the factual data, and the question about where he obtained the walruses, where the explorer met the "Koryak people," and with whom he met specifically remains unresolved.

It is known that in 1649, after Semen Dezhnev established a wintering place on the upper reaches of the Anadyr' River just above the modern village of Markovo, he carried out several hunting expeditions for walrus ivory at the mouth of the Anadyr' River.

And the past year of 1652 we went onto a spit in a campaign against the Koryak peoples, who live not far from this spit, and they arrive to us on the spit to secretly kill and hunt the animal of the sea the walrus for food. And we—I, Semeika, and comrades—went to them and arrived at their 14 yurts in a strong little fort, and God helped us, and we routed all these people and all of their wives and children we caught. And they themselves left, and the wives and children were led off by the best men; because they are many people, their yurts are large: in each yurt live ten families ("Podlinnye dokumenty. . ." 1964:139).

Zemlya Geka (Nigrin) and Russkaya Koshka (Chegroinyyn) are two pebbly spits, located at the entrance to the Anadyr' Estuary. According to information from the Chukchi, who often visited Russkaya Koshka, there are no traces of early permanent settlements on it. And in fact, the spit is not favorable for human settlement. It is low and narrow, exposed to constant natural changes, and in strong storms waves roll across it. At the same time, the Russkaya Koshka Spit was a favorable place for a walrus haulout, just as the Meechkyn Spit at Kresta Bay is now.

On Zemlya Geka we found clusters of ancient pithouses, which are encountered on the whole extent of the spit. Chukchi informants indicate that on Cape Aivankytryn (which runs south from Cape Geka into the depths of the estuary as a long narrow wedge) walruses often lay, and it was also possibly

a haulout in antiquity. Based on its natural location, Cape Aivankytryn, which in some years became an island, was very favorable for a walrus haulout.

Semen Dezhnev's notes indicate that "they [the Koryak] live not far from this bar." Consequently, there was no settlement where the Cossacks gathered ivory and hunted walruses. Russkaya Koshka could have been such a place. However, in these same notes it says that "they arrive to us on the spit to secretly kill and hunt the animal of the sea, the walrus, for food." The question involuntarily arises: why did the residents of Zemlya Geka have to "secretly" hunt walruses on Russkaya Koshka if there was a walrus haulout near their settlement where they could prepare sufficient supplies for themselves for winter? This can be explained by the fact that there was a settlement near the walrus haulout on Zemlya Geka and that with certain weather conditions the walruses possibly could not approach the haulout. The reasons for this could be wind that blew from the settlement to the haulout and carried the smell of the dwellings and smoke, noise, strong surf, and so on. Under these conditions the residents of Zemlya Geka killed walruses on Russkaya Koshka.

From the notes it follows that the explorers did not immediately encounter the natives of Chukotka, but found them later and immediately took measures against the natives' encroachment onto "their" hunting grounds. It is quite reasonable that the residents of Zemlya Geka did not hunt walruses on Russkaya Koshka every year but went there only in those cases when there were no walruses on Zemlya Geka.

The route of the explorers from the mouth of the Anadyr' River to Russkaya Koshka lay along the northeastern shore of the estuary where the primary channel of the river passes. It is not possible that the channel changed since the time of Semen Dezhnev, since the whole southwestern part of the estuary, the so-called Gniloi Ugol, is very shallow and there are no traces on the hydrographic maps, that is, deepening of an old channel. The established route along the channel of the estuary went first to Russkaya Koshka, and from there to Zemlya Geka.

Proceeding from this, it can be concluded that S. I. Dezhnev obtained walruses on Russkaya Koshka and was met by natives of Chukotka on Zemlya Geka.

Who were these natives?

As was noted above, over the whole extent of the Zemlya Geka spit are traces of ancient pithouses. The dwellings are located in groups of five to eight or more. Some of them stood in a row, others in a semicircle in the form of a horseshoe. In some groups of dwellings the larger pithouses were found in the center and were joined by passages to small pithouses. Most of the dwellings are oval, almost round in form, but square ones are also found. They all had exits to the southwest. In many pithouses there are small offshoots by the entrances and walls. Apparently, these were storerooms for supplies of food and various household objects.

The layout and system of disposition of the pithouses in Zemlya Geka are quite diverse and are different from the system of ancient settlements of the Asiatic Eskimos, Coastal Chukchi, and Koryak.

A typical feature of the ancient settlements of the Asiatic Eskimos and Coastal Chukchi is the remains of whale jaws jutting up—which served as supports for umiaks and the storage of summer property—as well as large cache pits (*uverat*) with an entryway and a top of whale scapula, and an abundance of whale and walrus bones. The absence of whale bones in the construction of dwellings on Zemlya Geka can possibly be explained by the specifics of the economy of its inhabitants. Evidently, whale hunting by

the residents of Zemlya Geka was not developed, and the primary products were chiefly walruses, seals, and fish. Driftwood, which was on the spit in abundance, and sod served as structural material.

Distinctive also is the construction of the dwellings on Zemlya Geka, which is different from the Chukchi pithouses (*klegran, valkyran*), the Eskimo *nynlyu*, and the Koryak with a funnel exit at the top. The dwellings on Zemlya Geka had a straight entryway with a small slope downward, which attest to the layout of the pithouse and a broad entry that permits a person to pass through freely. There evidently was not a funnel exit on top since an insignificant quantity of wood material in the form of rotting beams was found during a test excavation. Large pithouses with branches and passages to small ones were typical for the ancient dwellings of the Kerek of the *kuimaiana* type (see the section “Settlements and Dwellings”).

It can be concluded that in Zemlya Geka lived representatives of the Kerek people, whom Semen Dezhnev encountered in his time.

A. V. Kutynkeu, a native of Zemlya Geka, explained that the people who lived in the ancient dwellings were descriptively called *nuteskychyku val'yt*—“those who are in the ground.” Modern residents of Zemlya Geka have not heard the name “Kerekit.” The Chukchi informants A. V. Kutynkeu and M. Geutval' state that a certain Nigrin lived here, the head of a community of ancient inhabitants, whose name was given to the spit.

After Semen Dezhnev's visits, the inhabitants of Zemlya Geka left their place and went somewhat farther south. For a long time the spit was uninhabited, and only in the 19th century did the Enmelen Coastal Chukchi move here and found the small settlement of Nigrinutetegyn.

2. Nigrinutetegyn—the site is located at the base of the Zemlya Geka spit, 10 km from the settlement of Nigrin. A multitude of mounded knolls abundantly overgrown with grass was preserved at the ancient site. It was abandoned by the ancient inhabitants simultaneously with the residents of the site of Nigrin. The Chukchi left this place in the 1960s with the consolidation of the kolkhozes and moved to the residence in Al'katvaam village.

3. Talkap`ergygyn—located on the left bank of the mouth of the Tymna Lagoon, in Russian, Tumanskaya. A. A. Resin in 1885 met the native inhabitants of Tumanskaya, calling them “Chukmari.” The ancient native population of Tumanskaya evidently became partially extinct at the end of the 19th or beginning of the 20th century and was partially assimilated by the Chukchi. One Chukchi, a native of Tumanskaya, born in 1936, had the name Kerek. As he explained it himself, this name was given to him in memory of the Kerek who lived at Tumanskaya and who killed his grandfather. At this site traces were noted of ancient dwellings, part of them covered by later ones. The Telkepyl'yt Chukchi left this place in the 1960s.

4. Tapan`ergyn—the site is located on a sandy island opposite the lagoon mouth. This settlement was evidently temporary since traces of long-term structures were not found. Based on the reports of Chukchi informants, there are traces of ancient pithouses on Tapan`ergyn Spit itself, 5 km south of the mouth.

5. Elkytveem (modern Al'katvaam)—the village was located on the left bank of the mouth of the river of the same name on a high rocky knoll. Traces of structures were noted. The native population abandoned it at the end of the 19th century, after this the place was settled by the Tel'kep Chukchi, part of whom changed from reindeer herding to fishing and sea mammal hunting.

6. Cape Gintera—this was possibly a seasonal winter settlement. Traces of dwellings were noted on the right bank of the lagoon mouth on the slope of the cape.

7. Gachgatagyn (modern Ugol'naya Bay)—the settlement was located on the right bank of the channel of Lakhtina Lagoon not far from the mouth. Traces of pithouses were noted, covered by modern fishing structures. In 1901 the settlement was visited by W. G. Bogoras, who noted one semi-subterranean yurt and twenty-five Kerek. The 1926–1927 census counts two households and seven people (*Itogi perepisi. . .*, 1929:2, Table 1). The settlement was abandoned by the Kerek in the 1940s.

A second early settlement was located 5 km from the first along the gravel spit on the left bank of the channel. It has been destroyed.

8. Kaiamamkut—the site is located 10–12 km from Gachgatagyn toward Cape Otvesnyi at the mouth of the river. The 1926–1927 census counts two households and seven people (*Itogi perepisi. . .*, 1929:2, Table 1). It was abandoned by the Kerek in the 1940s.

9. Mainamamkut—it was located in Ugol'naya Bay near the Kaiamamkut settlement. The 1926–1927 census noted one household and four persons. It was abandoned in the 1940s.

10. Upank or Upankinmyn—it was located on the right bank of the channel that joins Zabytaya Lagoon to the sea. Traces of ancient dwellings and later pithouses at the foot of the cape were noted. The 1926–1927 census counted three households and ten people here. It was abandoned in the 1930s.

A second, older settlement was located on a small hill one km from the first. On the top was a large round pithouse and nearby, a large number of smaller pithouses. By all signs it resembles a defensive fortification typical for Northeast Paleoasiatics. On one side is a sheer smooth cliff, on the other a relatively steep slope, which in winter, splashed over with water, became an unapproachable obstacle. From the top of the hill the whole locality could be easily viewed (Leont'ev 1976:90–93).

Cape Upank was a good place for settlement in winter and spring. Nearby were bountiful bird rookeries and in winter good hunting for seals and bearded seals. In winter the edge of the ice-free shore stretches to Cape Barykova and the constant tidal fluctuation forms cracks and ice-free water, in which pinnipeds stay. According to the stories of the Kerek who lived in Ugol'naya Bay, all the Kerek from the nearest settlements gathered here in winter.

11. Amaamyn—traces were noted of ancient and more recent pithouses on the gravel spit of the left bank of a channel connecting Amaam Lagoon with Ushakova Bay. A second, older settlement is located on the left bank on top of a hill, which was exposed as a result of the collapse of rocks. An exposure has been crumbling and the remains of hearths, bones, and beams could be seen. The 1926–1927 census noted two households and nine people here.

12. Kaniun—the first larger settlement is located on the left bank of the channel connecting Orianda Lagoon with the sea, opposite the mouth on a gravel spit richly covered with grass. In an exposure could be seen the remains of hearths and bones. Because the mouth of the lagoon annually shifts to the north, the settlement is severely eroded by spring and fall waters.

A second settlement is located on the right bank of the channel, south of the first, at the base of the spit. The ancient dwellings are covered by later ones. W. G. Bogoras evidently visited this settlement

in 1901 also and noted one semisubterranean yurt and twenty-five Kerek. The settlement was abandoned at the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s.

13. Etch'un—it is located on knolls on an isthmus between Lake Pekul'neiskoe and the sea, 20 km from Meinypil'gyno. Part of the dwellings stood on a small knoll, the other part by the slope on the shore of the sea. A group of three or four pithouses had connecting corridors. Single broken whale jaws could be seen (which had cult significance as guardians of the settlement). Sacrificial places of walrus skulls were preserved near them. The site is ancient. It is not mentioned in the historical literature or archival documents.

14. Meinypilgyn (modern Meinypil'gyno)—the ancient settlement was located on the left bank of the channel 8 km south of the mouth. It is on a high hill with a depression in the middle.

W. G. Bogoras did not note this settlement; the 1926–1927 census counted two households here and two Kerek in a settlement formed by a fish camp, and seven households and thirty-four Kerek nomads, who belonged to the Kerekremkinskii Village Council. The Kerek were not occupied with reindeer herding, and evidently in this case a group of Kerek was considered; they lived in the area of Kuet, at the beginning of the Meinypil'ginskaya channel, which flows from Lake Vaamochka, at the mouth of the Vaamochka, and at the beginning of the mouth that flows from Lake Pekul'neiskoe. In summer some families of this group lived at the mouth of Lake Keipilgyn, north of the Meinypil'gyno settlement. N. B. Shnakenburg in 1937 counted in Meinypil'gyno twelve households and thirty-two Kerek.

15. Yankinan—it is located on large knolls at the south base of the Meinypil'gyino Spit. The settlement is old and partially fallen down.

16. Vatyrgan (modern Khatyrka)—the first settlement, more ancient, was located on the right bank at the mouth of the Khatyrka River. Part of the pithouses stood on the coastal spit, the other part, on the slope and top of Kamakynnot Hill, on which there was an ancient shrine with an abundance of walrus skulls. Unfortunately, the shrine was much damaged and the skulls spread all over the slope.

The second settlement was located one km from the mouth and is covered by modern structures.

Kerek and Chukchi informants related that formerly the spit jutted out more to the north and on it were pithouses, but the mouth, shifting to the south, eroded the spit and partially destroyed the ancient settlement. Traces of pithouses at the mouth, by the foot of Kamakynnot Hill, are only part of the ancient settlement.

W. G. Bogoras visited Khatyrka in 1901 and noted three pithouses and fifty Kerek.

17. Ennuun (in Russian, Annushka) is an ancient settlement. The pithouses were covered by dwellings of the Chukchi, who changed to a settled way of life at the end of the 19th and—beginning of the 20th century. W. G. Bogoras notes one yurt and twenty-five people.

18. Myllan (Cape Rubikon)—the settlement was located at the mouth of Mallen Lagoon. W. G. Bogoras notes one yurt and twenty-five people. The 1926–1927 census counted two households and fifteen people; N. B. Shnakenburg in 1937 noted five households and twenty-six people. The settlement was abandoned in the 1950s.

19. Kitana (Khatyn')—the settlement was located on the base of the spit in the left corner of Opu-ka Lagoon. There are pithouses at Cape Yllavinan (Cape Opuka); one of them was preserved with only

the top a little sunken. Pithouses are also found on the right bank at the mouth. The 1926–1927 census noted three households and twelve people. The settlement was abandoned by the Kerek in the 1950s.

20. Elganyn—a seasonal summer camp of the former residents of Opuka. It is located 28 km from the coast on the right bank of the Opuka River not far from Lake Kyplen.

21. Yagnagynon (Cape Lagunnyi)—ancient and more recent settlements. Besides depressions at the place of the ancient pithouses, the frames of more recent pithouses made from driftwood were preserved. One of the frames was preserved almost completely. W. G. Bogoras noted one yurt and twenty-five people here in 1901. The settlement was abandoned in the 1940s.

We were unsuccessful in examining farther the area of the coast to Cape Olyutorskii; therefore, we only name the Kerek settlements and cite their numbers based on W. I. Jochelson's and N. B. Shnakenburg's research.

21. Ukilan (Dezhneva Bay). W. G. Bogoras notes one yurt and twenty-five people.

22. Il'pi—according to W. G. Bogoras one yurt and twenty-five people; according to the 1926–1927 census one household and five people; according to N. B. Shnakenburg four households and twenty people.

23. Mihil'gytgyn—according to N. B. Shnakenburg two households and twelve people.

24. Mechivnyn—according to W. G. Bogoras one yurt and twenty-five people; according to N. B. Shnakenburg two households and fourteen people.

25. Tapan—according to W. G. Bogoras one yurt and twenty-five people.

26. Vaimantagin—according to W. G. Bogoras one yurt and twenty-five people.

27. Tapatagin—according to W. G. Bogoras one yurt and twenty-five people; according to N. B. Shnakenburg two households and fourteen people.

28. Kavasyat—according to W. G. Bogoras twenty-one people, according to N. B. Shnakenburg three households and eighteen people.

In the past, several settlements were composed of clan associations. For example, the Navarin Kerek were all connected by close relationship, had their territory, and their own dialect. The same can also be said about the Khatyrka or, more precisely, Opuka Kerek. W. G. Bogoras, following the sled route and thus straightening the road in 1901, evidently did not visit all the Kerek settlements. He does not note the settlements of Amamkut, Upankt, Amaamyn, and others, though at that time they must have been in existence, which is attested by traces of dwellings and information from informants. W. I. Jochelson, based on data from the 1897 census, notes three clans of Coastal Koryak in the northeast part of the Gizhiga District, including a part of the Kerek. These clans are as follows: Khatyrka, Kavachin, and Pokhachin (Jochelson 1905). He does not mention at all the Navarin clan, and possibly combines it with the Khatyrka clan, though I. Ankudinov in his note from 1777 wrote that “there on the Khatyrka [are] three dwellings of them; only yet along the extent of land to the mouth of the Anadyr' River there is one dwelling” (Kosven 1962:289). It is possible these were Navarin Kerek.

Based on our data about the places of habitation and kin connections, it is possible to reconstruct the following Kerek clan associations, connected by territory and common origin.

1. The Tuman Kerek occupied the territory on the coast of the Bering Sea from the Anadyr' Estuary to Cape Barykova and lived in the settlements of Nigrin, Nigrinutetegyn, Talkap`ergyrgyn, Tapan`ergyn, and Elkytveem. By the 20th century they had been assimilated by the Chukchi.

2. The Navarin Kerek occupied the territory from Cape Barykova to Cape Navarin and lived in the settlements of Gachgatagyn, Kaiamamkut, Mainamamkut, Upank, Amaamyn, and Kanyiun. By the beginning of the 20th century this group was severely reduced in number, but maintains itself up to the present and attains the name Meinypil'gino Kerek. The descendants of the Navarin Kerek at present live in Meinypil'gyno village.

The coast between Cape Navarin and the mouth of the Khatyrka River was not populated at the end of the 18th through the first half of the 19th century, though there are traces of settlements, but they apparently belong to an earlier period. This can be explained by the fact that, with the beginning of intertribal warfare between the Chukchi and the Koryak, the Kerek abandoned this level, open locality and began to search for a refuge in the rocky areas of the coast with difficult access (see Texts 3 and 4).

3. The Khatyrka, or more precisely Opuka,<sup>2</sup> Kerek occupied the territory from the mouth of the Khatyrka River to Nataliya Bay and made up the settlements of Vatyrgan, Myllan, Kitana, Yagnagynon, Il'pi, and Mimiilgytgyn. This group of Kerek was partially preserved, but with the organization of the kolkhoz was moved in with the Chukchi who were settled on the coast, and from Opuka gradually moved to Khatyrka village. Now it is almost completely assimilated by the Chukchi.

4. The Kovachin Kerek occupied the coast from Nataliya Bay to Cape Olyutorskii. Evidently, all the remaining Kerek settlements belonged to this group.

The Pokhachin clan, mentioned by W. I. Jochelson, apparently represented a mixed group of Kerek and Apukin Koryak who lived on the Apuka and Pakhacha Rivers.

Data on the number of Kerek is also extremely contradictory and imprecise.

Thus, W. G. Bogoras determined the number of Kerek as 644 people in 1901; W. I. Jochelson, using materials of the 1897 census, the data of W. G. Bogoras, and his own, numbers them at 600 people (Jochelson 1905). B. O. Dolgikh, selecting from the 1897 census the Kerek of the Kovachin and Khatyrka clans and the Anadyr', establishes the number of Kerek at 289, and the 1926–1927 census—315 people (Dolgikh 1960:553). N. B. Shnakenburg gives more precise data. Enumerating all the existing settlements of the Kerek in 1937, he determines their total number at 152 people (Shnakenburg 1939:98).

By 1959 the Kerek lived in two villages of the Chukotka Autonomous Region: Meinypil'gyno and Khatyrka. The 1959 census revealed in the Beringian region 64 Koryak. The field investigations determined that the true Koryak did not live in this region. At the end of 1969, for example, in Meinypil'gyno we registered a total of one Koryak from the Chavchoven clan from Penzhino. Consequently, those, of whom the census took account, were not Koryak, but Kerek.

At the beginning of 1970 eight families lived in Meinypil'gyno, in which one of the oldest members (the husband or wife) was a Kerek, and there were no purely Kerek families except the family of M. I. Etyнкеu. Out of a total of thirty-one people only fifteen considered themselves Kerek, and only eleven

<sup>2</sup> The Khatyrka Kerek and Chukchi do not call the Opuka (Opukha) River by that name and say that the true Apuka (Epuk) is located much farther; that is, they have in mind the Apuka River, which falls into the sea south of Cape Olyutorskii. The Khatyrka people call the Opuka "Lagoon Kitana," which in Kerek means "cold" or "freezing," and the river that flows into the lagoon, "Myllyveiem."

of them possessed their native language; the rest used the Chukchi and Russian languages. In Khatyrka eleven Kerek were counted. There is no information about the Kerek of the Kovachin group.

In the 1975 field season we found in Meinypil'gyno only five Kerek who possessed their native language, and in Khatyrka—nine people. From 1970 to 1976 such valuable Kerek informants as Kezhgynto, Omrytvaal' (female), Kal'vichanau (female), M. I. Etyнкеu, and K. A. Turyl'kot died of natural causes at advanced ages. The fundamental source of information disappeared.

What are the reasons that led to the disappearance of this ethnic group?

“Formerly,” wrote N. L. Gondatti, “this tribe was numerous, but due to frequent famine some of the villages completely died out” (Gondatti 1897:178). Attesting to the fact that in the past the Kerek were numerous are legends and traces of ancient settlements on the coast from the Anadyr' Estuary to Cape Olyutorskii. The Kerek experienced severe trials in the 18th century when fierce wars broke out between the Chukchi and Koryak for possession of pasture land and reindeer herds. The Kerek, incapable of resistance, were between two fires. Both the Chukchi and the Koryak attacked, burned their dwellings, killed the adult males, and took the women and children captive and used them as slaves. To save themselves from the strong and militant Chukchi, the Kerek found refuge in caves in steep cliffs and on islands (see Texts 4 and 5).

With the arrival of the Russians the wars between the Koryak and Chukchi gradually reduced; the Kerek were left in relative peace, but in complete economic dependence on the Chukchi (see Text 6), who used them as herders.

In the 19th century numerous ships, at first American whalers and then Japanese fishermen, appeared in the waters of the Bering Sea. The marine fauna suffered great loss. The whales became fearful and the walrus haulouts in Zemlya Geka, at Capes Barykova, Otvesnyi, Navarin, and in other places disappeared. The Kerek, with their primitive technique of sea mammal hunting, were not capable of taking large animals. The fish of the sea were also substantially reduced because of fish poaching by the Japanese (whom the Kerek called “v?aiplakku”—“those wearing shoes made of grass”). All this led to systematic famines and spiritual decline.

But the most terrible losses inflicted upon the Kerek were caused by the epidemics at the end of the 18th through the beginning of the 19th century when whole settlements died out. This happened at Tumanskaya and Opuka. At Opuka we found a whole preserved pithouse of large size in the summer of 1975. Informants Tureret (Kerek) and Etakvyrgyn (Chukchi) state that a whole Kerek family died here at the end of the 19th century. The settlement was hurriedly abandoned and the pithouse left intact. When we tried to open it, it turned out that inside everything had become a block of ice.

Natural isolation, intertribal warfare, a sharp reduction in marine fauna, the smallpox epidemic, and other severe illnesses, which in large group dwellings were fatal, were the main reasons for the extinction of the Kerek. Because of the appearance of Soviet authority, the physical and spiritual forces of the Kerek people had become severely strained, but the ethnicity was preserved and entered an entirely new stage of development, though since it was an extremely small number it was quickly assimilated by the more numerous Chukchi.

## PRIMARY KINDS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

N. B. Shnakenburg in his article writes,

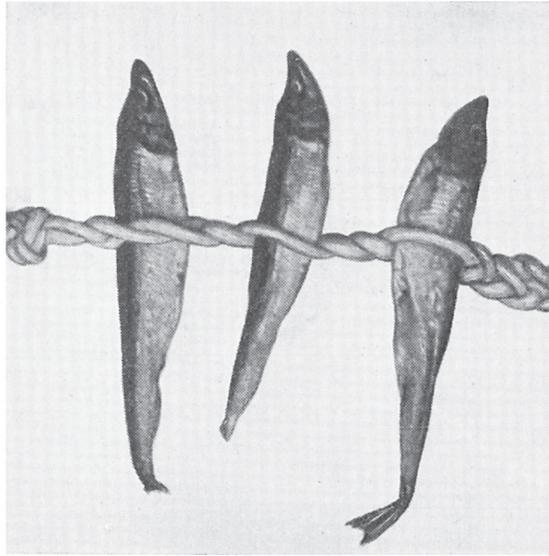
In relation to the economy, the Kerek of Anastasiya Bay join the type of economy characteristic for the settled coastal population of the eastern shore of Kamchatka, the so-called Nymylany-Alyutor people, the main feature of which, in comparison with the remaining subdivisions of the Nymylany, is fishing and small-herd reindeer breeding, with sea mammal and fur-bearing animal hunting as subordinate occupations (Shnakenburg 1939:101).

Among the Navarin and Khatyrka Kerek, at the beginning of the 20th century, there was also a complex but somewhat different type of economy that was led by fishing and catching birds, hunting sea mammals and fur-bearing animals (as necessary for trade), with a smaller place occupied by hunting wild deer, mountain sheep, and small rodents (ground squirrels and marmots). Collecting on the sea shore and in the tundra, considered exclusively the work of women, was very important in the lives of the Kerek. Small-herd reindeer herding, as among the Koryak (Alyutor and Apuka), was not pursued by these groups of Kerek. The Chukchi even have a legend about how the Kerek were left without reindeer (see Text 11).

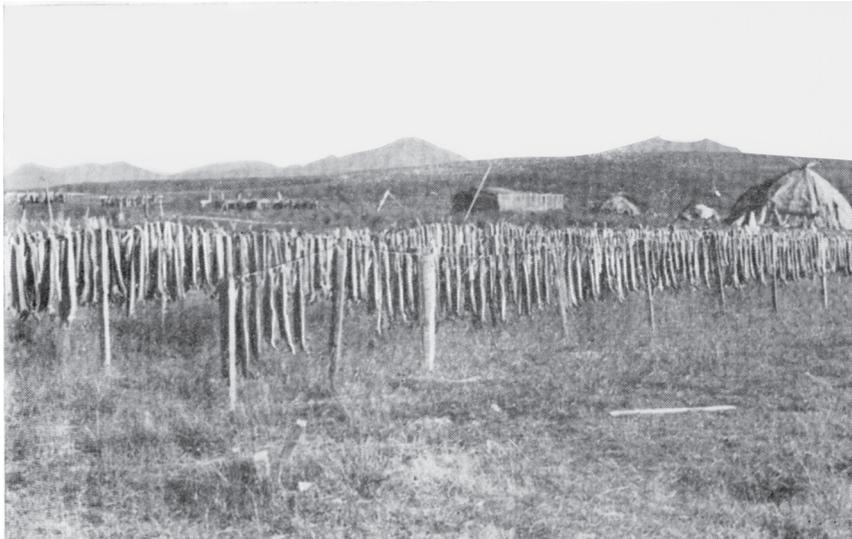
The economic cycle among the Kerek was divided into two primary seasons: summer and winter. The summer began in June and lasted until the beginning of frosts in September; winter was from September to June. Connected with these cycles were movements from winter to summer dwellings, then in fall back to newly constructed winter dwellings (*valkhaakku*). In fall the Kerek hunted seals and walruses; in winter they caught fur-bearing animals; in spring they dug ground squirrels from burrows and stored up eggs and caught birds in rookeries; in summer they caught and stored fish. The Kerek hunted seals at their rookeries and collected sea weed on the shore and plants in the tundra; in spring they hunted walruses and bearded seals that lay on the ice, as well as spotted seals (*kalil'an*) and the like.

### Fishing

The Bering Sea coast from the Anadyr' Estuary to Cape Olyutorskii and the lagoons and rivers abounded with fish. There were especially many fish during salmon spawning runs: sockeye, humpback, king, and chum salmon and Arctic char; these fish were the primary object of pursuit of the Kerek, especially the sockeye and chum salmon. The Kerek caught other kinds of fish in the lagoons and rivers: navaga, smelt, and two kinds of whitefish—capelin (*ytyi*) on the sea shore and halibut and flounder in the sea. But these kinds of fish were not processed for the future since they did not run in masses; they were used immediately as food, and only the capelin were dried in the sun on special racks or lightly smoked in the dwellings and laced on cords made of grass (*gitgin*). They sometimes prepared also European smelt by the same method.



*Figure 2. The method of drying small fish.*



*Figure 3. Preparing yukola. A fish camp on the Vaamochka River.*

They caught salmon at the mouths of rivers or went a little farther upriver during the runs. At that time there was massive preparation of sockeye and chum for the future; they were dried on racks or placed in special pits measuring 1 x 1.5 m and 1 m deep. In them the fish soured, and in winter it was used as food and feed for dogs. The remains of such pits were preserved up to present in old summer camps of the Kerek.

The basic tool for catching fish among the Kerek was nets; in the past they wove them from whale sinew and, when possible, also from reindeer sinew. Nets of nettle thread, made by the Coastal Koryak, and imported netting fell to the Kerek extremely rarely through middlemen and had great value. Nets were short and were set from the bank with the aid of a special pole. This was the most effective means of catching fish.

But by the end of the 19th century, when whaling in the villages had been sharply declined, self-made nets disappeared, and acquiring them from the Koryak and Chukchi and from various merchants was very difficult for the Kerek, since by this time they were so poor that surpluses of their own products (oil, thongs, hides, yukola, and so on) for exchange were almost nonexistent and barely covered their own needs.

In this context, the Kerek changed to more primitive methods of catching fish. “And in summer fish were caught on a hook (*atchina*). By such methods they were stored up. At that time there were no nets and there was nothing to make them from,” relates Kerek informant M. I. Etynkeu. “But then new authorities arrived. Material appeared for nets; we began to make nets. We began to catch fish in sufficient numbers.” As M. I. Etynkeu and another Kerek informant Kezhgynto attest, they took fish mainly with a hook (*atchina*) on a long pole. This hook was similar in its construction to that of the Koryak and even the name is the same (*achchiai* or *kyekyi*). A hook on a short line was fastened to the end of the pole (see Antropova 1971:30–31). But by this method it was impossible to catch enough fish for the whole family for a long winter. And only with the arrival of Soviet authorities did nets of imported manufacture become accessible to the Kerek. N. B. Shnakenburg cites observations in the village of Malan (Cape Rubikon) in winter 1935: “to 5 Koryak (Kerek.—*V. L.*) households fell: set nets—10, wooden boats—2, baidars of bearded seal skin—3, Winchesters—5, traps—36, sled dogs—22. This inventory was distributed more or less evenly to the households. Moreover, all 10 nets are collective property” (Shnakenburg 1939:99).

The Kerek also had other methods of catching fish. In winter they set *mordy* [literally, muzzles.—*Trans.*], partitioning off small rivers. On the Myllyveiem River 28 km from the mouth at Lake Kyplen, located at the foot of the mountain by the same name, we discovered in summer 1975 an artificial dam on a channel connecting the comparatively wide and deep spawning lake with the river.<sup>3</sup> The dam was built of large angular stones at a shallows—its width from 40 to 60 cm, length about 10 m. Close to the right bank the dam was somewhat lower. In this place sockeye, going to the spawning lake, had to jump over an artificial barrier. The Kerek stunned them there with a special club (*kuplunan*). The Chukchi toponym Kyplen, which means “to strike” or “beat” appeared as a result of this practice. At present the Kerek and Chukchi do not take sockeye at this place, but rather fish by setting nets in the river. In the past they stunned fish by this method in the shallows and in other rivers.

Just like other peoples of Kamchatka and Chukotka, the Kerek widely used fishing poles to catch fish. The fishing pole was especially good for navaga, smelt, and loach from the beginning of winter.

Fishing was an ancient occupation of the Kerek, but based on the tools and methods, it was more primitive than the Koryak’s techniques and yielded far poorer results. This was due not to ignorance of fishing methods but to the lack of material for making fishing equipment. It is surprising that the Kerek

<sup>3</sup> In this lake, a special kind of sockeye salmon spawns, which are substantially fewer than the present sockeye, and are similar to female humpback salmon. As the Khatyrka Kerek and Chukchi say, this is the only lake where this kind of salmon spawns; in other places, it is not encountered.

terminology for fishing and the related equipment almost all coincides with that of the Koryak and was borrowed from the Chukchi language, though in the past the Chukchi were not good fishermen.

At the beginning of the 20th century Japanese entrepreneurs began to fish in the region of Kamchatka (Antropova 1971: 31–32). They gradually went farther north. In the recollections of the Kerek, the Japanese often appeared in Ugol'naya Bay and in Gavriila Bay at Cape Navarin. With their superior fishing methods they partitioned channels of lagoons, thereby preventing fish from entering the small rivers the Kerek fished. This had a severe effect on the prosperity of the Kerek. With the appearance of the Japanese, the Kerek departed to inaccessible but unfished places and thereby missed the fish runs.

Fishing among the Kerek has been preserved up to the present. Now the Kerek and Chukchi catch fish with set nets 25–30 m long. In winter, they set nets under the ice, after chopping special holes and inserting a set thong in the fall. They prepare yukola for the sovkhos, which supplies the reindeer herders with the fish. Part of the fish are salted. The Kerek are permitted to catch salmon in numbers necessary for food.

## Hunting Birds

The Bering Sea coast is rich in marine wild fowl. There are large bird rookeries on Capes Barykova, Otvesnyi, Sinop, Basova, Gangut, and Navarin; on steep cliffs between Cape Navarin and the mouth of the Pika River; on Capes Khatyrskii, Rubikon, Opukinskii, and the Yandal-Umen Rock; farther south in the bays of Dezhneva, Anastasiya, Nataliya; and as far as Cape Olyutorskii. In lagoons and in river valleys large numbers of eiders and other wild fowl are found. In this connection, catching birds was an important and significant occupation among the Kerek. The first reports of Russian explorers noted that “their livelihood is sea mammals, birds, and fish” (Kosven 1962: 286). Kerek bird-catching was perhaps a more developed form of economic activity than other occupations. There is a substantially richer terminology here and the methods of catching birds are original and well-perfected, some of which we succeeded in reconstructing.

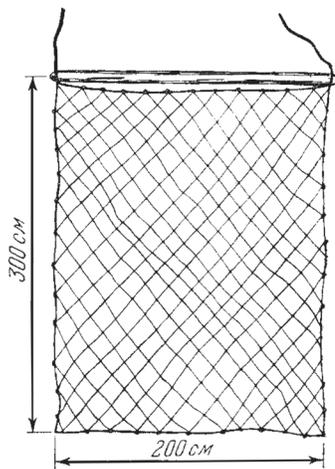


Figure 4. Net (*painintyn*) for catching birds.

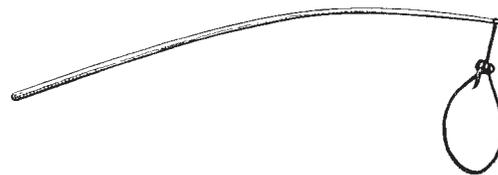


Figure 5. Snare (*ivchukuna*) with loop.

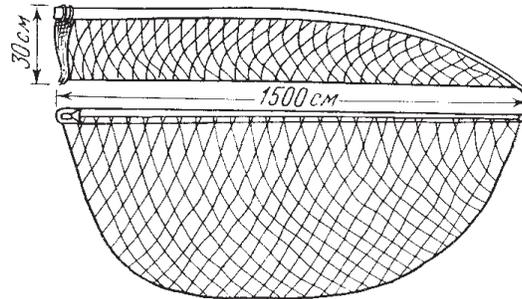


Figure 6. (Unna)—Kerek hand net for catching birds.

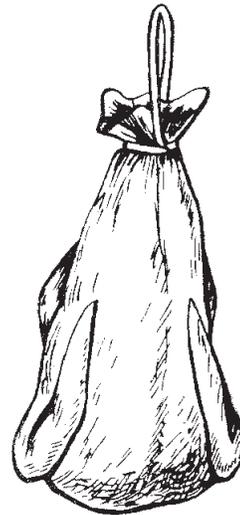


Figure 7. Processed carcass of a guillemot.

The Kerek used all sea birds for food, but the primary object of pursuit was the guillemot—(*lyikhalkhakku*).

Birds were caught in the spring in bird rookeries on steep cliffs. They caught them in the following way. They wove a special net (*painintyn*) from whale sinew up to 3 m long and about 2 m wide with a mesh measuring 6 x 6 cm. On one side the net was attached to a pole, while the lower edge remained free. They tied a strong bearded seal thong to the end of the pole. The Kerek who was hunting the guillemot approached the edge of the steep cliff where, on ledges below, the birds sat on nests, and, rolling the net, threw it down. The net opened in flight; the Kerek waited until the birds were calm, and then began to slowly raise the net upward. The guillemots flew off the nests and fell into the net. Tens of guillemots became entangled in the net at once.

Neither the Chukchi nor the Eskimos caught guillemots by this method. And only S. P. Krasheninnikov notes it among the Itel'men: "They catch them with nets, dropping them on the sitting birds from above or spreading them on the water near the shore, in which their legs become entangled. In the evenings they hunt them with snares attached to long poles, with which, having crept up to them, they take one bird after another: because though they see, they do not fear" (Krasheninnikov 1949:316).

The Kerek possibly also spread a net on the water, and they also had snares called (*ivchukuna*) that corresponded to the descriptions of S. P. Krasheninnikov. With them the Kerek caught primarily cormorants, as a rule, at midnight.<sup>4</sup> On a stout thong they lowered a person from a cliff. He hung there where the cormorants sat and calmly slipped a loop on the long neck of the cormorant, pulled it out and put it in a leather bag, which the helpers raised on a thong.

In 1777, I. Ankudinov found a method of catching birds similar to this among the Kovachin Kerek:

Around the Khatyrskii cape (Ankudinov errs here, calling Cape Olyutorskii Khatyrskii.—*V. L.*) to Tapatoga there are many small bays, in which there are salmon, as well as birds, black cormorants and puffins sufficiently, of which the residents there hunt with nets woven from nettles; first, in the middle of the cliff on the top they tie one end of a stout thong to a stone or a hammered-in wooden stake, and the man ties himself in the middle with the other end and to the woven net that is stretched on a pole no more than two fathoms, and he descends down the cliff on this thong as much as necessary and catches those birds on the egg nests, and those that he catches he binds with a thong; and then another person, one or two, pull the thong back to the top (Kosven 1962:289).

The Kerek had another adaptation for catching birds, the *unna*, which in form was reminiscent of half of a bow with bowstring that had a hand net woven from sinew hung under it. The bolas, widespread among the Coastal Chukchi and Asiatic Eskimos, was also possibly used by the Kerek, but no information has been collected about it.

For bird hunting the Kerek were found to use widely special arrow points—*tomary*. They were very diverse in form, most often resembling a crown.

In distinction from the Eskimos and Aleuts, who lived on islands, the Kerek did not use bird skins for sewing clothing; they only used the bird food. They prepared it in a special way. They did not pluck the guillemot but rather cut the ends of the wings off. Then with the humerus bone of the wing that they pulled from its joint, they took the skin off together with the feathers from the body, and dexterously removed the insides. The meat of the bird, mainly the breast, they cut up and hung over the fire to dry on beams in the pithouse; after cutting off the feet they singed the skin in the fire, brushed away the char to the whiteness, then after tying up the neck, hung the skin on the beams as well. These carcasses, similar to bottles, they filled with egg yolk, then boiled and used in food. They prepared birds in huge numbers, so that the food was sufficient until the beginning of the salmon runs.

<sup>4</sup> We are not able to judge how reliable this is, but the Kerek say that at midnight at the end of May–June, though it is light at night, the cormorants can nevertheless see nothing.

A dainty food among the Kerek was a special sausage (*pavaliaan*). It was prepared in the following way. From the bird (preferably a gull), along with the stomach, they took out the gullet, then inflated and dried it. Later, they filled the bladder with yolk from the eggs of guillemots, gulls, and eiders and boiled it. When possible they made (*pavaliaan*) from the gut of wild reindeer and even brown bear.

Similar methods of catching birds and preparing food from them were typical both for the Navarin and for the Khatyrka Kerek. The latter, besides sea birds, widely hunted the nesting places of eider ducks (*amnaam*), using nets and blunt arrows—*tomary*—to catch them.

Bird-catching was widespread among all the groups of Kerek and made up a large part of their diet, especially after a long, hungry winter. The Eskimos also caught birds and prepared them in food and sewed clothing from them, but their basic tool for catching birds was the bolas (*aplkytakh tak*). The bolas was also borrowed and mastered by the Coastal Chukchi, who adopted its name as well (*eplykytet*). The Eskimos and Chukchi primarily caught the eider duck with this tool, throwing it into a flock flying over a gravel spit in spring and fall. The Eskimos of Ratmanova [Big Diamede] Island in the Bering Strait used special hand nets of baleen on poles, with which they caught sea cocks that flew in close flocks to the nesting grounds. But this tool and method did not have anything in common with the Kerek methods of catching birds.

There is one more document that describes a hunt on the Okhotsk coast by the so-called “foot Tungus.” This name comes from the “List of Rivers and Names of Peoples, on which River those Peoples Live,” compiled by expeditions of Russian service people led by I. Moskvitin in the first half of the 17th century (Stepanov 1965:128–139). The “List” provides information on the development among the “foot Tungus” of fishing, reports that “they travel by dog sled,” and cites data on hunting birds, which attracted the attention of V. N. Skalon. In the “List” there are indications of the “great significance of hunting birds . . . and on the character of the hunt itself during nesting season” (Skalon 1952:113–114). These brief ethnographic determinations (“they travel by dog sled,” “great significance of hunting birds”) brings the “foot Tungus” close to the Northeastern Paleoasiatics, more precisely, the Kerek.

Now the Kerek have almost forgotten the ancient methods of catching birds and do not occupy themselves at all with this business. This kind of hunting is not mentioned by N. B. Shnakenburg, who conducted an investigation of the Kerek at the end of the 1930s. The economics of the Kerek had by this time significantly improved; they had acquired more perfect tools for catching fish, and their food, due to imported products, had changed.

## Maritime Hunting

The methods of hunting sea mammals could not be reconstructed in detail, since by the end of the 19th century this type of hunting had gone into decline, and at present the Kerek do not hunt sea mammals at all, not even seals. The reason for the decline in sea mammal hunting among the Kerek was explained well by head of the Anadyr’ District N. L. Gondatti in his time. He wrote,

The Kerek are poor; they often suffer from insufficient food, especially in recent years, when, due to the activity of American ships that have annually visited the coast in spring over the course of many years and even now do not leave it without attention, whales

and walrus have entirely disappeared; more accurately, they, very frightened, have made themselves entirely inaccessible to the local residents, with their poor baidary and projectile equipment (Gondatti 1897:177).

The reduction in marine fauna and imperfect tools for hunting led to the complete disintegration of sea mammal hunting among the Kerek, which in its turn also affected fishing and other kinds of economic activity. Frequent starvation and epidemics became constants for the Kerek.

On the coast south of the Anadyr' Estuary to Cape Olyutorskii, shrines represented by numerous clusters of decaying walrus skulls are encountered in places of old settlements. At these shrines the skulls of seals, bearded seals, and sea lions can be found, as well as upright or fallen isolated jaws of bowhead and other large whales. Whale ribs and scapulas are found in ancient dwellings, and near settlements whale skulls are encountered as well. All this speaks to the fact that in the past sea mammal hunting occupied a large place in the life of the inhabitants of the coast, the objects of which were walrus, sea lions, bearded seals, seals, and, somewhat less, whales. But the hunting inventory collected at the sacrificial places, in exposures, and in old pithouses consists basically of arrowheads and spears made from walrus ivory or deer antler, and are no better-developed, in comparison with Old Koryak (Vasil'evskii 1971:214, pl. XVI), than the Eskimo-Chukchi toggling harpoon-type equipment. We did not hear from the Kerek about the use of inflated seal floats (*pygpygyt*), which are obligatory with the harpoon method of hunting. Kerek sea mammal hunting had its specific features and differed from that of the Eskimo-Chukchi and the Alyutor.

In N. L. Gondatti's collections, held in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad, there are several examples of Kerek toggling harpoons. But after careful study of these harpoons we concluded that they evidently were borrowed from the Eskimos or Coastal Chukchi. Based on the method of preparation and construction they clearly are not of Kerek production. The system of attachment, knots, loops, and construction of the head and rest do not have analogies with Eskimo-Chukchi harpoon structure, except for the general principle of action and some imitated features. It is also impossible to compare this harpoon with the Alyutor toggling harpoon, which I. S. Vdovin describes (Vdovin 1973:296, Pl. II:5). The latter, though in miniature, is most probably borrowed from whale hunters who pursued whales in the Bering Sea.

One Kerek harpoon device is represented in Gondatti's collections in complete arrangement. The "Kerek *spitsa*," as Gondatti calls the harpoon, has a length of 175 cm. The head and rest were made of walrus tusk, and based on length and form, strongly differ from the Eskimo-Chukchi. A sealskin thong passes along the whole shaft and is tied to it in two places, as among the Chukchi. Lack of wear on the bone and the absence of yellowing, as well as traces of oil on the head, demonstrate that the device was not long in use. The shaft of the harpoon was worked only with a knife; no traces of planing are seen. In distinction from the Chukchi harpoon complex, the head of the harpoon and rest are attached at a slant with the projections to the shaft and bone, whereas the Chukchi and Eskimos insert them like a wedge in a slot in the shaft where they are firmly wound with a flat thong.

The harpoon head (*vamak* in Kerek) was also made of walrus tusk. The yellowing of the ivory indicates it was in long use. Unlike the Chukchi and Eskimo tool, a small iron inset was carelessly and awkwardly fastened by a metal rivet (the Chukchi and Eskimo rivet was made from copper wire, which does not rust in sea water). The harpoon head is fastened to the primary thong by whale sinew. A sealskin

thong is 4 mm thick and 12 mm wide. Twelve cm from the head the foreshaft was fastened to the thong by sinew. The foreshaft has a flat form with a thickening at the base, by which it was inserted into the harpoon head (and then the harpoon head was seated on the foreshaft). The foreshaft was freed from the body of the harpooned animal by means of a strong jerk toward oneself: the harpoon remained in the body, the foreshaft on the line floated to the surface together with the shaft. This method of releasing the harpoon from the shaft was not always effective since the head of the harpoon, together with the shaft and foreshaft, could spring out of the body of the animal, and the animal escaped the hunters with a small wound.

The Chukchi-Eskimo harpoon complex operates somewhat differently. Before throwing, the foreshaft (*aichaipenan*) is set in a slot in the head (*kagyrgyn*), and with force of the hand is set in a vertical position. A moistened thong running from the head plays the role of a springs. On the end of the foreshaft the head (*tukken*) is seated with a thong. The thong, in distinction from the Kerek harpoon, is not joined to the foreshaft but stretches loosely along the shaft and is fastened in the center at a thong intercept by a loose loop. Upon striking the animal at a slight incline of the shaft, the foreshaft springs from the head, is released from the head, which is held in the body of the animal, and together with the shaft, rises without any effort on the part of the harpooner. Just a jerk is needed to pull free the loose loop of the primary thong on the shaft at the intercept. The Chukchi-Eskimo harpoon device is, in our view, more perfect, more productive.

In N. L. Gondatti's collections there is a harpoon shaft with the Chukchi-Eskimo method of attaching the head. It is possible that this shaft, together with the head, was acquired by the Kerek from the Chukchi or Eskimos.

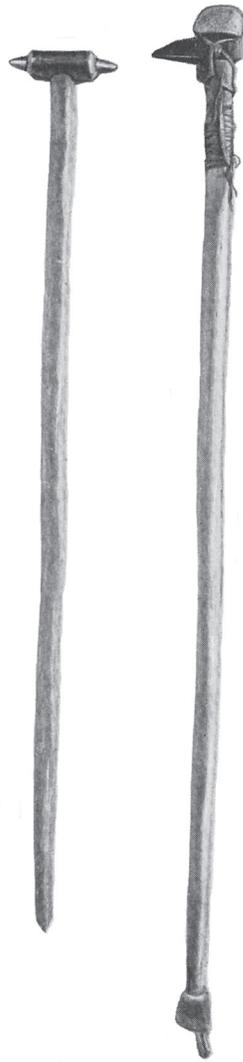
Based on information from Kerek informants, in the past they did not use toggling harpoons with hunting whales and did not chase them, like the Chukchi and Eskimos, to harpoon them, but killed them with arrows (*chutchym*) and spears, trying to break the vertebra at the tail fin (when the whale dived steeply, baring the tail fin). Having broken the vertebra of the tail fin, the Kerek thereby deprived the whale of the possibility to move. The Kerek usually hunted at the mouths of narrows into lagoons, when whales could be conveniently killed not only from a baidara but also from the shore. The Kerek possibly used poisoned arrows like the Aleuts, since you could probably not kill a whale with a simple arrow. Catching whales with nets, like the Alyutor people, was not known to the Kerek. The Kerek also used whale meat from those driven into shallows by orcas.

The Kerek employed as a tool in both sea and land hunting the *kaluvianana*—in Chukchi the *kelyuunen*—which N. L. Gondatti calls a “bear club.” The Kerek hunted with this extremely primitive tool in rookeries of seals (*kalil'an*), bearded seals (*un'al*), and possibly sea lions and walruses; they also used it to kill brown bears. We examined two kinds of “bear clubs” in N. L. Gondatti's collection.

The first is a shaft 112 cm long. On its thickened (3 cm) end was seated a massive piece of stained walrus tusk in the form of a rectangle with edges rounded by a stone adze and large spurs on transverse sides. The length of the piece is 13 cm, the width 5–6 cm, the thickness 3 cm. The other end of the shaft comes down almost to nothing, but has a wooden spur, on which a bone point is seated. The piece of tusk with spurs served for killing animals and for protecting the user from them; the opposite end helped with walking on ice and solid ice crust and fulfilled the role of a staff.

The second “bear club” has a shaft 135 cm long, but on its thick part there is seated a piece of iron similar to a pickaxe or mattock. To increase the weight and thus the killing power, a rounded piece of walrus ivory with a perforating hole in the core of the tusk was additionally seated. On the other end of the shaft there was a point of reindeer antler with a spur.

In the past, the *kaluvianana* was constantly with the Kerek in the tundra and on the sea shore, just as among the Chukchi and Koryak the spear and bow and arrows were constant tools.



*Figure 8. A general view of a kaluvianan—“bear club.” MAE Collection, No. 408-56, 57.*

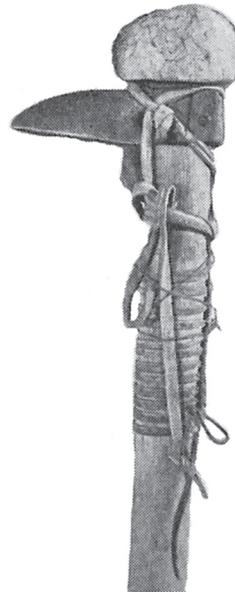


Figure 9. Detail of an iron kaluvianana.



Figure 10. Detail of a kaluvianana of walrus tusk.

The *kaluvianan*, as before, still finds use among hunters and herders. Thus, in August 1971, at the Vaamochka fish camp of the Meinypil'ginsk village council, we saw a reindeer herder with one. But the modern *kaluvianana* is made from a steel connecting rod from a small motor that is seated on the end of a herder's staff and well sharpened. It serves simultaneously as a staff and a weapon for defense from a wolf or brown bear and is considered very favorable and light.

By their assignment and method of use, Kerek “clubs” have analogs in ancient predecessors of the tomahawks of North American Indians:

Judging by now available archaeological material, the predecessors of tomahawks were the stone fighting implements found in excavations at some burial grounds and mounds in North America. For example, tools of ground stone are encountered that are sharpened on two sides of one end, reminiscent of mattocks. The stone head was set in a hole drilled in a handle of hard wood. Sometimes they set a robust reindeer antler in place of stone (Trufanov 1967).

We have not managed to find mention in the works of W. I. Jochelson, W. G. Bogoras, and contemporary ethnographers of such tools among the Chukchi, Koryak, or Eskimos—except for mattocks, which with a point of walrus tusk were used for collecting plants in the tundra. However, N. N. Stepanov, citing reports of Russian Cossacks, writes that the Anauly used “axes seated on a long handle” as a weapon (*Pamyati. . .*, 1937:220). The Anauly, ethnographers presume, were one of the Yukagir tribes that lived in the 17th century on the middle course of the Anadyr’ River, and that the “axes seated on long handles” were similar to the Kerek *kaluvianana* (Leont’ev 1976:146–148). Stone and bone mallets attached with thongs to long wooden handles were used as tools for hunting by the Koryak of the Okhotsk coast, clubbing with them seals caught in nets (Vasil’evskii 1971:156–157).

Very important in the life of the Kerek was seal hunting, in which the primary species of prey was the spotted seal (large or *kalil’an*). The meat and fat were used as food; the fat also went for lighting and heat, and the hide for clothing, footwear, and thongs. But hunting the seal was not well developed. Our information on this hunting is unfortunately very limited since at present this hunting has completely disappeared, and seals are procured purely by chance. In the past the Kerek hunted seals primarily at spring haulouts on the ice, and in fall at rookeries at the mouths of rivers and lagoons with the aid of the *kaluvianana* and spears. Sometimes during the fish run they cast large metal hooks with fish as the bait on long thongs. But this method was not very effective, since in most cases the seal ate the bait, leaving a bare hook. The Kerek did not use nets for catching seals as did other subdivisions of the Coastal Koryak. And they did not use nets for catching seals under the ice in winter, as did the Coastal Chukchi. Only with the appearance of firearms (beginning of the 20th century) did seal hunting on the water become available to the Kerek. In this context the grappling hook (*tynivan*) also appears among the Kerek for procuring seals at a short distance. This grappling hook was evidently borrowed from the Coastal Chukchi.

The baidarka of the Koryak type served as a means of transportation and for hunting in summer. It was substantially shorter than that of the Chukchi-Eskimo and wider; the bow and stern had a rounded form. The baidara was covered with walrus or bearded seal hides, though later with reindeer hides.

On the basis of available data, it can be concluded that Kerek maritime hunting was limited to coastal waters, spits, and shoals. They killed the seal, bearded seal, sea lion, and walrus with tools of the *kaluvianana* type, spears, and arrows at haulouts. They also hunted the seal in winter at holes in bays and in spring on floating ice and along the edge of the shore-fast ice. The hunt for sea mammals afloat was extremely primitive and rarely effective in comparison with the same methods among the Coastal Chukchi and Eskimo. The toggling harpoon was unknown to the Kerek. With the disappearance of the walrus and seal haulouts, the balance in the economy of the Kerek was disrupted, which led to the debilitation and extinction of this people.

## Other Pursuits

In the past fur hunting did not have any significance in the lives of the peoples of the Northeast. Only the wolverine and river otter were of great value since the pelts of these animals went into the fur clothing and also served as objects of intertribal exchange. Of course, in years of shortage the Kerek hunted foxes and Arctic foxes, not for their fur but rather for their meat. They were caught by simple methods: they were killed by arrows and dug from burrows.

The development of fur hunting in the Northeast relates to the origin of the obligation to pay tribute and the beginning of the formation of trade relations. In first order, those peoples who were brought into Russian subjugation and were baptized paid tribute.

In his report of 1777, I. Ankudinov writes that

the above-described Khatyrka leaders Pia and Uv`yayat arrived by sea in baidarki and announced themselves as being subjects of E. I. V. [Her Imperial Majesty], who by payment of tribute through the transmission of Cossack Gerasim Lvov declared that they henceforth will bring it for themselves and relatives to the Tapatoga depression to the leader Ivitak Pamlygov, if the Russians desire, and to them at Khatyrka for the collection of tribute, then without any timidity arrive from the described Tapatoga depression in baidary by sea near the land (Kosven 1962:289).

Though the Kerek leaders pledged to pay tribute they did this episodically since communication with the Russians was extremely difficult. The Navarin Kerek in general did not have any idea about tribute. And only after 1894, when N. L. Gondatti was the head of the Anadyr' District, was his assistant Ankudinov sent to the Navarin Kerek (possibly a person with the same name as the above-mentioned or his relative). "Gondatti did not use especially severe measures, but sent with Ankudinov crackers for the Kerek children; their timid fathers donated several fox furs to the tribute fund of the Russian state." Further, W. G. Bogoras adds, "the Kerek tribe paid its tribute only once or twice. Then they stopped going to Anadyr' and paying tribute" (Bogoras 1934:61).

The politics of tribute in some degree obliged the Kerek to occupy themselves with fur hunting, but for lack of hunting means they were not able to hunt foxes and Arctic foxes. Only with the arrival of Soviet authority did the Kerek begin to obtain traps and firearms through a cooperative, and they actively occupied themselves with fur hunting and mastered it fairly well. They set the traps by the method widespread everywhere: with bait or along a trail.

The Kerek did not share the Chukchi-Koryak belief that the wolf and orca were were-animals [werewolf or werewhale], good spiritual assistants. Therefore, they hunted wolves without fear and used their hides in clothing and as trimming. They obtained wolves with the aid of a special lump of fat (*ivtuvapak*). They put a thin flexible plate of baleen, sharpened on both ends, in a little piece of fat rolled up into a ball. Then this ball of fat was frozen and placed along a wolf trail. The Kerek hunted other predatory animals like this. This method of hunting was well known to the Eskimos as well, who hunted polar bears this way.

Objects of hunting on land in the past, to which Kerek folklore attests, were also wild reindeer (*ylvaņa*), mountain sheep (*kichipaņa*), brown bear (*kaiņyn*), and other animals. But these kinds of large

animals were rarely taken. On the occasion of killing a brown bear they arranged a festival of “thanksgiving,” which could not be successfully reconstructed. The Kerek compare its significance to the Chukchi *vylygykaanmatgyrgyn* festival—“slaughter of a fine-skinned reindeer.” In summer of 1971 we visited the Chukchi festival *vylygykaanmatgyrgyn*, and then asked the Kerek M. I. Etynkeu, “Was there such a festival among the Kerek?” He answered, “No, but we had a large festival when we killed a brown bear.” Unfortunately, neither he nor the other Kerek could add anything more; the process of the ceremony had been forgotten.

In years of severe hunger the Kerek used in food, besides foxes and Arctic foxes, small rodents (mice, marmots, ground squirrels) and dogs. Hunting ground squirrels (*sikakaṇa*) was reflected in the season of the year (*sikakaiilyn*)—“ground squirrel month.” It corresponded approximately to the end of March and beginning of April, when with the first warm rays of the sun, ground squirrels began to emerge from their burrows. At this time the Kerek dug them from the burrows (also simultaneously collecting the ground squirrels’ remaining winter supplies) (see Bogoras 1962:40).

The only domestic animal among the Kerek was the dog. The Chukchi and Koryak considered the Kerek good dog breeders. Kerek sleds were stocky and in their structure they were similar to the common freight sleds of the Chukchi and Koryak. Dogs were harnessed in pairs in a line. Besides transport dogs, the Kerek also raised sacrificial ones that were not used as draft animals.

Collecting had great significance in the lives of the Kerek. On the sea shore the Kerek collected seaweed and a variety of mollusks thrown up by the sea during storms. But in distinction from the Chukchi, Kerek considered collecting on the shore of the sea (*iumeichik*) exclusively women’s work. In the tundra the Kerek gathered crowberries, cloudberry, blueberries, cowberries, and other edible plants; some plants and shrubs were used in the plaiting of various items.

Folk medicine was more developed among the Kerek compared to the Chukchi. As wadding they used moss (*vityt*) for cleaning wounds of dirt and blood (preliminarily, they carefully steamed it). A severely bleeding wound was covered with, besides moss, fresh giblets from a bird or other animal. To keep the feet from sweating, the Kerek smeared them with fresh bear’s blood or walked around in it.

## SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

Kerek settlements were situated on gravel spits near the mouths of rivers, throats of lagoons, or even on small terraces beside seal and walrus haulouts. Summer camps moved to places rich in fish.

Old Kerek settlements were abandoned by the population at different times. The reasons for this were conflicts with stronger non-Kerek tribes, frequent hunger, epidemics of smallpox, and other illnesses.

The settlement of Nigrin on Cape Geka was possibly abandoned after an encounter with Russian Cossacks. Semen Dezhnev's report attests to this (see "Podlinnye dokumenty. . .," 1964:139). The Kerek went south to the Tumanskaya and farther. This occurred in 1652.

In the second half of the 18th century a large group of Chukchi reindeer herders moved to the right bank of the Anadyr' River and settled in the valleys of the Tumanskaya, Velikaya, and Khatyrka rivers. Armed conflicts occurred on the banks. The Chukchi, strong and tall, forced the Kerek still farther south, to Capes Barykov and Navarin.

Judging by the preserved pithouse depressions at the old Kerek settlements on Cape Geka, in Gaviila Bay, and the small settlement of Etch'un at Meinypil'gyno, they were evidently larger than those that W. G. Bogoras visited at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, and consisted of dwelling complexes, that is, groups of pithouses joined by passageways.

Toward the end of the 19th century the Kerek had winter and summer settlements. Winter settlements were large collective pithouses, in which several families lived; the summer settlements were temporary tent dwellings. Thus, for example, the locations at Gachgatagin, Kaiamamkut, Mainamamkut, and Upankiņmyn in Ugol'naya Bay were considered territories of one group of Kerek. In fall, when the salmon run ceased, the Kerek moved to Cape Upankiņmyn—Otvesnyi. In winter they were occupied with maritime hunting, since the edge of the shorefast ice was nearby and the sea was always open; in spring they collected eggs and caught birds at rookeries, with which the spurs of the Koryak Highlands abound. In summer they settled in the indicated places.

Kerek winter settlements, as among the Apuka Koryak, consisted basically of one large pithouse—only in two were there three pithouses (Stebnitskii 1938:135). In distinction from other groups of Koryak, the Kerek moved into winter dwellings with the first snow, with the first frosts. Near the pithouses stood special platforms (*maiņa*), on which they kept various possessions, sleds, and so on.

For tribes of the Northeast, in the past semisubterranean dwellings were typical, which pre-Revolutionary ethnographers called *podzemnye* ["underground"]. W. I. Jochelson correctly notes the following:

Designating the type of dwelling by the name 'underground' was not always correct . . . a large part of the so-called pithouse dwelling is located underground in greater or lesser degree (approximately one half or less), while its above-ground part was covered with the earth taken from the pit in which the dwelling was constructed. All these dwellings can be designated by the common name 'pithouse,' as long as similar yurts covered on top with snow instead of earth were not assigned to this type, such as we find among the

Eskimos and among a branch of the Koryak tribe known by the name Kerek (Jochelson 1908).

W. I. Jochelson correctly noted this. The name “underground dwellings” does not apply to all types of dwellings of the peoples of the Northeast. Therefore, in Soviet ethnography they obtained the name *polupodzemnye* [“semi-underground”] or *poluzemlyanki* [“semi-subterranean hut”], since in most cases only the base of the dwelling is in the ground, and even then only to a shallow depth.

Semisubterranean dwellings, by their structural forms despite the relative primitiveness, were well adapted to the climatic conditions and closely connected with the geographic environment. They have many common structural features, but at the same time there are differences. W. I. Jochelson, comparing the pithouse dwellings of peoples of the northern part of the Pacific Ocean, notes the following characteristic features.

1. The pit for a dwelling was of round or irregular form with a depth of 3 to 6 feet and usually dug into a hill in order that rain water would flow down the slope of the hill.

2. The walls were made of logs set vertically in the pit. They form a rectangle or irregular octagon or have a rounded figure, the walls rising half or a third above the pit. But these above-ground parts of the walls are covered with earth taken from the pits, similar to a rampart, or are enclosed with earth in the form of a hill.

3. The roof is supported by four or more posts standing in the middle of the dwelling, while the slopes of the roof descend to the walls.

4. A square opening in the roof serves as the door, the window, and for a smoke exhaust. A log with notches, serving as stairs was set for the entrance into the dwelling (Jochelson 1908:22).

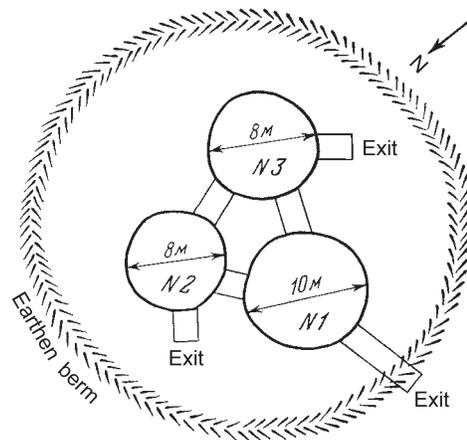


Figure 11. Plan of a dwelling complex (*kuimaiana*). Settlement of E'tchun.

In general these features are typical for the Kerek semi-subterranean dwellings, but there are substantial differences: the absence of walls of vertical posts, logs with notches for the exit, the use of

an aperture in the roof as a light-hole or smoke-hole, the presence of a long corridor, the walls of which were made of snow.

In the Kerek language there are two names for a dwelling (*kuimaiaana*—literally “dwelling with branches”) and *valkhaan*, which corresponds to the Chukchi *valkyran*, that is, “home from the jaws of a whale.” This word was borrowed from the Chukchi language and evidently entered into use during the period of transition from collective dwellings to individual ones.

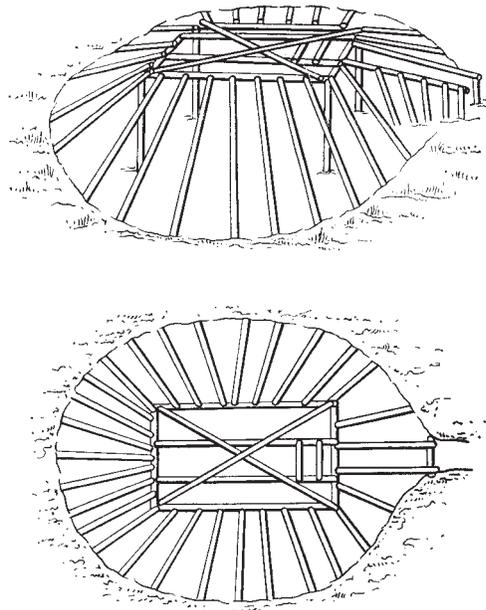


Figure 12. Frame of a Kerek pithouse.

*Kuimaiaana* is a descriptive term and is related to a complex system of dwellings, which are an impressive structure, though it was unnoticeable from afar since, covered by sod, it merged with the natural landscape. The *kuimaiaana* consisted of a large common pithouse, which had its exit. Smaller pithouses in which individual families lived were situated around it. All the pithouses were joined to the central one by passages, and some small pithouses had their own separate exit. Exit corridors had additional small branches that served as storerooms for the preservation of food and various items of household use. It is possible that such a house is also mentioned by S. Dezhnev: “their yurts are large: in one yurt lives up to ten families” (“Podlinnye dokumenty. . .,” 1964:139).

In distinction from the Chukchi semisubterranean dwellings (*klegran* and *valkyran*), and the Eskimo *nynlun*, the Kerek dwellings of the *kuimaiaana* type were not built on slopes, but rather on knolls, small hills, or directly on a spit in a level place.

With construction they preliminarily removed, together with the sod, a layer of earth and dug a pit to a depth of 0.5 m, that is, as much as the permafrost permitted. Then in the center they set up four supports in the form of a square standing 2 to 4 m from each other. The supports were joined by

crossbars. On the crossbars they placed thick poles without any attachment and set them obliquely in the ground. For the exit, which had a small ascent, they also placed two solid beams. This whole structure they covered with sod (*itpakku*) and then carefully filled all cracks with sand and earth. They left a light- and smoke-hole (*inuinyñ*) in the roof. In winter it was covered with a thin plate of river ice. These plates were made as soon as the rivers and lakes froze over. The floor of the pithouse was covered with pebbles. Along the walls they left an earthen projection, on which they usually placed various household items. Each family lived in a separate “bedroom”; there was a common hearth. When everything had frozen and the snow fell, the pithouse was covered on top with snow, and in addition, they added a long snow corridor (*khattuñun*) to the exit.

We find the long tunnel-like exit, like the Kerek’s, directed toward the sea or toward the river bank, also among the Apuka Koryak, whose dwellings have many similar features with those of the Kerek.

We find in W. I. Jochelson approximately the same description of the Kerek pithouse:

The Kerek, as indicated above, build their semi-subterranean dwelling without a funnel-shaped roof; since the smoke hole does not serve as an exit, they have no ladders. The frame of the yurt is built in an excavated depression, made of curved poles, and covered with earth. The interior of the yurt is laid around with skins. In winter, to conserve as much heat as possible, the dwelling is covered with a thick layer of snow. The entrance both in winter and in summer is through long narrow hallway. The interior structure is the same as among other Koryak semisubterranean dwellings (Jochelson 1905:366).

To explain the absence of the funnel-shaped opening, W. I. Jochelson says that the Kerek do not make funnel-shaped roofs, because they do not have the necessary material for this (Jochelson 1905:357). In some degree W. I. Jochelson is right. However, the Alyutor Koryak who lived on the coast of Korfa Bay did have funnel-shaped roofs (*vuivelkyn*) (Vdovin 1973:76), though other than driftwood and brush there was no structural wood nearby. In addition, a substantial quantity of wood material went into the construction of the Kerek pithouse on posts and cross-beams. The absence of a funnel was evidently a specific feature of Kerek dwellings.

The Kerek living complex of the *kuimaiaaṇa* type finds an almost complete analogy in the Atargan site on the coast of the Okhotsk Sea. There the central place is also occupied by a large dwelling, “to the embankment on the outside of which about 4–5 dwellings 5–8 m in diameter” (Vasil’evskii 1971:51). This same author notes that “on the roof of the Atargan pithouse there was evidently not yet a funnel-shaped structure to protect the smoke hole from snow drifts” (Vasil’evskii 1971:141). It can be supposed that pithouses of the Kerek type are apparently of more ancient origin than the pithouses of the Koryak with funnel-shaped structures on the roofs. In Kerek pithouses, as in the Atargan ones, the hearths were formed of vertically-standing stone slabs and had a rectangular form. And in order that children did not accidentally fall into the hearth, the Kerek covered it on top with a large stone slab. We found such a hearth in 1973 when clearing the Beringovskaya (Gachgatagn) site. Unfortunately, this site has been completely destroyed.

The Kerek dwelling was not adapted to two annual seasons: summer and winter. In summer in rainy weather the pithouse was quickly ruined. Every winter with the beginning of heavy frosts the Ker-

ek constructed new pithouses, using only the wooden structural material. Especially valuable were the foundation posts of the pithouse.

Upon resettling into the winter dwelling, the Kerek arranged a festival. It began when the pithouse had been laid over with sod, when backfilling of the wall had been done, and when the floor had been covered with sand and gravel. During the festival they smeared the four main posts of the pithouse with *miimii* made from crushed crowberries and *Claytonia* roots (*palkumiakku*) mixed with oil. They brought *miimii* from the pithouse on special small trays and strew it all about, and around the dwelling they placed five or six arrows made of slats; these were charms from all ills. We found such arrows in the old settlement at Cape Rubikon. They were made of slats from packing cases and belong to the 1930s. After all the protective ceremonies the residents proceeded to a hearty meal. The Kerek were not able to remember the name of the festival.

A detail that we did not observe among the Chukchi is interesting: the Kerek always slept in pithouses with their heads toward the sunrise, and the deceased was placed with the head to the sunset. This tradition is also observed now by modern Kerek in wooden log houses. They never place a bed with the head to the west.

Typical for old Chukchi and Eskimo sites are the remains of large meat pits (*uverat*). We did not find similar structures in Kerek settlements. Typical for them are small rectangular pits measuring 1 x 1.5 m for pickling fish in places of caching them and hidden pits for storing food supplies. The Kerek had two kinds of storage areas: the *achaan*—a small storage area for the preservation of supplies of food outside the pithouse, somewhere concealed, the location of which only the eldest members of the family knew, and *ilgpakhiakku*—storage areas joined to the pithouse by a passage. The first storage area, concealed and located away from the pithouse, sometimes even at a great distance, was made for safeguarding supplies of food in case of attack by strangers, who usually robbed storage pits.

In the second half of the 18th century the Kerek, escaping attacks of the Chukchi and Koryak, were forced to hide in natural caves. One such refuge was on Lake Pekul'neiskoe, a second was at Cape Navarin. Unfortunately, we could not find any objects of material culture in these caves. The Kerek also had fortified settlements in places with difficult access: one was on Cape Otvesnyi, another at the cliffs of Cape Navarin.

One enigmatic find is of great interest. In the summer of 1973, in the clearing of the old Kanyiu site in Gavriila Bay, a hearth was discovered located outside a dwelling, 4 to 5 m from it. Such a hearth, but of larger dimensions, was found in the summer of 1975 at the same clearing 12 m north of the first.

The first hearth was at a depth of 70–80 cm from the present ground surface. It was faced with whole stone slabs 8–10 cm thick set on edge. The slabs were strongly charred inside. The width of the hearth was 53 cm, the length 60 cm, and the depth 50 cm. The bottom of the hearth had a charcoal layer, sintered from time and heat. The base of the hearth sits on pebbles. Against the right side of the hearth an additional structure of thinner stone slabs was constructed, similar to a stove pipe. This additional hearth does not have any junction with the primary hearth. The slabs were placed on a foundation of clay. The additional hearth was located somewhat lower than the upper edge of the lateral slab of the primary hearth and goes to a depth of 65 cm. The width of the “pipe” is 22 cm, the length is 24 cm. The slabs were also heavily charred, and on the bottom a large amount of charcoal was found.

The second hearth, located at a depth of 88 cm, differed from the first by its substantial dimensions and from above is similar to a large rectangular trough. It was also formed of whole large stone slabs 10 to 20 cm thick. The width of the hearth was 82 to 84 cm, length 95 to 99 cm, and 51 cm deep. The bottom of the hearth was covered with charcoal dust, was cemented, and the interior walls were heavily charred. On the right side, as with the first hearth, an additional hearth was attached, formed of thin stone slabs and going to a depth of 70 cm. It also does not have any junction with the primary hearth, but in distinction from the first was covered with a flat stone (which is shown displaced in the sketch). Charcoal was also found on the bottom of the additional hearth, and the walls of the hearth were charred.

The exposure is washed each spring by water, and at its base are many collapsed hearths. Such hearths were evidently widely used at this settlement. We found stone slabs, from which the hearths were constructed, on the slope of Cape Basov 10 km from the settlement.

The assignment of these hearths was clarified in an interview with the Kerek Omrytvaal', E. Khatkana, M. I. Etyнкеu, K. A. Turyl'kot, and the Chukchi I. Kuttegin who was born at Gavriila Bay and had lived with the Kerek. Old woman Omrytvaal' had encountered the hearths in her lifetime.



*Figure 13. The exposure at the settlement of Kanyiun.*

In the Kerek language there is the word *puialkyk*, which means “to steam” or “to stew” food. This was done in the following way. They dug a pit in the earth, faced it with slabs of stone, and made a fire. When the stones were hot they took the coals out and placed in game, fish, or other meat in the pit. They covered the top of the pit with a flat stone and covered that with dirt or sand. The game or fish was stewed in its own juice, which provided a good tasty food. The Kerek preferred this method of preparing food (the Chukchi said that the Kerek could prepare their food without any vessels). Hearths found in the exposure at the Kanyiun site served for preparing food by this method. This was not observed among the Chukchi and Eskimos.



Figure 14. Hearth 1 at the settlement of Kanyiu.

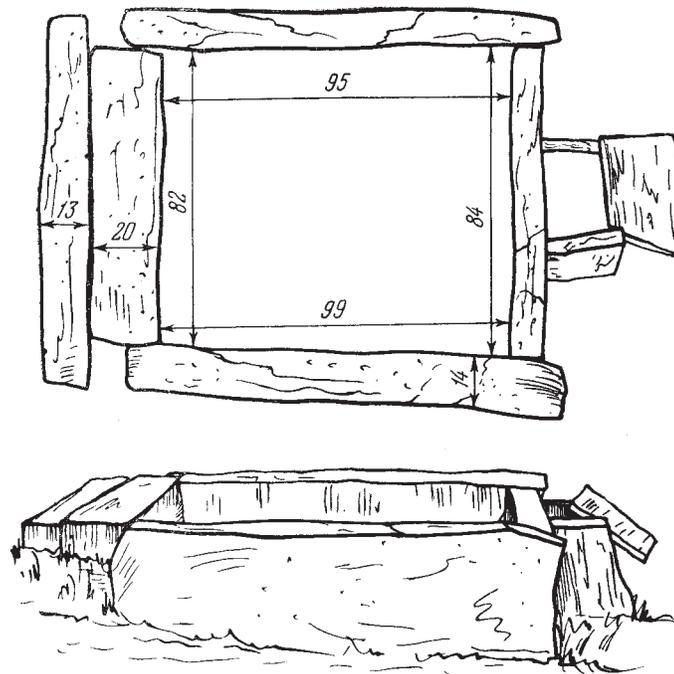


Figure 15. Hearth 2 at the settlement of Kanyiu.

S. P. Krasheninnikov describes an analogous method of preparing food among the Itel'men:

First they dig a pit, depending on the amount of meat and fat, and cover its floor with stone. Then they fill the pit with firewood and light it at the bottom and stoke it until it was hot as a woodstove. When the pit was ready, then the ash was raked to one side, the bottom was covered with alder, and on the alder was placed separately fat, and meat separately, and each layer was interlaid with alder; ultimately, when the pit was filled, they covered it with grass and then with earth so that the steam could not escape (Krasheninnikov 1949:272).

The Northeast village expanded in Soviet times due to an economic reformation and it became larger. The Kerek convert to living in new villages: Meinypil'gyno and Khatyrka. The wooden log house becomes the primary dwelling of the Kerek. But the tradition to live in isolation as before is preserved among the Kerek of the older generation. They prefer to live in special dwellings located at the hunting grounds; they construct them of modern materials: boards, iron, ruberoid, and so on.

Here is how the modern dwelling of the Kerek K. A. Turyl'kot looked at the Kuet fish camp 22 km from Meinypil'gyno village. The cabin with walls filled with earth has an area of 4.5 x 8 m and a flat gently sloping gable roof and no ceiling. On the right of the door stood an iron stove. In the right slope of the roof, near the exit, a window (*inuiny*) had been cut. Farther, in the depths of the room a canopy of durable material was stretched on spacers. The hosts usually sleep in the canopy on reindeer hides covered with modern blankets, while new arrivals and guests slept outside the canopy on the right side. In order that no cold air penetrated the living space, a small vestibule was constructed, in which they kept nets and various household items. When a strong wind begins to blow in the door of the vestibule and rain to beat, the host makes a barrier of boards reminiscent of a long snow corridor in the ancient earthen houses of the Kerek, which once also served as a barrier against direct wind. The Kerek Kezhgynto, who lived at the Vaamochka fishing camp, also had the same dwelling. In the villages the Kerek had their comfortable quarters, but nevertheless they preferred to live in hunting areas.

## SACRIFICIAL PLACES (*KAMAK*)

As a rule, near every old Kerek settlement was a sacrificial place represented by numerous accumulations of walrus skulls with a vertically-set whale jaw. We found such sacrificial places in the Koryak Autonomous District at Opuka Lagoon on a gravel spit at Cape Yllavinaŋ, on Capes Rifovyi and Lagunnyi, on the right bank at the mouth of the Khatyrka River, at Lake Pekul'neiskoe on hills in Etchun township, on the Meinypil'gina Spit, in Gavriila Bay, and in Zemlya Geka.<sup>5</sup> Some of them were wrecked and destroyed, and only the shrines at Opuka, in Gavriila Bay, and Zemlya Geka provided ample material. Several arrowheads were found at Cape Rifovyi.

I. S. Vdovin calls such sacrificial places *appapil'*—"grandfather" and *yllapil'*—"grandmother" (in the Alyutor dialect of the Koryak language) and connects them with the cult of the ancestors. "In the past," he writes, "

these were an enduring attribute of the settlement. At present they are preserved only as the remains of sacrificial places. Externally they look like a cluster of skulls and reindeer antlers, skulls of walruses, sea lions, bears, and other marine and land animals, which are gradually grown over with grass. Until the beginning of the 1930s at such sacrificial places stood either wooden posts, which terminated in a stylized carved image of a human face, or isolated bones of a whale. Now there are none of these figures-posts; they have not been preserved, but on the surface and in the earth remain reindeer antlers, the skulls of procured animals, and individual tools that were evidently used in hunting these animals. This circumstance also provides value to these sites. It is like a storehouse for hunting tools that were left here by hunters from year to year, in layers, over the extent not only of many decades but probably more than one century. Multilayered sacrificial places of this kind are very interesting and important for history because they give a vivid idea of the hunting equipment used in the procurement of these animals, the skulls of which were assembled here (Vdovin 1971:276).

Such shrines are widespread throughout Northeast Asia. They are encountered not only in the Koryak Autonomous District in the area of the Bering Sea coast we investigated, but also in the Providenskii and Chukotskii regions of the Chukchi Autonomous District and far off in the tundra. They have different names and not all, in our view, are connected with a cult of the ancestors.

Thus, based on our field observations, in Uelen the stones *Ynpynachgyn*, "old man," and *Yn-pyŋev*, "old woman," were clan areas. The first of them stood at the very precipice of the cliff of *Ėpyn*, the second somewhat farther from the sea in the direction of an old cemetery. Some twenty years ago we observed how old hunters, returning from the sea with a catch and passing by the *Ėpyn* cliff, scraped frozen blood off the muzzle of a seal or bearded seal and threw it at the cult stones (Leont'ev 1972:90).

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<sup>5</sup> Several shrines were discovered in 1975 by the archaeology graduate student A. A. Orekhov, as a member of a field survey from Opuka to the Anadyr' Estuary.



*Figure 16. Shrine at the E'tchun locality.*



*Figure 17. A kamak shrine in Zemlya Geka.*

Slightly above the Ynpynachgyn and Ynpyņev stones was the sacrificial place of Rytvalyavytte, “stood-up heads,” where the skulls of walruses and polar bears were lying turned toward the walrus haulout at the Kenyp`en locality. N. N. Dikov also noted the presence of this sacrificial place: “Somewhat apart from the cemetery hill, on a sod-covered area, a ring of well-preserved bear skulls was laid out” (Dikov 1969:226). This is all that was left of the ancient sacrificial place; there were now no walrus skulls with tusks, but in the 1930s walrus skulls with tusks, in disorder of course, still lay in this place.

The rite of “inquiring” of a walrus head in the sacrificial place, as a rule, was conducted before the first spring departure to sea to hunt. The most experienced Chukchi hunter took last year’s walrus head by the canines and “asked” it about the projected hunt, then conducted blood anointing and made a sacrifice in the form of pieces of fat and meat. After this the baidary went to sea, and if the hunt was successful, the head of the first procured walrus was placed at the sacrificial place with the tusks toward the haulout. The ceremony of inquiry was conducted not only before the first departure on a hunt, but also before the beginning of a hunt at the haulout or after a long absence of the animal in the sea.

There were such sacrificial places with walrus skulls, placed in such order, in Inchoun, near the old settlement of Ut`en, at Enurmino, and on Cape Dzhennretlen—in Chukchi Iynryl`yn. Unfortunately, these shrines have not at all been studied in archaeological regard, and we are not able to say precisely whether there is ancient hunting equipment in them. The Chukchi name for a shrine (*rytvalyavytte*) is, in our view, descriptive—its true name forgotten.

Another cult site of the ancestors is the shrine Tynmai (literally, “pile of antlers”). The word is formed from the base *tynnym*—“crown of the skull with antlers,” *mag*—“pile or something assembled together.”

Tynmai is a Chukchi monument to the reindeer herder, consisting of reindeer antlers and skulls of predatory animals. It is also found among the Koryak. The significance of such a site is well-described in the document cited by M. O. Kosven:

At the beginning of summer the women, children, and relatives must hunt wild deer and sheep during the whole summer, and they kill many of their deer, then gather their antlers into one place, or if there are enough, into two or three places, in commemoration of the deceased; especially in those places they put the ones that he [the deceased] loved and where he lived with the herds. This [is done] in order that the deceased will have in the other world herds of deer and sheep, and in this way they end remembering him (Kosven 1962:291).

Such sites of the ancestors are also revered at present. Thus, Tynmai on Aion Island is visited by the El`vuneisk Chukchi, since their ancestor the Chukchi Kekken is buried there. They bring reindeer antlers, green willow branches and pieces of fat and meat there. But no objects of the hunt or daily life are under these sites or near them, and no reindeer herders are buried under them. The toponym Tynmai is widespread in Chukotka.

The Bering Sea Chukchi call the sacrificial places on the coast *kamak*. They could not explain what this word specifically denotes, but said that the Koryak gave this name to a wooden post standing at a sacrificial place. We found this confirmed by W. G. Bogoras, who writes that “among the Koryak ‘oḵ-ḵamak’ is the name of the big wooden pole, which represents the ‘protector of the village’ and is fixed somewhere on its outskirts” (Bogoras 1939:49). Vdovin writes: “The upper end of it [the pole] is usually pointed, and an image of a human visage was placed on it” (Vdovin 1971:278). Such post, as the Khatyrka Chukchi explain, was kept in the old Kerek settlement of Ennuun in Annushka Bay, where we unfortunately did not succeed in landing because of strong surf.

The Kerek in distinction from the Koryak—the Alyutor and Chavchoven people—call grandfather by the word *app?api*, and grandmother in the maternal line—*app?a*. In the folklore the word *yllapil* (literally, “mommy,” since the affix *-pil* has a diminutive/affectionate meaning) is often used to mean “grandmother.” The formation of the word *yllapil* was evidently connected with the Kerek idea of the return of deceased ancestors in the form of children. Thus, for example, the mother often calls her daughter *yllapil*. By means of the affix *-pil* the words for “grandfather” (*app?apipil*) and “grandmother” (*app?apil*) are formed in the Kerek language, but the Kerek did not use these words for designation of the sacrificial place.

The Navarin and Khatyrka Kerek sacrificial places at the coast are identified by the word *kamak* as well. In the Kerek language there is a word similar to the word *kamak*—*kamaqam*, which means “dish” or “tray”; in Chukchi it is *kemeny* and in Koryak *qamaqa*. The Kerek and Chukchi called by this name a small ritual oblong wooden dish in which sacrifices were placed. It can be supposed that the name of the shrine (*kamak*) arose from the common name of the dish (*kamaqam*), and that in this place rites of thanksgiving and protection were conducted with the sacrifice and feeding of the “protector of the village” and the skulls with the ritual dish (*kamaqam*). We did not find wooden posts besides that mentioned by the Khatyrka Chukchi. However, projecting jaws of whales were encountered almost everywhere at old sacrificial places, which were possibly also “protectors” of Kerek settlements and had a purely ritual significance. We did not encounter the use of jaws of whales for domestic needs at ancient Kerek settlements, as was observed among the Eskimos and Coastal Chukchi.

The Alyutor Koryak, as well as the Kerek, used the name *Kamak* also for a “harmful being, in the nature of a bug. It lives in the ground. It does not bring harm directly to a person. But it can create an earthquake and spew smoke and lava from volcanoes” (Vdovin 1973:94) and leave large tracks on stone slabs and in soil in the mountains. The tracks, as the Khatyrka Chukchi and Kerek assert, are still here in the *Qaigytgyn* (Khaidin) Mountains, on the upper reaches of the *Vaamochka* River, on the right bank of *Lake Pekul’neiskoe*, and in other places (Leont’ev 1976:213). The Kerek feared the *Kamak* and, in order that the being does not make trouble, brought it sacrifices at abandoned settlements and on routes to unfamiliar places of difficult access.

On the map of Northeast Asia the toponym *Kamak* is encountered, and in places rather distant from each other. A small cove on the western shore of *Kolyuchinskaya* Bay is called this, as well as a village in *Kamchatka*, and there is *Komakynnot* Mountain at the mouth of the *Khatyrka* River on the right bank. As a Chukchi legend says, the cove was called this because hunters in *baidary* perished in it during a storm because they made the spirit *Kamak* angry. The village in *Kamchatka*, which was located in the vicinity of a volcano, was in the 18th century named after a Koryak *toyon* *Kamak*. A large *Kamak* shrine was located on *Kamakynnot* Mountain (“*Kamakinskaya* Mountain”).

All the Kerek shrines that we investigated had much in common, while some differences were evidently connected with their assignment.

An *Opuka kamak* is located on a pebble spit in the northeast corner of the lagoon, at the foot of hills running from *Cape Opuka* (in Kerek, *Yllavinan*). On the spit in front of it can be seen small depressions of old pithouses. The *kamak* is a cluster of walrus skulls with a projecting jaw of a whale. The jaw is broken from decay; its upper part lies nearby. We did not observe any marks on the jaw. Opening up the upper sod layer provided nothing, though tools were found by chance in the cavity of the projecting jaw fragment. These were arrowheads; some of them retained the wooden shafts. Socketed points were very

different in form and size. As the informants I. Uvayrgin (Kerek) and Etakvyrgyn (Chukchi, a native of Opuka) reported to us, small blunt points were used for hunting birds, ground squirrels, hares, and other small animals. Points somewhat larger and possessing greater killing force were used for hunting larger animals. Hafted points had the same assignment.

It is interesting that the hunting inventory found at Opuka is almost completely analogous both by method of attachment and form, and also by decoration to the inventory that was excavated by I. S. Vdovin in the territory of the Alyutor Koryak on the Vetvei River (which empties into the Vyvenka River) (Vdovin 1971:279–280). But the Opuka *kamak* differs from the Vetvei *appapil'* by the fact that items of the hunt were found in the cavity of the jaw under the sod layer, while on the surface there was nothing. The storage of arrows in the cavity of the jaw was evidently a safety measure against looting.

The second Opuka *kamak* was located on a precipice not far from the end of Cape Opuka and was represented by a cluster of walrus skulls older than at the first shrine. There was no whale jaw or remains of one there. Nothing was found under the sod layer or in the ground. From the place where this *kamak* is located the sea and a seal haulout could easily be seen.

A *kamak* shrine was found at the southern base of a pebble spit in Gavriila Bay. North of the shrine could be seen numerous traces of pithouses. The *kamak* was represented by a large cluster of walrus skulls without tusks, many of them rooted in the ground, overgrown with moss, and rotting. No whale jaw was found. An abundant hunting inventory was found immediately under the sod layer. It consisted of points of arrows and spears. In distinction from those of Opuka they were substantially larger and were evidently intended for hunting large animals. Based on the method of attachment, socketed points were more widespread than stemmed, flattened, or awl-shaped ones. The stems on most of the points are decorated on the base with encircling double, triple, and even quadruple lines; small triangular dots are located along the lower and upper lines on some points.

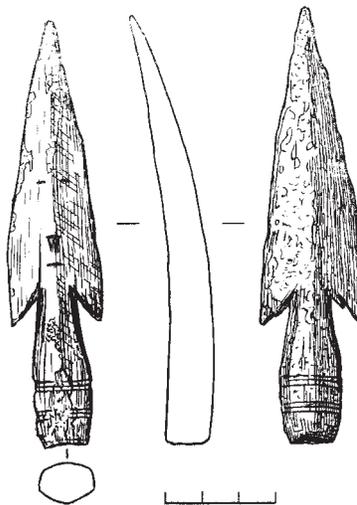


Figure 18. An arrowhead found in the exposure at the Kanyiun site.

The decoration of encircling lines is typical for Kerek culture, but among the spear points found at the shrine in Gavriila Bay, one had a somewhat distinctive design (though the form and dimensions were similar). The decoration was applied to the slightly thinning socketed haft. It is two pairs of triple encircling lines, but in place of the dots and vertical dashes from the upper lines of two bands, a branch departs, which can be seen from the sides and from the back part of the haft. The form of the branch is reminiscent of a stylized flying bird. No similar branch has been encountered on other artifacts of the Kerek.

In Gavriila Bay we found two ancient settlements. The first was located on the left bank of the Rybachaya channel, which joins Orianda Lagoon to the sea, opposite the mouth, the second is at the southern base of the spit on the right bank of the channel. A shrine was discovered near the second settlement. In 1973, in an exposure at the Kanyiun site, we found an arrowhead and an enigmatic figure of a bird with a seal's head. The Kerek M. I. Etyнкеu named an arrow a *chutchym* and said that the Kerek formerly hunted whales with such arrows, but how and by what method they hunted them he was not able to clarify, specifying only that with these arrows they tried to strike in the spine of the tail flipper.

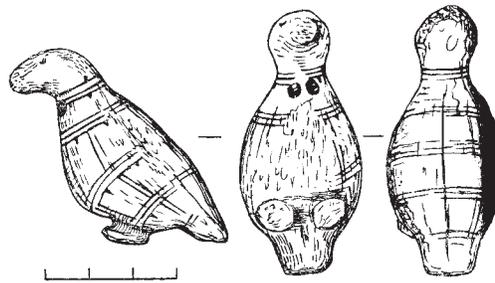


Figure 19. A figurine of an owl of walrus tusk found in the exposure at the Kanyiun site.

The point from the Kanyiun site is analogous in form, material, and decoration to others found at shrines. The shank of the point is girdled by two rows of triple lines without vertical dashes and triangles; on the front side of the point a human face is represented: two horizontal dashes are eyes, below them a deep triangle directed with the point down is a nose, and a horizontal dash below the triangle is a mouth. The whole form of the point is reminiscent of an image of an elongated human face.

The similarity of the point from the exposure to those found at the shrine indicates that the *kamak* belonged to residents of the ancient settlement of Kynyiun.

The Kerek M. I. Etyнкеu called the figurine of the bird a *tchikyltchiki*, which means “owl.” The owl was a widespread folkloric image of a bloodthirsty bird capable of eating its children. The figurine of the owl has a hole in the neck, which indicates that it served as an amulet that was worn on the neck or belt. The whole figurine is decorated with girdling and longitudinal double and triple lines with triangular dots.

The whole hunting complex of Gavriila Bay is close to Opuka both in form, methods of attachment, and decoration, while the figurine of the owl is similar to Kerek artifacts of walrus tusk in the collection of N. L. Gondatti (MAE, No. 442-28).

There is a *kamak* at the site of E'tchun at the northern base of the Meinypil'gin Spit. Here, near the oldest pithouses, can be seen two whale jaws sticking up, situated at a distance from each other; between the dwellings are walrus skulls scattered in disorder. In the grass on the sea shore just south of the settlement walrus skulls lay in clusters, though in disorder, with reindeer antlers among them. Unfortunately, no excavations were conducted at the shrine.

In Zemlya Geka shrines were discovered in three places: on Cape Geka, not far from it on a spit, and at the base of the spit on hills at the site of Nigrinutetegyn. The first shrine had been destroyed and the third also; the second, under a layer of sod, provided a multitude of hunting material.

The hunting inventory of Zemlya Geka is substantially different from that of Opuka and Gavrila Bay. It is represented by stemmed awl-shaped, flattened, and forked points, not at all socketed. The forked and flattened points have in cross section an oval, leaf-shaped, rhomboid, and rounded-triangular form. All decoration is absent, with only oblique strokes on the triangular and rhomboid points.

In some places in Zemlya Geka the walrus skulls are situated in a certain order. In one location they were placed in a semicircle, as at Chukchi shrines, in another—in a straight line.

The Chukchi A. V. Kutynkeu, native of Zemlya Geka, who was present at the examination of the third shrine, said that formerly they buried there the heads of walruses, bearded seals, ringed and spotted seals, and Arctic foxes, and that reindeer herders who approached from the tundra stuck fresh switches of brush, placed beads, and left ribbons in the *kamak*. The old people told that when it was announced from Anadyr' about the collection of walrus tusks, a flood of tusk seekers poured into Zemlya Geka. All the shrines were dug up and the tusks and teeth were knocked out of the walrus skulls. The tusk seekers also dug in the old dwellings. With this, large clay vessels were often found; the informant could not explain their assignment.

At the first shrine on Cape Geka, as Kutynkeu mentions, skulls formerly lay in an entirely different order: in a semicircle with the tusks toward the sea, that is, in a northeastern direction. Those semicircles and rows of skulls that we encountered in Zemlya Geka were placed by the Geka-Chukchi people after the walrus tusk boom ended.

Another sacrificial place in Zemlya Geka is called Tynmai. It is located 2 km south from Nigrinutetegyn in the depths of the tundra. It is represented by a pile of reindeer antlers, deeply embedded in the ground. No other items were found.

Shrine sites of appapil', yllapil', rytvalyavytte, tynmai, and kamak, reflecting general ideological ideas, had their differences connected with economic activities of the population. Thus, a common feature for all the sites is the placement of the skulls and antlers of animals. However, at the shrines of rytvalyavytte and at some *kamak* were placed heads of walruses, polar bears, and seals; at tynmai—antlers of wild and domestic reindeer and skulls of brown bears and wolves; and at appapil'—antlers of wild and partly domestic reindeer and skulls of brown bears. A pair of walrus tusks at vetvey appapil', which I. S. Vdovin describes (Vdovin 1971:280), seems to us accidental since there are well-known cases when new arrivals, paying tribute to old beliefs, placed items of their hunt at shrines. Thus, reindeer herders, having arrived on the coast, placed reindeer antlers on the coastal shrines. You leave at a Kerek shrine a pipe or cigarette case—and the Kerek will be grateful to you for the respect to their ancestors. At the coastal shrines we often encountered reindeer antlers, beads, and pieces of fabric, but we did not encoun-

ter skulls of sea mammals or walrus tusks at any one tynmai. This possibly supports the initial antiquity of the coastal shrines and the antiquity of their settlers.

The location itself of the shrine in the locality was also a reflection of the economic activities. All rytvalyavytte, kamak, and some appapil' were in places favorable for observing sea mammals or close to those places at rivers where fish accumulated. Some shrines were situated on the sea shore in front of an old settlement; their outstanding feature was an inserted pole or whale's jaw. Tynmai were located primarily on high dry places not connected with good hunting.

Consequently, it can be concluded that not all the shrines of such type were connected with the cult of the ancestors; many of them reflected the world that provided the means of living to the natives of the Northeast. It is possible there are shrines at which rites of remembrance of the ancestors and gratitude to the animals were performed, that is, two ideas were reflected: the cult of the ancestors and the cult of animals. As support for this is the fact that items of material culture were not observed at every shrine. At some were left offerings in the form of different tools and female ornaments (beads, earrings, ribbons); at others the laying of heads and thanksgiving and imploring ceremonies were conducted. The first reflect the idea that the deceased needed in the next world equipment to be able to hunt as well as items of daily life; they were in some degree connected with the burial rite. The second shrines reflect the idea that killed animals come as guests to the residents of the village and return back again. This idea is well reflected in the Kerek story "Milutkalik"—the Hare-Man.

"Appapil'" and "kamak" should perhaps be considered common generic names of shrines, while the names "tynmai" and "rytvalyavytte" bear a descriptive character and arise from specific objects. The proper names of the shrines, which I. S. Vdovin cites and considers as evidence of a connection with real people (Vdovin 1971:277), we did not hear among the Kerek and Chukchi, and those he named are perhaps toponymic place names at which *appapil'* were located and correspond approximately to the Russian "Opuka kamak" and so on.

We did not consider it our duty to engage in polemics with I. S. Vdovin and refute his conclusions, but simply wanted to add ethnographic information on the shrines of the Northeast and reveal their common features and local characteristics.

## **FAMILY, MARRIAGE, CHILDBIRTH**

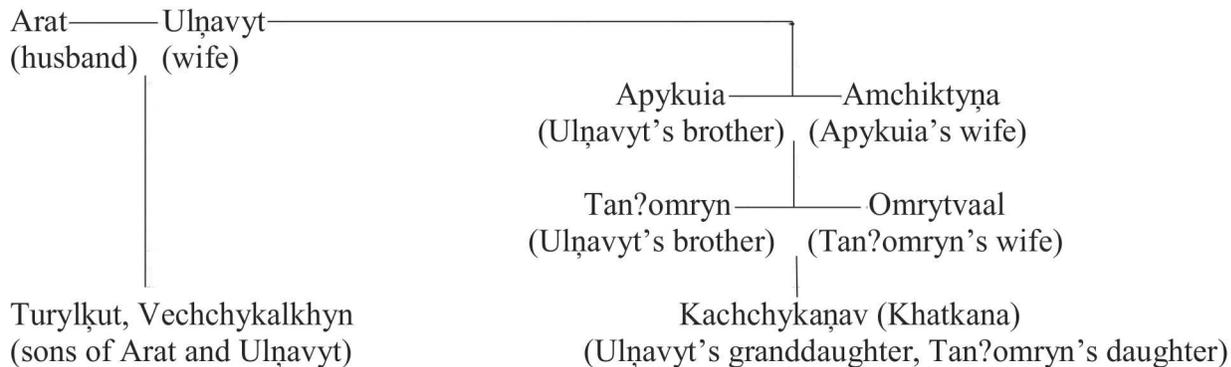
W. Jochelson, using the data of W. G. Bogoras, indicates that “among the Kerek we still find 25 people in one dwelling” (1900–1902) (cited in Shnakenburg 1939:99), but limited to this, he does not reveal the social essence of this unit. N. B. Shnakenburg supposes that this was a large patriarchal family and reinforces this thought with his observations at the Kerek settlement of Il’pi:

The family consists of 5–6 people who live in a yurt, which was thus an economic unit. The family is composed of the head—usually an elderly male—his wife, and children, with a married son remaining in the yurt or departing. When marrying, a woman goes into the yurt of her husband; marriage is thus patrilocal. Kin connections between families are very strong and clearly recognized by the relatives. The relatives collectively hunt the spotted seal, but the catch is considered property of the killer. The relatives are obligated to help each other with seal oil and dried fish (yukola) in case of shortage; they also share among themselves imported goods: tobacco, tea, sugar (cited in Shnakenburg 1939:99).

These observations were made in 1937, when large collective semisubterranean dwellings had already entirely disappeared and large social changes had occurred among the Kerek. The Kerek had large families, but precisely what kind: patriarchal or matriarchal?

The breakup of the large Kerek family, and possibly also the clan, began in the 19th century with the decline in sea mammal hunting and the transition from collective to individual hunting; it was finally completed with the disappearance of large collective dwellings during Soviet times, during the period of kolkhoz establishment. Still in 1935, in two semisubterranean dwellings at the settlement of Malan on Cape Rubikon, there were in winter “40 people, of whom in the first lived 40 people, of whom in the first lived 21 Kerek (4 households), and in the second 19 Kerek and Chukchi (4 households?)” (cited in Shnakenburg 1939:99). N. B. Shnakenburg believes this was a seasonal winter unit, since in summer the population moved to live in summer yurts, but in hunting activities this collective lived in a single hunting or fishing artel. All the households were connected by the closest relationship (Shnakenburg 1939:99). In this case we clearly see a large Kerek family, while the Chukchi, who lived with the Kerek, were husbands and wives of the Kerek (communication of the Khatyrka Kerek Tureret and I. Uvayrgin).

With the aid of the Kerek Ekaterina Khatkana and K. A. Turyl’kot we succeeded in reconstructing the composition of the residents of the settlement of Gachgatagin (Lakhtina Lagoon) in Ugol’naya Bay approximately in 1930.



From the cited chart it is obvious that the basis of the Kerek settlement consisted of a matriarchal family: Ulᅇavyt, the woman, and her younger brothers Apykuia and Tan?omryn with their wives and children. The head of this whole family was not Arat, but his wife Ulᅇavyt, whom the children of her brothers called *yllapil*, and the wives of the brothers each called *aninᅇa* (older sister). In summer this large family unit broke up into small families. Arat and Ulᅇavyt with their children moved to ᅇaiama-mᅇut, Apykuia with Amchiktyᅇa to the mouth of the Maiᅇaamamᅇut, and Tan?omryn and Omrytvaal with their children remained at the mouth of the Lakhtina Lagoon. In winter all again gathered together and lived as one large family. The supplies of fish prepared by the small families were transferred to the collective property and controlled by Ulᅇavyt. The hunting equipment was considered common property (this family had one gun, which could be used by any male in the family).

M. I. Etyᅇkeu also grew up in such a large family, lived in the neighborhood with the family of Arat-Ulᅇavyt, and considers himself their relative.

Supremacy in all questions of the family—economic and ideological life in the large Kerek family—belonged to the oldest woman; in our example, the “older sister” Ulᅇavyt. It is not by chance that W. G. Bogoras notes that “all the older women of the Kerek tribe are considered very skilled in sorcery” (Bogoras 1939:106). The leading role of a woman in the large Kerek family was also clearly reflected in the folklore: characters of the stories, before going somewhere, ask permission from grandmother-*yllapil*. “*Yllapil*,” Hare-Man addresses grandmother: “give me a braided rope; I’m going for [tree] bark!” And in the story “Pluntykanelyan” the grandmother does not permit grandson Kunuitchim to go to the sea shore.

Kinship connections along the maternal line were very strong and clearly recognized by the relatives; after the death of the husband, the woman again returned with her children to the clan of her mother. Thus, with the death of the husband Tan?omryn in 1925 his wife Omrytvaal returned to her brothers Nutav and Kezhgynto and the first of them became the caregiver for the daughter of Omrytvaal, Ekaterina Khatkana. Khatkana herself traced her origin not to Arat and Ulᅇavyt, but rather from the mother of her uncles.

As is evident, the large Kerek family was a social and production unit; several such families made up a clan. The Navarin Kerek preferred to take wives from a clan of the Opuka, that is, the Khatyrka Kerek.

In the past marriages of the Kerek to representatives of other tribes was a rare event and were not approved by relatives. Chavchyvat reindeer herders sometimes forcibly took women from the Kerek, took them to their camps, and used them as slaves in the domestic economy or as shepherds. The rich Chukchi reindeer herders behaved very arrogantly toward the Kerek. Many Meinypil'gino Chukchi trace their origin along the male line from the Kerek.

From the beginning of the Chukchi being settled on the coast, marriages between the Kerek and Chukchi became possible, and in Soviet times any social and traditional limitations in marriage disappeared entirely. Now marriages between the Chukchi and Kerek do not encounter any obstacles. In 1970, in Meinypil'gino, of eleven matrimonial pairs only in one were husband and wife Kerek, in seven—the husband was Kerek, the wife Chukchi; in two—the husbands Chukchi, the wives Kerek, and in one—the husband Russian, the wife Kerek.

Based on information from the Kerek, they did not have group marriage, so widespread among the Chukchi, but the term *navtumyn* existed. The term *navtumyn* (in Chukchi *nevtumgyn*) or “comrade through wife” was used not for a man who married a comrade’s wife, but rather the second or third wife, and the Kerek word *navtumyn* denotes the “wife’s female friend.” However, polygamy was not widespread among the Kerek and was a remnant of sororate marriage, when the younger brother, already married, was required to marry the wife of an older deceased brother. Sororate also existed among the Chukchi and Koryak, but in most cases polygamy was brought on for economic reasons, when a rich reindeer herder married a second or third wife to manage other herds.

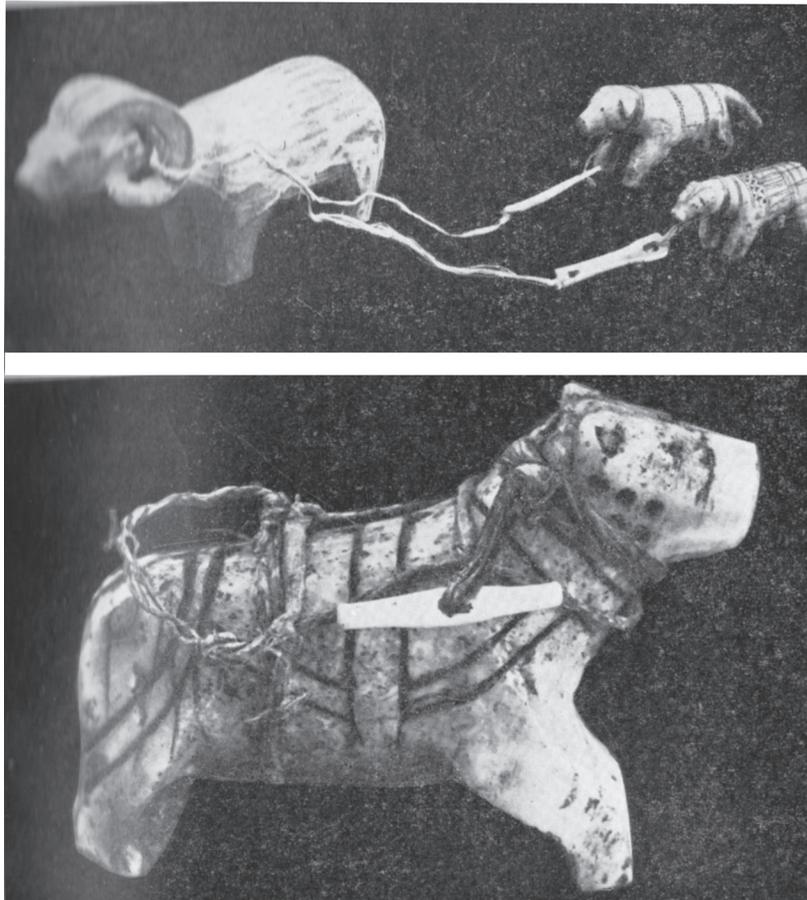


Figure 20. The Kerek M. I. Etynkeu with grandson Igor.

The Kerek cared very much for children. They were denied nothing at all; every desire was satisfied, various toys were made for them (dogs with traces, sheep in harness, see L. N. Gondatti’s collection), and they were admonished to be careful. Thus, in order that children running through the dwelling did not burn themselves, they covered the hearth with a large flat stone. When a child began to take the

first steps, he had special straps for supporting him or they were fastened to beams in the dwelling. The parents or relatives showed elation after a long separation from the children, but in order not to attract the attention of the spirits, they said the opposite. “Uh, what, you’re still small!” if he was strong and healthy and well fed, or: “Uh, what, you’re lean and skinny!”

Just as among the Itel’men (Krasheninnikov 1949:370), among the Kerek winter was a year and summer was another. Therefore, determining the age of a child, the Kerek said that he lived two summers and one winter and so on.



*Figure 21. A Kerek child's toy: a sheep with dogs and a dog with a harness. MAE Collection No. 442-28.*

As a rule, the Kerek considered a born son the father of the mother, and if the father was alive, then her grandfather or some other relative of the maternal line. When a daughter was born, her father said that the *navmat* (“mother-in-law”) had returned, and the mother of the daughter said that her *ylla* (mother) had returned. Thus, the Kerek believed that the children that were born were their ancestors, who again returned to them. They gave the name of the ancestors in the maternal line to the children. Thus, for example, Mikhail Ivanovich Etyнкеu called his son by the name of his uncle, brother of his mother Kaavykuiņyn, but according to the passport he is Nikolai Mikhailovich Etyнкеu.

Using the Kerek system of conferring names of ancestors, it can be supposed that the Khatyrka elder Pia (Kosven 1962:289), mentioned by I. Ankudinov in 1777, was an ancestor of the Opuka Kerek, and his descendant was the Kerek Upiya. The Kerek I. Uvayrgin told us that in approximately 1930 on Cape Opuka (Yllavinan), Upiya, the head of the Opuka Kerek was buried at a good old age. We found this grave, which was examined by A. A. Orekhov. Based on the items placed in the grave, Uvayrgin determined that it really was Upiya.

We will make an approximate calculation. The difference between the death of Upiya and the life of Pia is 153 years. Being the elder of the “Khatyrka clan,” Pia would have been older than 40 years in age and could have died in old age at 70–75, and perhaps even older. We note that with the high child mortality of the natives of Chukotka and Kamchatka long age was also observed: physically strong, tempered people survived. If Pia died at 70–75 years, then the date of his death falls at the very end of the 18th century and the interval between his death and the birth of Upiya is reduced to 50–60 years. This is the life of one or two generations. Consequently, the name Upiya could have been given as the name of the ancestor Pia. The difference in the writing can be explained by the inaccuracy of I. Ankudinov’s records.

But there were occasions when the Kerek gave nicknames based on some notable event or incident. Thus, once the Kerek from Amamkut were going to visit in Gachgatagin in a baidara. The mother of Khatkana’s sister was pregnant, but also decided to go with everyone. On the road her birth pains began. The Kerek made a canopy shelter in the baidara, where the birth occurred. The sea was calm and peaceful. Due to this connection they gave the little girl the name Añkaña—“Marine.” But such cases were an exception. The same A. V. Ankana had a second name after the name of the ancestor.

Referring to Steller, S. P. Krasheninnikov describes interesting relations between children and parents among the Itel’men:

[P]arental love for children is as great as is the latter’s contempt for the parents, and especially for the aged and decrepit. They rail against the parents using all kinds of foul words, not listening to anything they say and not even looking at them; the parents do not dare to scold them nor punish them for this, nor hamper them. When parents have not seen their children for a long time, when they see them they embrace them with an expression of heartfelt joy; in contrast, the children act entirely different. The children never ask anything of their parents, but take what they want (Krasheninnikov 1949:440).

We observed something like this in the Kerek family of M. I. Etyнкеu at the Kuet fish camp. Nikolai Etyнкеu treated his father Mikhail Ivanovich and his mother Ekaterina Kal’vichanau extremely poorly, though outwardly he did not show it. Perhaps this is not a typical example, but knowing well family relations among the Chukchi and Eskimos, among which the old are held in great honor, this feature immediately struck our eye. Cases were frequent when Nikolai offhandedly took personal items from his father and did not observe any respect for his parents. While Nikolai stayed at the fish camp, he managed the nets and all the catch, and distributed and sold fish behind his father’s back. The old man sometimes complained to us about the impudence of his son but did not say a word to him. The old parents felt the burden of the son’s stay, but it was enough for Nikolai to leave, when they began impatiently to await the

day of his return, and on the day of the expected arrival they peered into the distance of the channel and listened for the sound of a boat. And with the arrival of the son everything was repeated.

It can be supposed that such relations occurred among the Kerek on the basis of the idea that the ancestors return in the appearance of children, when the mother believed her daughter to be the mother *yllapil* or grandmother *appapil*, and her son to be her maternal grandfather *appapil*. From this also emerges the institution of submission of the elders to their children as if to their ancestors, who could not be opposed. This feature is clearly reflected even in Kerek folklore. Thus, fox Iaiuchaṇakkut, wherever she went, whatever she did, asks permission of her daughter Imynny, and the latter in her turn, scolds the mother for various clever tricks and edifies her. In many stories the younger children appear cleverer than the older. Thus, in the story “Pluntykanelyn” it is specifically said that the older sister is stupid and, therefore, despite the grandmother’s ban sets free a devil-cannibal. And the younger son of the raven Kukki, Auppali turns out cleverer than his father and is the first to unravel the deception of the fox.

A pregnant woman enjoyed special attention and respect among the Kerek. She was reverently cared for and had special food prepared. A pregnant woman was not allowed to turn over to her other side during sleep: she had to sit up and only after this could she lie down again. Elderly women strictly watched this.

Childbirth of Kerek women occurred in the dwelling—a place was fenced-off. Birth was obligatorily attended by an old and experienced woman. After a birth they tightly bound up the hip and tied up the belly. In distinction from the Chukchi, Koryak, and Itel’men the Kerek did not permit childbearing woman to walk for two or three weeks or perform heavy work. They gave the childbearing woman fat broth to drink. All bandages were removed only after a month. In order that the childbearing woman did not catch a cold, she slept in spacious, warm clothing.

## **SOME ANCIENT IDEAS, FESTIVALS, AND CEREMONIES**

Material for this section is far from complete; we cite only that fragmentary information that could be revealed in conversation and communication with the Kerek and with the treatment of the folklore.

The Kerek state that their shamans had a special ceremonial dress. It had an open front and long, embroidered patterns. The edges were fringed with dog fur; on the head was a fluffy cap with tassels. In distinction from Chukchi shamans, those of the Kerek were not occupied with everyday business; they only forecast the weather and luck in fishing, “treated” the sick, and carried out various religious functions. The Chukchi and Koryak believed that Kerek shamans were knowledgeable and strong and that the Kerek females possessed great magical power. “Among the women a ‘bedeviled old woman’ (*uivelynpynęvkei*) corresponds ‘to a mocking shaman’. Such is . . . an old woman from the Kerek tribe, the size of a finger” (Bogoras 1900:XVIII–XIX).

Kerek shamans knew well the stunt of piercing themselves with a knife, which was widespread among the tribes of the Northeast and even encountered among the Yakut. Thus, on

24 February 1739, in the Lower Kamchatka fort, the Ukinskii shaman Dushech’ in their language called Karymlyach’, practiced shamanism with me, beat a tambourine intentionally long, standing on his knees, in a regular dress, because they do not have special shamanic dress, and after the séance he pierced himself with a knife in the abdomen; after a short time of shamaning, he withdrew from beneath his parka allegedly a handful of blood that flowed from his stomach and ate it with such willingness that he even licked his fingers. After this he wiped his stomach and showed us, but there was no wound, and why it shouldn’t be there, because he released the knife from his hand at the bottom of his stomach, which he took from his sleeve, and he had blood of a seal, with which he smeared his stomach, stored in a bladder (Krasheninnikov 1949:724).

A similar trick is described by the traveler Eirie at the beginning of the 19th century among the Yakut:

Having finished his magical hymn [the shaman] began jumping and hopping, screaming, squealing, and becoming distorted so frightfully that I thought he was mad. Suddenly, he seized a knife and appeared to thrust it into his body. Seeing this, you are involuntarily frightened. Soon he withdrew it without the slightest bleeding and declared that an evil spirit would have mercy if they slaughter a fat mare in its honor; after this, all present dispersed, having received an invitation to the granting of the mare tomorrow (*Zhivopisanie puteshestviya*. . ., 1839:274).

S. P. Krasheninnikov was more observant than the foreign traveler, and was able to see the deception of the shaman. In the narrative of the Kerek M. I. Etynkeu (see the appendix), the shaman also pierces himself in the chest with a knife, from which blood spatters, but the shaman does not use this method as a spell or a request to an evil spirit, but for predicting the fate of a person (if someone of those present takes the knife from the chest of the shaman, then he will live for a long time; if he does not take it, then death awaits him). The Kerek believed in the immortality of the shaman.

Of the ancient festivals, we managed to record the festival with the move to the winter dwelling and with the procurement of a brown bear, but unfortunately they could not be described in detail since they had already been forgotten.

The ideas of the Kerek about animals and their customs connected with birth and death were distinctive, but at the same time they are similar to ceremonies of neighboring tribes.

Thus, the Kerek believed that each procured animal (seal, bearded seal, walrus, whale, reindeer, and others) comes to them as a guest. The mistress of the dwelling, meeting the hunter with the catch, carried out the custom of giving thanks (*klikypyttuvak*). The ceremony was accompanied with singing songs of praise, in which the animal and the hunter are exalted. Thus, in the story of "Kukki," the wife of the raven Miti meets her husband, returning with a seal, with a dance and song of praise. Similar customs existed among the Eskimos (Rubtsova 1954:255), Koryak (Stebnitskii 1938:132), and other peoples of the Northeast. When the procured animal was eaten, the Kerek did not destroy the bones, like the Chukchi, who "carefully burned the bones and food remains" (Bogoras 1900:6) but rather gathered them in a pile; the vertebrae were strung on a special thong or rope and solemnly delivered to the sea. Together with the bones, they placed pieces of dried meat, yukola, crowberry, and roots of *palkumiat*; all this was buried in the gravel or sand on the seashore, uttering an apology and incantation of gratitude or a request not to be offended and to come again as a guest.

The Kerek had the custom of meeting the host who was returning home from a long trip or from hunting by throwing a firebrand from the home hearth. It was believed that this scares off evil and bad spirits that adhere to a person on the road. We were not able to observe such ceremony among the Chukchi of the northern regions, but many informants state that this custom was widespread among the Reindeer Chukchi of the Anadyr' River basin.

We find descriptions among the first Russian explorers of the methods of burial among natives of the Northeast.

"And they do not have burials," S. P. Krashennikov writes about the Itel'men, "but, having tied a rope to the neck, they drag them out and all their clothing with them, in which they lay, and the bed from the yurt and throw them to the dogs and ravens to eat" (Krasheninnikov 1949:716) In another case

the Kamchadal bury the deceased in the ground, dressed in the clothing that they wore, and on top covered with a *chirel*, that is, with a grass mat. From such sorrow the deceased, whose body has decayed, is thrown on top of the ground for the dogs to eat, since they believe it a sin to place it in the ground. Infants who die are not buried in the ground, but rather are placed in a hollow tree (Krasheninnikov 1949:696–697).

The Ainu “who die in winter are buried in the snow, and in summer—in the ground” (Krashennikov 1949:470).

“Removal to the tundra is the most widespread method of burial among the Chukchi,” writes W. G. Bogoras. “The Koryak, who live to the south where the vegetation is more abundant, by contrast use almost exclusively cremation. The Coastal Koryak, who also lack fuel, throw the deceased into the sea from high cliffs” (Bogoras 1939:185). We add that the Chukchi also prefer cremation of the deceased where that is a possibility. The Asiatic Eskimos “did not bury the deceased in the ground, but surrounded by stones so that the deceased remained uncovered” (Rubtsova 1954:78). The Coastal Chukchi buried by the same method in the tundra.

Consequently, the Coastal Chukchi and Asiatic Eskimos buried in the tundra; for the Chavchuvén Koryak and the Reindeer Chukchi cremation is characteristic; for the Itel'men and Ainu interment was in the ground (for the latter—also interment in the snow in winter); the Itel'men threw the corpse to the dogs and ravens; the Coastal Koryak threw the corpse into the sea.

Kerek methods of burial had their own features and some analogies with the Koryak *kidanie* [“throwing”] into the sea and with the Itel'men burial of children in hollow trees.

The Kerek had two methods of burial: in winter they threw the deceased into the sea, while in summer they interred them in the ground, but there were also cases when in summer they buried them in the sea. Burial in the sea was preferable. The same burial ceremonies were carried out with both methods of burial. Infants were buried in the semisubterranean dwelling, interred in the sod under the house wall; with this they said *nakhalallaŋi*—“passed by” (he or she), having in mind one of the ancestors who did not wish to return to their families. This method of burial of children is analogous to the Itel'men method of burial of children in hollows of trees. It is possible that in the distant past, living somewhere to the south, the Kerek also buried their children in hollows.

If the deceased did not leave an oral will, when selecting the place of burial and method of interment, divination was performed. In distinction from the Chukchi and Koryak, the Kerek did not divine on hanging objects; they touched the thigh of the deceased and depending on to which side the head turned, determined the place where the deceased wished to be buried. If the head turned toward the sea, then they were buried in the sea, if to the side toward the land, then they were interred in the ground. There was also another method of divination. The divining person lay beside the deceased, placed the hand on his forehead and, shaking the head, asked where the deceased wished to be buried.

By the last method of divination, the Kerek K. A. Turyl'kot determined the “desire” of the deceased Omrytvaal and told her daughter E. Khatkana that her mother wanted to be buried in the sea. But the daughter, in the past an activist and comparatively literate person, violated Kerek tradition and buried her mother by the modern custom in a grave, by which she brought on the great dissatisfaction of her relatives.

When a person died, his face and body was rubbed with a stone-dust (possibly ocher) moistened with water produced by rubbing a stone on stone. They also anointed the face of all members of the family and residents of the dwelling, since they were all related. While the deceased was in the dwelling, they placed on his chest a small grinding stone—a *pynakvun*. Based on the beliefs of the Kerek, it was believed that if this was not done, the deceased could rise up and take someone with him.

They sewed special clothing for the deceased, and no gaps or holes should be in it. The Kerek believed that if the deceased is buried in clothing with holes, then unhealed rotting sores would appear among the children of the deceased and his near relatives. Clothes of deer hide were stitched with sinew, without knots. The edge of the hood, hem, and sleeves were made of white dog fur. They punched a needle hole in the soles of the boots, and instead of straw insoles they put in only one straw. The strings on the boots were tied not as on a living person, but in a “dead” knot. The deceased they dressed in a special parka *lumii?an* with sewn-on hood; if they were to bury him in the sea, they fastened a tiny boat, as well as personal items, on the belt, and for a woman—obligatorily, a needle case, beads, earrings, and a digging stick.

After completing all the ceremonies and dressing the deceased, they tightly bound its hands and feet with thongs and closed the hood, leaving open only the nose. Before lowering it into the sea they pierced its side with a knife in order that the corpse did not swell in the water. They carried the deceased on special thongs or conveyed the body on a sled to the edge of the shorefast ice. They lowered the body carefully so that water did not overflow the face, with the head forward, and pushed it away from the edge. Fur clothing of reindeer hide kept the corpse on the surface of the water for a long time. The Kerek believed that the deceased swam to his or her ancestors. If the corpse was brought back by the current, it was a bad omen; they believed that someone else was supposed to die; the deceased was waiting for a traveling companion.

The wife, children, and close relatives of the deceased were not present at burials. They tied up the children tightly with thongs and, like the dogs, put them on a leash (*n?atavtallani*). After the burial they unleashed the children and forced them to howl and bark like dogs.

The Kerek had no permanent clan or family cemeteries, as among the Eskimos and Coastal Chukchi. On dry land they usually buried on slopes of mountains or on peaks or dry hills. Thus, the chief of the Opuka Kerek, Upiia (or Upynit), who died approximately in 1930, was buried on the slope of Cape Opukinskii, and an old woman of this same clan lies on the very top of Cape Rubikon; the father of Khatkana, E. Tan?omryn, was buried on a dry hill on the left bank of the channel of Lakhtina Lagoon. The graves were dug to be shallow, 20–30 cm, as much as the permafrost permitted, and based on the size of the body. A mound in the form of a pyramid was heaped on top; at the head a stick in the form of a paddle or oar was set. The deceased was always placed with the head to the west.

## **CONNECTIONS AND RELATIONS OF THE KEREK WITH NEIGHBORING TRIBES**

At the arrival of Russian explorers in the 17th century the Kerek occupied the coastal zone of the Bering Sea from the Anadyr' Estuary to Cape Olyutorskii. Their closest neighbors on the south were the Koryak—Apukin and Alyutor peoples—while the Chavchoven Koryak lived in the remote regions. It is possible that before the arrival of the Russians, the Kerek had certain connections with the so-called Anauly, whom S. I. Dezhnev encountered in his time on the middle course of the Anadyr' River. The coast from the Anadyr' Estuary north to Kresta Bay, judging by documents of Russian Cossacks, was almost uninhabited, while the Kerek here had episodic encounters with the Coastal Chukchi when the latter conducted expeditions in baidary on the Anadyr' River to hunt wild reindeer. By the end of the 17th century the Kerek did not have direct contacts with the Asiatic Eskimos.

It is possible that in more ancient times the territory of Kerek settlement was substantially larger and that in the north they had the Eskimos as their neighbors, while in the south they maintained connections with the Itel'men and ancient Koryak of the Okhotsk coast, since there are rather many Itel'men analogies in the spiritual culture of the Kerek, and in the material culture there are traces of Old Koryak connections (dwelling, hearth, and so on).

Of the northeastern Paleoasiatics, I. S. Vdovin believes Koryak-Eskimo connections are more ancient, with, as he says, their roots in the distant past:

Their (the Eskimos.—V. L.) features are found in several basic elements of material and spiritual culture, especially among the Settled (Coastal) Koryak, and especially those who live on the coast of the Olyutorskoe and Kamchatka seas. Traces of an Eskimo substrate are found in the language of the Alyutor Koryak, in the toponymy of the east coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula, and farther north (Vdovin 1973:262).

This side of Koryak-Eskimo connections is investigated by him in detail in a special work (Vdovin 1961). I. S. Vdovin also assigns the Kerek to the Settled Koryak. I. S. Vdovin's point of view in relation to the Kerek we believe unacceptable, since much data on language, material culture, and toponymy do not support early close connections of the Kerek with the Eskimos, and it is possible only to speak of some contacts of the Kerek with Eskimos, but not about ethnic connections and assimilation. This point of view is doubtful based on the relation to the Apuka Koryak as well.

Before the 18th century, relations of the Kerek with the Coastal Chukchi, the Alyutor, and the Chavchoven Koryak evidently bore a comparatively peaceful character:

Legends have been preserved up to now among the Coastal Chukchi of the Bering Strait coast about how their ancestors sailed into Meinypilgyn Strait, to the mouth of the Khatyrka River, where they carried out trade with the Koryak. There were evidently no complications in the relations of the Chukchi with the Settled Koryak of this coast. At the

end of the 18th century the Koryak of the Khatyrka coast did not construct fortifications and the Chukchi did not attack them (Vdovin 1965:62).

The assumption of I. S. Vdovin regarding peaceful relations is supported by a story of the Kerek informant M. I. Etyнкеu, who said that formerly the Kerek were peace-loving people and did not even have weapons for killing people. Also, the Kerek vocabulary indicates close connections with the Coastal Chukchi. In it there are borrowings and analogs with the speech of the Coastal Chukchi (though, it would seem, the Reindeer Chukchi of the right bank of the Anadyr' River had greater influence on the Kerek language). Thus, in Kerek *vaiṇak*, in the dialect of the Coastal Chukchi *vaiṇyk*, in the Anadyr' dialect of the Chukchi, closest neighbors of the Kerek, *pinkuk*, which means "go out" or "die out" (about fire); in Kerek *v?ak*—"to die," in the Chukotkan dialect of the Coastal Chukchi *v?ik*, in Anadyr'—*vaiṇyk*.

From the end of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century the milieu of the Kerek changed. On the right bank of the Anadyr' River appear the Chavchyvat Chukchi who form two groups: the Tel'кеp and the Vilyunei. The former take over the Tumanskaya River basin, the second—the upper basins of the Velikaya and Khatyrka rivers. The peaceful life of the Kerek is upset when Chukchi-Koryak wars break out. The Reindeer Chukchi attacked not only the Chavchuchen Koryak, but also the Kerek, burned their pithouses, stole their supplies of fish, killed the men, and took the women and children into slavery.

"This is how the enemies-tannyt acted," related the Kerek M. I. Etyнкеu.

Our people, the Kerek people, were always on the alert, since the enemy wanted to annihilate us, when we in winter lived in *val'kary* [pithouses]. The enemy approached the *val'kary*, opened the smoke hole and set the *val'kary* on fire, throwing there burning tow with fat. The *val'kar* caught fire since it was wood. But the people did not burn; they ran out. The enemy was armed with spears, while we did not have spears, but only bows. We shot from the bows (see Appendix).

In this period the Kerek abandoned the area of the coast from Cape Navarin to the mouth of the Khatyrka River and settled in places of difficult access on the Navarin Peninsula and south of the Khatyrka River.

After the end of the war the Kerek became completely economically dependent on the Reindeer Chukchi. The Kerek even acquired the custom of giving children into the service of the Reindeer Chukchi, though the latter often took them by force. Thus, still at the beginning of the 20th century the Kerek woman Omrytvaal, mother of E. Khatkana, was taken by force into slavery. The marriage of Reindeer Chukchi with a Kerek woman was considered degrading.

"The Kerek," wrote W. G. Bogoras, "who live on Cape Barykova, repeatedly complained that the Tel'кеp Chukchi deal with them badly, take furs without paying, and force children to work as herders" (Bogoras 1934:29). As a form of payment the Kerek received from the Reindeer Chukchi reindeer hides for clothing, meat, sinew for nets, Russian wares, American Winchesters, bullets, and other things.

At the end of the 19th century, with the decline of sea mammal hunting, and along with it fishing, the economic connections of the Kerek with other tribes subsided, and they fell into grinding poverty. It

was not by chance that many researchers believed the Kerek the most unfortunate tribe in the Northeast. The territory of occupation of the Kerek was difficult to access and lay away from the main routes of Russian explorers, and then also traders. Therefore, before the end of the 19th century the Kerek did not have direct contact with Europeans. All these factors restrained development of the Kerek people; they maintained the ancient form of life.

Nevertheless, Kerek connections with the Coastal Chukchi, Settled Koryak, and Chauchu and Chavchoven reindeer herders rendered substantial influence on the development of Kerek culture. Many borrowings appear in the Kerek language, the summer type of dwelling is changed, making it look more like the Chukchi yaranga, and the Chukchi-Eskimo toggling harpoon begins to enter into use in maritime exploitation, as well as the *akyn*—the grappling hook for dragging seals out of the water—and baidary of the Chukchi and Koryak types. From the beginning of settlement of the Chukchi and Koryak on the coast, the active process of assimilation of the Kerek is begun by the more numerous Chukchi and Koryak, and marriages becoming more frequent between them.



## LANGUAGE AND TOPONYMY

At the end of the 1950s P. Ya. Skorik conducted prominent research in the area of the comparative study of Paleoasiatic languages (Skorik 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1968). He proposed a new classification for them, giving them the name “Chukotsko-Kamchatskie.” In this group P. Ya. Skorik introduces genetically related languages: Chukchi, Koryak, Kerek, Alyutor, and Itel'men. From the Koryak language he separated Alyutor and Kerek as independent languages. Under the Alyutor language he unites the Karagin, Palan, and Alyutor dialects of the Koryak language, that is, based on the determination of S. N. Stebnitskii (Stebnitskii 1937:290–291), the whole *ra-kayushchaya* (southern) group. P. Ya. Skorik finds two dialects in the Kerek language: the Meinypil'gin and the Khatyrka. Speaking of the origin of the Alyutor language, he notes that

comparative analysis provides the possibility of supposing that the Alyutor language was separate from the Chukchi, and the Kerek from the Koryak. With this, the Alyutor language appeared as a result not only of the influence of an Eskimo substrate, but also of substantial influence from the Koryak language, from which it borrowed a certain number of both lexical and grammatical elements. . . . In its turn, besides the Eskimo substrate, the Chukchi language had a substantial impact on the formation of the Kerek language, which continues up to the present (Skorik 1958b:544).

The Kerek themselves say that in their language every fourth word is Kerek proper, and the rest are Chukchi or Koryak (Etyнкеu and Turyl'kot 1971). In fact, in the Kerek language there are very many lexical borrowings from the Chukchi and Koryak languages, and in the beginning it was perceived as a “corrupt Chukchi language.” Nevertheless, to a person fluent in the Chukchi or Koryak language, Kerek speech is difficult to understand and only the most general meaning is understood. However, the Meinypil'gin and Khatyrka Chukchi who have lived for a long time in neighborly contact with the Kerek understand their speech well, but do not converse with the Kerek in their native tongue.

Upon working on the Kerek language we initially used the method proposed by P. Ya. Skorik, and thus, based on an earlier thematic dictionary of the Chukchi language, we asked analogous words in Kerek. This did not produce positive results, since the Kerek informants simply adapted the words, breaking the vowel harmony and forming Chukchi bases with their own word-formation methods. For example, the Chukchi *terḡatyk* (“to cry”) was adapted by the Kerek to *tiiḡatyk* (the Kerek proper being *ikiiak*).

In this example, in the Chukchi word adapted by the Kerek, the sound *r* was omitted, which is absent in the Kerek language. Later, when we had to abandon this method, we began to work on tape recordings of folklore and everyday texts. Relating folk stories, the narrator was not under pressure of the Chukchi language and used the means of expression of his native language. Thus, we succeeded in revealing and replenishing the supply of Kerek words proper, which do not have a common base in the Chukchi and Koryak languages and evidently make up the basic word stocks of the Kerek language. We cite several comparative examples.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The Koryak Lexicon was borrowed from the *Russko-koryakskii slovar'* [Russian-Koryak Dictionary] (compiled by A. N. Zhukova 1967). Chukchi words are cited by the author, who speaks the Chukchi language fluently.

<b>Kerek</b>	<b>Chukchi</b>	<b>Koryak</b>	<b>Translation</b>
<i>apyn?avinatsa*</i>	<i>i?arenats</i>	<i>pruiila</i>	<i>skeleton</i>
<i>achaan, achaiian</i>	<i>uveran</i>	<i>pechgyechgyn</i>	<i>meat cache</i>
<i>itpak</i>	<i>mylgymyl</i>	<i>nutetg'ul</i>	<i>sod</i>
<i>ikiiak</i>	<i>tersatyk</i>	<i>teitsatyk</i>	<i>to cry</i>
<i>iliityk</i>	<i>pivrek</i>	<i>ininik</i>	<i>to emerge</i>
<i>inpylkhyn</i>	<i>pen'elgyn</i>	<i>pechin</i>	<i>stove</i>
<i>kaiukai, pikkuitsyn</i>	<i>atyn</i>	<i>av'aav</i>	<i>wound</i>
<i>nkiklan</i>	<i>y'vekuch</i>	<i>klavol</i>	<i>husband</i>
<i>pyllan<sup>7</sup></i>	<i>tirkytir</i>	<i>tyikytyi</i>	<i>sun</i>
<i>pyttylak</i>	<i>vulkytvik, vuskeyk</i>	<i>lukitvik</i>	<i>darken</i>
<i>unval</i>	<i>pekul</i>	<i>pekul</i>	<i>woman's knife</i>
<i>ukkakkana</i>	<i>vetly</i>	<i>v'elly</i>	<i>crow</i>
<i>khatuiun</i>	<i>chottagyn</i>	<i>chinek</i>	<i>corridor</i>
<i>khatkuinyn</i>	<i>pamytkonan</i>	<i>emlytinunets</i>	<i>kayak sump pump</i>

\*The words in this table have been transliterated directly from Russian and should not be viewed as linguistically reliable. For linguistic accuracy one should go to the original table in Leont'ev 1983:68.—*Trans.*

In distinction from the Eskimo language, which through close contacts with the Chukchi language borrowed many Chukchi adverbs and auxiliary words, these categories of words are preserved in Kerek, some close to the Koryak language. P. Ya. Skorik also notes this feature: “A substantial part of the lexicon of the Kerek language, especially function words, differ from the lexicon of other Chukotsko-Kamchatskie languages not only in phonomorphological structure, but also materially” (Skorik 1968:333). For example:<sup>8</sup>

<b>Kerek</b>	<b>Chukchi</b>	<b>Eskimo<sup>8</sup></b>	<b>Translation</b>
<i>ai?at</i>	<i>evyn</i>	<i>iv'yn</i>	but, if
<i>achchi</i>	<i>ymy, ymyn</i>	<i>ama</i>	also
<i>v?aiuk</i>	<i>kynver</i>	<i>kynvat</i>	finally
<i>iakkai</i>	<i>ynk?am</i>	<i>ynkam</i>	and, then
<i>iakkamel</i>	<i>i?arat</i>	<i>yag'rat</i>	very, quite
<i>ieman</i>	<i>venlygi</i>	<i>vanlygi</i>	nevertheless, still
<i>kaimyn</i>	<i>chama</i>	<i>syama</i>	also, as well
<i>malkytyl</i>	<i>mechynky</i>	<i>masinka</i>	sufficiently, enough
<i>nitchan, lumatchi</i>	<i>opopyn</i>	<i>upupyn</i>	let, have to
<i>piia, piiaku</i>	<i>viin</i>	<i>vin</i>	meanwhile

<sup>7</sup> The Kerek use the word *pyllan* also for a button. The second meaning of this word emerged after the Kerek saw Russian officials in uniforms with shining buttons for the first time. A. A. Resin remembers how the “Chukmari” liked the buttons on his tunic and tried to pluck them off (Resin 1888).

<sup>8</sup> Menovshchikov 1964.

The service words *v?aiuk*, *iakkai*, and *malkytl* have the same meaning in the Koryak language.

Lexical borrowing from the Eskimo language is very insignificant. We succeeded meanwhile in recording just a few words. For example: the Kerek *nylkak* and Eskimo (Chaplino dialect) *nyltkak* mean “cormorant”; the Kerek *sikakana*, Eskimo (Chaplino dialect) *sikik*, and Imakl. dialect *sykshyt* mean “ground squirrel” (Menovshchikov 1964:208).

The cited examples of lexical borrowing indicate that the Kerek language was in closer contact with the Koryak language than with the Chukchi and in lesser degree than with the Eskimo language.

P. Ya. Skorik sees the Eskimo substrate in the Alyutor and Kerek “languages” primarily in the absence of vowel harmony, which is typical for the Chukchi language; in the Kerek language he specifically found it in the absence of vowel phonemes *e* and *o* (Chukchi *ketaket*, Eskimo *kitaka*, Kerek *kita-kit*—“salmon”; Chukchi *koiŋyn*, Eskimo *kuina*, Kerek *kuinyn*—“pipe,” “cup”). P. Ya. Skorik concludes that this feature of pronunciation was originally acquired by the ancestors of the Kerek from the Eskimos they assimilated (Skorik 1958b:541). But ethnographic and archaeological materials gathered on the Kerek do not support close contact with the Eskimos, and the breach of vowel harmony is typical not only for the Alyutor dialect and Kerek language, but also for dialects of other subdivisions of Koryak, as well as languages of the non-Paleoasiatic group proper.

At the same time, in the Kerek language there is one important feature that distinguishes it from Koryak and Chukchi and has no analogy in Eskimo, but brings it closer to the Itel'men language. In the Chukchi and Koryak languages, co-occurrence of two or three consonants at the beginning and at the end of a word is unacceptable in the structure of a word, while for the Kerek language this is a common phenomenon (Chukchi *mytkymyt*, Kerek *mtkmyt*—“fat”; Chukchi *mumkyl*, Kerek *mumkl*—“buckle”) (Skorik 1968:312). We found the same phonetic feature in the Itel'men language. However, there is meanwhile no basis to speak of the interaction of the Kerek and Itel'men languages since no lexical borrowings were found. This phonetic phenomenon could have emerged independently and not under the influence of another language.

Kerek speech sounds quiet and delicate, more melodious, due to the absence of consonant sounds *g* and *r* (Skorik 1968:311) and the presence of smooth sonant sounds. A large semantic role is played by intonation; in folklore dialog occupies a large place.

There are still insufficient materials on the Kerek language to finally confirm it as an independent language. Comparing the modern Kerek language with languages of other subdivisions of Paleoasiatic, it is presumably possible to say that at present it is a dialect of the Koryak language, close to the *ya-kayushchaya* group. It is entirely possible that in the past the Kerek had their own language, but in the process of historical development it was assimilated by the Koryak, and then by the Chukchi language.

In distinction from the Chukchi language, in Kerek there is no special women's dialect that has basic phonetic differences from the men's, but there are individual words that can be spoken only by women. These words relate to domestic affairs and women's illnesses, with intimate life. I. S. Vdovin notices approximately the same in the Apuka dialect of the Koryak language: “To the number of features of the Apuka dialect should be assigned elements of the special women's lexicon, more correctly some words and forms used in the language of women that were not used in the speech of men.” Further he supposes “that among the Apuka women were representatives of some other ethnic background, evidently Kerek” (Vdovin 1973:103).

The assumption of I. S. Vdovin does not lack a basis. Thus, among the Beringian Chukchi women's dialect can be clearly traced Kerek influence in replacement of the Chukchi *ch* by the Kerek *s*' (*chama*—*s'ama*, *chit*—*sit*); in the Coastal Chukchi women's dialect the sound *r* and convergence of the *tr* was replaced with the Eskimo sound *sh* (men's *ragtyg'e*—women's *shagtyg'e*—"went home," men's *gytruigu*—women's *gyshshuigu*—"be cheerful," and so on), while in the women's dialect of the remote Chukchi (Anadyr' and Bilibin regions) the "ts" sound [undifferentiated affricates] is typical, though it is also present in other women's dialects.<sup>9</sup> In some women's dialects the replacement of sounds occurs only in the lexicon connected with women's occupations. Thus, for example, in the word *koragynretyk* ("to tend reindeer") in the women's dialect of the Ylvynsk group of the Chukchi the sound *r* is preserved; in the eastern region they obligatorily say, *kotsagyntsetyk* or *koshagynshatyk*. Some groups of Chukchi of the Kolyuchina Bay region did not have a women's dialect (*toigunenets*) at all.

These examples give us cause to think that the emergence of a women's dialect and the formation of local features in it was the result of connections of the Chukchi with their closest neighbors: The Coastal Chukchi with the Eskimos, Beringian Chukchi with the Kerek, and the Anadyr' Chukchi with the Chavchaven. It is perhaps impossible to assign the time of appearance of this phenomenon to the distant past. Chukchi women's dialect was a consequence of inter-tribal wars that began in the 18th century. The Chukchi, attacking the Koryak, killed men, while women and children were taken captive. The captured women with children made up a substantial share of the population in a camp, and their social position in the Chukchi environment facilitated preservation of their own language. It is no accident that S. N. Stebnitskii notes the archaic character of the women's pronunciation in the Chukchi language in comparison with the men's (Stebnitskii 1937:303). And in fact, the Koryak language is believed to be more ancient than the Chukchi.

The women's and men's dialects among the Chukchi were preserved up to present only among representatives of the older generation, while twenty years ago this division was strictly observed. It is interesting that a Chukchi woman, falling into another ethnic environment, especially with entry into marriage with an Eskimo, Koryak, or Kerek, gave up the women's pronunciation and moved to the men's. N. B. Shnakenburg in his time noticed this feature in mixed Kerek-Chukchi families: "A Chukchi woman (wife of a Kerek.—V. L.) at home speaks in Kerek and Chukchi, not adhering in the latter case to the women's pronunciation, so characteristic for Chukchi women" (Shnakenburg 1939:97).

In the archaeological and ethnographic literature on the Northeast, I. S. Vdovin's point of view is firmly established, that "traces of the sojourn of Eskimos on the eastern shore of the Kamchatka Peninsula can be seen in the toponymy of the population points and other geographic objects" (Vdovin 1961:27–63). Thus, the name of a cove in Avacha Bay, Tar'ya, he assigns to the Eskimo *tag'ëk*—"salt, the taste of sea water"; the name Uka of the stream and settlement to the Eskimo *uka*—"cod, fat"; the name of the inlet and river Kayum to the Eskimo word, denoting goby ("fish"); the name of the Kaŋkhal spit in Korfa Bay with the Alaskan Eskimo name of a cape and spit Kangeq; and others. He also interprets other toponyms the same way that are encountered along the whole coast from Kamchatka to Anadyr' Bay, and in *Ocherki etnicheskoi istorii koryakov* [Essays of Ethnic History of the Koryak] considers as Eskimo in origin some toponyms in the region of Tauiskaya Bay. "These are the name of the bays: Amakhton (Amakhtonskii) and Motyklei (Motykleiskii). The meaning of these names is quite close to the Eskimo words: amakhton—*imakhl'yuk*—"storm" (storm place); motyklei—*mytykhl'yuk*—"raven" (raven place)" (Vdovin 1973:265–266) and so on.

<sup>9</sup> Field materials of the author from 1964–1967 from the Bilibin, Chaun, and Chukotka regions.

Such interpretation of toponyms based on their approximate external similarity with individual words of a corresponding contemporary language is not reliable (Menovshchikov 1963:125). “However, it should be noted,” writes G. A. Menovshchikov,

that Eskimo toponyms, with few exceptions, are etymologized by I. S. Vdovin imprecisely. The striving toward indispensable disclosure of the lexical meaning of a word lying at the base of a toponym far from always gives positive results, since many ancient words vanished from the language or came to be used in another meaning. Thus, it is necessary to consider also the fact that in the period of appearance of Eskimo toponyms, there already existed dialects and related Eskimo languages, the vocabularies of which were not identical. Thus, in order to provide a more or less correct etymology of a toponym, the researcher must have the necessary concepts about the dialects and about the related languages whose bearers created the first toponyms in this territory (Menovshchikov 1963:125).

Superficial similarity of words is a rather frequent phenomenon. For example, misleading can be such pairs of words, like Eskimo *anḡak*—“ball” and Chukchi *anḡak*—“in the sea”; Eskimo *miluta-ka*—“throws” and Kerek *milutaḡa* “hare” and Chukchi *milyut*—“hares.” The word “mama” sounds almost identical in many languages of the world, but this does not mean that the Kerek *amma* and *ammaḡa* and the Chukchi *ymmemy* have their origin in the Russian “mama”! In order to correctly etymologize this or that word, to establish its linguistic association, it is necessary to follow it in other, related languages and dialects, to study the route of adaptation of this word in other languages, to establish phonetic and morphological patterns of the interaction of the languages.

We do not reject the possibility of the presence of Eskimo toponyms in Kamchatka, but the interpretation that I. S. Vdovin gives is extremely unconvincing. For example, to deduce the origin of the toponym Kayum from the Eskimo word *kaiynyngak* (Rubtsova 1971:192), denoting fish (goby), is doubtful. Most likely, the toponym for Kayum has a Chukchi-Koryak base *-kuiym/-koiym*, which means “bay, inlet.” This toponym is widespread on the coast from Cape Olyutorskii to Cape Dezhneva and farther north and, in most cases, is used as a nomenclature term on a par with such words as *-veem/-vaam* “river,” *-neil/-nai* “mountain,” *-gytgyn*, and others. For example, Itylkuiym (on the map Etel’kuiym) is a cove within Kresta Bay, and Velkylveemkuiym is a bay north of Meinypil’gino. The toponym Uka can be correlated with the word *ukit*, which in the Olyutor dialect of the Koryak language means “herring.” In our opinion, there is no correlation between the toponym Alut and the Eskimo word *alutora* (Greenland dialect) or between Kanykhval and the Alaskan Eskimo Kangek.

The bases *-keni/-kane*, *-kani-* are widespread in the toponymy of the Northeast (Chukchi Keni-skun—formerly the name of a village at Cape Dezhneva, Keni-ergyn—Konergino village, Net’e-keni-chvyn—a bay between Cape Serdtse-Kamen’ and Neten, Kerek Kany-iun—Gavriila Bay, Eskimo Kani-nik—a bay in Kresta Bay, and so on). This word is found in equal degree in both Chukchi-Koryak and in Eskimo toponymy. In the Chukchi language it means “bend, curvature” and can be used in different nominal and verbal forms (*kane-gyrgyn* “curvature,” *kane-gty val’yn* “curved,” *kene-tg’i* “bent,” and so on). It is also present in the Koryak language in same meaning: *kana-tyk* “will bend,” *ga-kana-lin* “bent.” In the Eskimo language in the Chaplino, Naukan, and Sirenik dialects the base *-kani-* means “bay, inlet” and is used in the nominal meaning.

Meanwhile, it is difficult to determine to which language to assign the base *-keni/-kane*, *-kani*, *-kana*, *-kany*, and in what language it is original. Special linguistic investigations are necessary for this, but in relation to the toponym Kanykhval, it can be said that by its morphological model it should be assigned to the Chukotka-Kamchatka languages with complex incorporative word formation, where *-kany* “curved” and *-khval* “knife” mean “curved knife.”

The toponymy of the coast of the Bering Sea from the Anadyr’ Estuary to Cape Govena on the modern map reflects a Chukchi-Koryak base. Kerek toponymy proper has not been preserved and only Kerek components in the toponyms adapted by the Chukchi or Koryak language are encountered. This is natural, since with a detailed topographic survey in the 1940s–1950s the Kerek were already consolidated in enlarged villages and asked the nomadic Chukchi what the names of geographic objects were, and where there was none of them to ask, gave Russian names. In the process of our investigation we succeeded in identifying parallel toponyms that have a non-Chukchi language base. We cite some examples, going south from the Anadyr’ Estuary.

Anadyr’ is one of the largest rivers of the Bering Sea region and has the second, parallel name of I?aaivaam. In the opinion of archaeologist N. N. Dikov, the toponym Anadyr’ goes back to the Yukaghir base *onun*—“river” (Menovshchikov 1972:50, 102; Dikov1969:11). I?aaivaam is interpreted by G. A. Menovshchikov as the Chukchi toponym *chayach’ya* where *i?aai*, from *i?aiak*, means “seagull” and *veem/vaam*, “river” (Menovshchikov 1972:102). But this interpretation is doubtful; it is possible that *i?aaivaam* is an adaptation of the Kerek toponym *i?aaiveiem*. The meaning of the first base meanwhile could not be established, but it is unlikely to relate to “chaikoi” [“seagull”].

Onemen is a bay located west of the Anadyr’ River mouth, from Chukchi *onmyn*, *onmychyku val?yn*, that is, “located inland.”

Kanchalan is a bay and river. The river has its Chukchi name, while the toponym *kanchalan* is of non-Chukchi origin. At the left entrance into Kanchalan Bay there is Cape Tolsty, in Chukchi it is called Konchan—“sole, lone.” But this toponym hardly has any connection with the toponym Kanchalan.

Observatsii is the cape at the throat of the northern entrance to the Anadyr’ River. The Chukchi name Unpenytkyn—“pole cape” appeared with the establishment on it of a hydrographic sign and is not ancient.

Alyumka is a small island opposite the city of Anadyr’. The linguistic association of the toponym was not established; the Chukchi name Perenentyn—“taking what had been thrown away.” A Chukchi legend heard from a native of Zemlya Geka, Vasilii Etlenu, tells that “once long ago the Chukchi from the Tel’kep tundra returned with a rich booty. They went through the estuary as a large reindeer herd (*muul’yn*) with stolen goods. But the enemy began to pursue them there. The Chukchi drove the reindeer faster. They were just about to the shore when suddenly part of the convoy broke off and turned into an island” (Leont’ev 1976:23).

The Russkaya Koshka Spit is located on the north side of the entrance into the Anadyr’ Estuary, in Chukchi Chegroinyn. What the first part of the word, *chegro*, denotes was not established; *-inyn*—is an augmentive-disdainful affix. There is a second variant of the name Chegroinykytrykyr—“Chegroininskaya Dry Spit.” Somewhat farther along the estuary there is Cape Nikolaya, in Chukchi it is called Kachegroinyn—“Little Chegroinyn.”

Dionisiya is a mountain located a little south of the city of Anadyr', the Chukchi Temlyan, which means "broken needle" (*te-* from the base *tu-/te—titiny* "needle" and *-mlya*—from *mlek* "to break"). There are two legends. One says that in the foothills of this mountain women who collected berries once found a pretty bone needle. The women argued, each wanting to have it. They began trying to take the needle from each other and broke it. The other legend says that Temlyan was the name of a strong man who was defeated by the Chukchi strong man Velvylevyt, the mountain being his body (Leont'ev 1976:18–22).

Velikaya is a river flowing into Onemen Bay; the Chukchi Mainyveem means "large river"; the second name Iuiapkin is possibly Kerek.

Agtatkul' is a river that flows into the Anadyr' Estuary. Correct in Chukchi is Agtatkool or Avtat-kool—"blocking river," from *agtat-yk* "to block" and *-kuull/-kool* "deepening," "deep river," flowing through the tundra, with silty banks.

Cape Geka is a left entrance cape into the Anadyr' Estuary, in Chukchi Nigrin. What this word means has presently not been clarified. Based on information from the Chukchi A. V. Kutynkeu and M. M. Geutval', Nigrin is the name of a person who lived on Cape Geka during a period of intertribal wars. Nigrin is possibly an adaptation of a Kerek word.

Zemlya Geka is a spit at the left entrance into the Anadyr' Estuary; it is the Chukchi Nigrinutet-egyn and was formed from the name of Cape Nigrin, *-nute/-nota-* "land," *-tegyñ/-tagyn*—a boundary affix, that is, a place where the tundra hills end and the gravel spit begins.

Aivankytryn is a spit that extends from Cape Geka in a southern direction toward the estuary; in Chukchi it means "dried-up spit." We do not connect this toponym with the Chukchi ethnonym *aivan*—"Eskimo," since there are no traces in it of the sojourn of Eskimos; the name most probably reflects a feature of the location of the spit.

Tymna is a lagoon into which the Tumanskaya River falls, in Chukchi Tymne. It is named after a Chukchi called Tymnet, who lived in the 1930s on the Tumanskaya and was one of the elders.

Tumanskaya is a river and former settlement. The river has two more names: on the lower course—Talkap'ergyrgyn<sup>10</sup> and on the upper—Nygchekveem. Nygchekveem is Chukchi for "cottonwood river," where *nygchek* is "cottonwood" and *veem* "river." The name evidently emerged from brush thickets on its upper reaches. Talkap'ergyrgyn is composed of two bases: *telkep/talkap*—from the ethnonym *telke-pyl?yt*, so-called residents of the coast from the Tymna Lagoon to Cape Barykova, and *e'rgyrgyn*—from the verb *i'ryk* "to cross, traverse the river," that is, the river across which they went to the Tel'kep people. What the word *-telkep/-talkap* itself designates has presently not been established, but it is unlikely related to the Chukchi verb *talkevuk* "to pass through, to rush by" (Moll and Inenlikei 1957:127) since the component *-p-* remains unexplained.

The toponym Tumanskaya, based on external similarity, corresponds to the Russian base "tuman" [fog], but it is unlikely that it has a Russian origin. In official documents of the beginning of the 19th century there is mention of the Tumanskii clan of the Chukchi (Vdovin 1973:259). An analogous name "tumanskii koryak" is encountered in documents of the 18th century. Under this name they had in mind the Koryak of the Okhotsk coast who lived on the Tumany River, which falls into Shelikhova Bay (Vdo-

<sup>10</sup> I. S. Vdovin did not reproduce this toponym quite accurately as "Talkapgyrgyn" (see Vdovin 1973:259).

vin 1973:174). There is no doubt that the Tumanskii Koryak were so named based on the Tumany River. It is possible that between these quite distant toponyms (Tumany—Koryak and Tumanskaya—Chukchi) there is some connection. Perhaps the Russians named this place based on some common features, and most probably, based on the residents, whose form of life was similar to that of the “Tumanskii Koryak.”

Keingypil’gin is a lagoon located south of the Tumanskaya. The former Tumanskii Chukchi call this mouth Kenupilgyn—“foamy mouth”—because of the great rapids at the mouth of this lagoon. The toponym Keinyopilgyn means “throat of a brown bear.” The presence of this toponym is denied by the Chukchi.

Gotovtseva is a spit, in Kerek-Chukchi Tapan’ergyn, where the Kerek *tapan* “level place, valley” and Chukchi *e’rgyn* from *i’ryk*—“to cross, to row across.”

Al’katvaam is a river and a village; the Chukchi Alkatvaam from *elket/alkat* “to overflow with water” and *vaam* “river,” that is, “a river that went out of its banks,” “high water.” There is an analogous toponym, but in incorrect spelling, in the northern part of the Chukchi region. Thus, a left tributary of the Netenveem River is called the Alkatvaam (on the map Al’kатыkveem). In G. A. Menovshchikov’s dictionary this toponym is etymologized incorrectly (Menovshchikov 1972:169).

Barykova is the cape at the right entrance into Ugol’naya Bay; Chukchi Ylvlyu—“wild reindeer.”

Ugol’naya is a bay; Chukchi Gachgatagyn, where *gachga* from *gatle* “bird” and *-tegyn/-tagyn*—an affix designating “boundary, end,” that is, a place where there are no more birds. Kerek Khachkhatain.

Amamkut is a river that falls into Ugol’naya Bay; Kerek Amamkut, where *amma*, possibly “mama” and *kut* from *kuet* “small backwaters,” “narrowing.” There are two rivers with the name Amamkut: one is Mainammamkut—“Big Amamkut,” the other Kaiammamkut—“Little Amamkut.” This place was the center of summer pasture of the Kerek of the Ugol’naya Bay region.

Lakhtina is a lagoon in Ugol’naya Bay; in Chukchi Kelineiveemkuiym. The name comes from the mountain Kelinei—“many-colored mountain”; based on that the river was named Kelineiveem, and based on the river, the lagoon as well, with the addition of the nomenclature term “kuiym”—“inlet, bay.”

Nizmennyi is a cape; the Chukchi Chyagragkany—“site on the sand,” where *chygag* from *chygeil/chygai* is “sand, pebbles” and *ralkany* “place of an abandoned site”; Kerek Chiiaialkany.

Otvesnyi is a cape, the left entrance cape into Ugol’naya Bay; the Kerek Upank or Upankinmyn, Chukchi Opankenmyn. The Kerek *upank* means “visor, awning,” *inmyn*—“cliff.” Cape Otvesnyi is steep; it drops off at almost 90° to the sea and is an even, smooth wall. In winter, with strong north winds, a large snow drift is formed on top of the cape, for which it received the name Upank. The word *upenken* in the meaning “awning, visor” also exists among the Coastal Chukchi and has no relation to the Eskimo *upa* “sea shell” (Vdovin 1961:37).

Voennykh Topografov is a cape. It is Kerek-Chukchi: Kerek Achchinut, Chukchi Atchynot—“hidden land,” where *atch-yk* “to hide, to conceal” and *not* from *nute/nota* “land.”

Ushakova is a bay; Kerek Amaamyn, whose meaning has not been established.

Emima is a river that empties into the Amaamyn Lagoon; possibly Kerek.

Gavriila is a bay, Kerek Kynyiun—“bend, curvature” in the meaning bay; Chukchi Keniyun.

Navarin is a cape, Kerek Iuiatyn—“long, far”; Chukchi Roratyn.

Egeinmuem is a river by Cape Navarin on the south side; possibly Kerek.

Pika is a river; Chukchi Vaakvet, literally “apron” from *vaakvyn*, it is a matter of a small river valley before passing through steep hills to Gavriila Bay; second meaning, Chukchi Piky—“tip, tail of a bird, fish.” The Kerek call the mouth of this river Aiin—“surf”; the Chukchi adaptation is Eiin; what this toponym means is unknown, but the same toponym designates a river on the southwest of the Olyutorskii Peninsula that falls into the Kavachat Lagoon. It is possible that the rivers received the same names Aiin in connection with their position in the southwest.

Kaipil’gakui is a lagoon; the Chukchi Keipilgykei—“small opening” is assigned directly to the mouth. The lagoon is called Velkyl—*veemkuiym*—“Velkyl’veemskaya Bay,” where *velkylveem* is “jaw-river” and *kuiym*—“bay, inlet.” In Kerek the mouth of the lagoon is Iyinyipel—“small opening, little mouth,” where *iyinyn* is “mouth, opening” and *pel*—diminutive affix.

Pekul’neiskoe is a lake; Chukchi Pekulneikuiym—“Pekul’neiskii Bay,” is named based on the mountain Pekulnei—“knife-mountain,” where *pekul* is “woman’s knife” and *nei* “mountain.”

Meinypil’gyno is a village; Chukchi Meinypilgyn—“large opening”; Kerek Mainaiyinyn—“large mouth.”

Ekengai is a mountain near the village of Meinypil’gyno; Chukchi E’kenei—“bad mountain,” Russian Koldun. Based on this mountain the people of Meinypil’gyn determine the weather: if the mountain is covered with clouds, they expect a strong north wind.

E’tchun is the place of an ancient Kerek settlement. The meaning of Kerek Achchun has not been established.

Kuet is a fish camp at the beginning of a channel from Lake Vaamochka; Kerek Kuet—“small inlet, backwater.”

Vaamochka is a lake south of Meinypil’gyno village; from it comes a channel that empties into the sea, Chukchi Vaam’yochgyn, where *veem/vaam* is “river” and *yoch* from *yok* “to place, gather,” that is, “a gathering of rivers” (Menovshchikov 1972:65). In fact, a multitude of rivers and streams enter into this lake and stream of the same name.

Khaiidin is a cape, mountain, river, and lake; Chukchi Kaigytgyn—“small lake.”

Nykyipyilyak is a river between the villages of Meinypil’gyno and Khatyrka; Chukchi Nykepeky—“night crackling,” where *nyke* from *nyki/nyke* “night” and *pekyl* “crackling, shot.” During strong freezing the ice always cracks loudly at the mouth of this river. The Kerek and Chukchi formerly avoided this mouth since they considered it a place of the evil spirit Kamak.

Telileut are mountains on the left bank of the lower course of the Khatyrka River; Chukchi Teli-levyt—“head with braids”; Kerek Talalaut means the same.

Khatyrka is a village and river; Chukchi Vatyrgan—“dry place”; Kerek Khatyna—“cold.”

Yandal-Umen is a rock at Cape Khatyrka; Kerek Ianiaumyn—“separate thick”; Chukchi Yanrenmyn—“separate rock.” In the past, just as now, numerous birds nested and rested on this rock with a flat, slightly inclined top: guillemots, cormorants, puffins, and gulls. The Kerek crossed the sandbar to this rock during low tide and collected eggs and caught birds with nets (Leont’ev 1976:202–203).

Kuem is a river that empties from the north into the Khatyrka Estuary; Chukchi Kuiym—“bay, inlet.”

Kamakynot is a mountain on Cape Khatyrka; Chukchi-Koryak, where *kamak* is “altar” and *not* from *nute/nota* “land,” that is, “altar land.”

Madlen, Mallen is a lagoon at Cape Rubikon; the meaning of Kerek Myllan has not been established.

Annushka is a lagoon; Chukchi I’nnun means “hill,” Kerek Myllyveiem—“river,” which empties into the lagoon. The meaning *mylly* has not been established; *veiem* is “river.”

Opukinskii is a cape; Kerek Yllavinan—“big mother,” where *ylla* is “mother” and *vinan* is an augmentative affix. The foot of the cape and the lagoon are the primary place of wintering for the Opuka Kerek. Here there are burials and traces of old pithouses, as well as altars.

Opuka is a lagoon; Kerek Kitana—“freezing.” The lagoon is very shallow and in winter freezes to the bottom; in summer it is rich in birds and fish.

Lagunnyi is a cape. Kerek Uiakhnagynun, according to W. G. Bogoras, is Uyagnagynon; the meaning has not been established.

Ukelayat is a river that empties in Dezhneva Bay; according to W. G. Bogoras, it is the Ukilan. The meaning has not been established.

Yamlan is a mountain, possibly Kerek.

Linglingei is a mountain: Chukchi Linlinnei—“heart-mountain.”

Linglingkuium is a bay: Chukchi Linlinkuiym—“heart-inlet.” The toponym is formed based on the name of the mountain.

Ilpi is a lagoon in Anastasiya Bay—possibly Kerek; its meaning is unknown.

Mimyl’gytgyn is the lake-channel of the Ilpiveiem River: Kerek Mimylkhytkhyn—“seal lake.”

Vatyna is a river that empties into Nataliya Bay: Kerek Vatyna—“dry.”

Tapan is a former Kerek village and is mentioned by W. G. Bogoras; Kerek Tapan—“level place.” See Tapan’ergyn.

Vaimintagin is a lake, possibly Kerek V?aimintakhyn, where *v?aimin* “place overgrown with grass” is *takhyn*—limiting affix, designating the end of something. In this case it is a matter of the absence of grass.

Tapatagin is a former Kerek settlement, is mentioned by I. Ankudinov in 1777 under the name Tapatoga (Kosven 1962:289); Kerek Tapatakhyn—“end of the plain,” where *tapan* is “level place” and *takhyn* is a limiting affix; it corresponds to the Chukchi *tegyn/tagyn*.

Yaavn is a lagoon, possibly from the common Koryak *Yanvyn*—“bay.”

Olyutorskii is a cape and bay. The name appeared on a map after the expedition of F. P. Litke on the naval sloop *Senyavin* in 1826–1829 and given in honor of the Alyutor Koryak people. Before this the cape was called *Khatyrskii* (Kosven 1962:289).

I. S. Vdovin supposes that the name of the Alyutor Koryak people emerged from the settlement of Alyut, located on the northern shore of the Korfa Bay (the modern village of Olyutorka). From this name the Koryak word *alutal'u* (pl.) was formed—Alyutor people, *alutul'yn* (sg.)—Alyutor person (Vdovin 1973:54).

In fact, among the Koryak and Chukchi it was customary to name themselves after their place of residency, after the name of the settlement or locality. Take for example *Vyvnyl'o*, which means the Vyven Koryak, *Poityl'o*—the Paren Koryak, *Vaikynel'o*—the Kamen Koryak, *Uv?elel'yt*—Uelen Chukchi, *Inch'uvil'yt*—Inchoun Chukchi. But these ethnonyms referred to a specific group of people who lived in one settlement and not to a whole ethnic group, which had its own dialect or language. An ethnic group among their closest neighbors had its name, which was not used within the ethnic group itself. Thus, for example, the Chukchi called the Alaskan Eskimos “*Ikyrgavyk'yl*”—“hole-mouthed” (this name was given for the custom of wearing labrets, for which the Eskimo pierced cheeks and lips), the Alaskan Eskimos themselves did not use this name. In their turn the Eskimos called the Chukchi “*Kuinil'yk*”—“reindeer herder, having reindeer” (*Kuinil'yk*—Eskimo adaptation of the Chukchi *koral'yn* “having reindeer”), but the Chukchi themselves did not call themselves by the word *koral'yn* “having reindeer”; rather, they called themselves *ankal'yt*—“coastal.” The Uelen and the Unchoun people were also called by this name; the reindeer herders called themselves *chavchyvat* (pl.), *chavchyv* (sg.) or the common word *lyg'oravtl'at*—“real people.” The same is also observed among the Alyutor people: “The Alyutor people for the most part call themselves *nymyl'u* ‘residents, villagers,’ sometimes based on the name of their village, for example: *Vyvnal'o* (residents of the village of *Vyvna*), *Tilliral'u*—*Telichin* people (residents of the village of *Telichiki*); *Alutal'u*—Alyutor people (residents of the village of *Alut*—“Olyutorskoe”) (Stebnitskii 1938:130).

All these data give cause to think that the name of the settlement Alyut is not likely the basis for the name “Alyutor people,” though there are exceptions, but in the ethnonym “Alyutor people” the component *-ora-* remains unexplained, and to compare it with the Eskimo word *alutora* (Greenland dialect) is hardly possible, both in time and distance (Vdovin 1973:55). S. N. Stebnitskii directly points out that the “names ‘Alyutor people,’ ‘Alyutor dialect’ come from the Nymylan (Koryak.—V. L.) word *elutel'u* (sg. *elutel'yn*)—the Chavchoven people call the Alyutor people this” (Stebnitskii 1938:130).

Among the Chukchi and the Koryak it was customary to name their closest neighbors based on certain ethnographic features. Thus, the Chukchi called the Even “*Koraramkyt*”—“reindeer people”—because they traveled riding on reindeer; the Even called the Settled Koryak of the Okhotsk coast “*Kheiek*”—from *kheie* “top” for their special head gear.<sup>11</sup> Some of these names had a social basis and bore a degrading, even abusive character. Thus, the Chukchi (just as the Chavchoven Koryak) called the Alyutor people *el'utel'yt* (pl.), *el'utel'yn* (sg.), which means “unwashed,” “dirty,” where *e-/a-* is a negative prefix, *-l'u-/l'o-* is “face,” *-te-/ta-* from the base of the verb *tene-k/tana-k* “to wash oneself,” and *-l'* is a name-participle affix.

<sup>11</sup> Oral communication from the ethnographer U. G. Popova.

The first Russian explorers in most cases obtained the names of the tribes from close neighbors. They learned about the Yukaghir and Even from the Yakut, about the Chukchi—from the Yukaghir, and they were able to learn about the Alyutor from the Reindeer Chukchi and Chavchoven Koryak, from where the ethnonym “Alyutor people” emerged, which appears as a Russian adaptation of the Chavchoven *alutal’u* and the Chukchi *el’utel’yt*. The ethnonym *alutal’u* itself has a social base, since the Chavchoven Koryak had economic superiority, were wealthy, and treated the Alyutor people contemptuously. It is not by chance that S. P. Krasheninnikov noted that the “Reindeer Koryak called all of them slaves, especially the Olyutor people, since for the Olyutor people the name Alyutoklaul (correctly in Chukchi *al’otoklyavyl*.—V. L.) is derogatory, meaning slave. And the Settled Koryak themselves almost never deny this” (Krasheninnikov 1949:450).

Apuka is a settlement and a river flowing into Olyutorskii Bay. In Koryak (Apuka dialect) it is Apokkagyiny (Stebnitskii 1937:289), where the meaning of *apok* has not been established and *kagyi yn* is “mouth of the river”; Chukchi Epuk.

Achavayam is a left tributary of the Apuka River; in the Koryak (Chavchoven dialect) G’echg’eiv’eem (Gurvich and Yailitkan 1971:35)—“sandy river,” where *g’echg’ei* is “sand,” *v’eem* “river.”

As is seen from the cited toponymy of the coast of the Bering Sea from the Anadyr’ Estuary to Olyutorskaya Bay, proper Kerek toponymy, except for a few words (*tapan*, *upankan*, and *ammamkut*), almost do not appear on the modern map, and those that were placed there are so distorted that it is very difficult to reconstruct their correct spelling, without which it is impossible to etymologize the toponym. Meanwhile, representing a mystery are the toponyms I?aaivaam (the Anadyr’ River), Iuiapkin (the Velikaya River), and Kanchalan. The toponym Kanchalan is not recognized as Chukchi by the local residents; the river has its Chukchi name, but by sound, Kanchalan corresponds almost completely with the Koryak name of the Itel’men “Khonchalo,” as mentioned by S. P. Krasheninnikov in his work (Krasheninnikov 1949:362).

There is still one toponym on the west coast of Kamchatka that can be assigned to the Kerek language. This is the regional center of the Koryak Autonomous Region, the village of Palana. S. N. Stebnitskii cites a second parallel name of this village—Kys’et (Stebnitskii 1937:290). The word *palana* is very close to the Kerek *pyllan*, which means “sun.” In other Chukotka-Kamchatka languages this toponym does not translate and has no close bases. The native Palana people explain that this place is truly sunny.

South of the Anadyr’ Estuary an interesting pattern is manifested in the toponymy. If they call lagoons everywhere in the north *kynmanky*—“the back sea,” where *kynme-/kynma-* from *kynmen* “back wall of the canopy” and *anky* “sea”—then here the word *kuiym/koiyim* emerges as a nomenclature term for designating exactly the same geographic objects. For example, Kelineiveemkuiym—“Kelineiveemskaya Bay, Inlet” (Lakhtina Lagoon), Velkylveemkuiym—“Velkylveemskaya Bay, Inlet” (Lake Kaipil’gykei), Pekulneikuiym—“Pekul’neiskaya Bay, Inlet” (Lake Pekul’neiskoe).

The word *kuiym* in the Chukchi language has two meanings: 1) the back part of trousers; 2) inlet, sea gulf. It also has the same meaning in the Kerek language. In the Koryak language a lagoon is called *a’alg’en*, while the word *kuiym* is used in the meaning: 1) upper part of trousers; 2) perineum. In Koryak

a bay is *yanvyn*, an inlet—*emlypokytyn*, and a gulf—*ankag'enytkyn*.<sup>12</sup> The last two geographic terms bear a descriptive character (*emlypokytyn* is literally “water butt, seat”; *ankag'enytkyn* is literally “sea end”). These are not encountered in the toponymy of the Northeast, nor is the Koryak term *v'alg'en*—lagoon. The geographic terms *kynmanky* (Chukchi), *kuiym* (Chukchi-Kerek), and *kuyul* (Koryak), meaning “bay, backwater,” became widespread in the northeast.

It makes one think that the Chukchi-Kerek *kuiym* is used for designation of closed bodies of water, more precisely lagoons, being called *kynmanky*, which are separated from the sea by narrow alluvial gravel spits. It is possible that the term *kuiym* is connected with the transgression of the sea, when 1,500–2,000 years ago these lakes and lagoons were inlets and bays. The age of northern lagoons and the lagoons of the Bering Sea coast is the same, but evidently the Chukchi had already settled on the north coast at the time the ancient inlets and bays were separated from the sea by gravel spits and had become lagoons. About the antiquity of the geographic Chukchi-Koryak term *kynmanky* (lagoon) speaks the fact that S. P. Krasheninnikov found it on the Okhotsk coast: “Then, in two day’s drive is the notable Yama River, flowing from the west from under the Epolkan Mountain, that is, the grandmother who fell into the large gulf called Kinmaanka” (Krasheninnikov 1949:152) (compare with the Chukchi *kynmanky*). At present the Kinmaanka Gulf bears the name Perevalochnyi Inlet.

Also of great interest is the distribution of the Chukchi-Koryak geographic nomenclature terms *pilgyn*—“opening” and *kagvinyn*—“mouth.” The first is spread from Menypil’gyno north and farther along the coast of the Chukchi and East Siberian seas to the mouth of the Kolyma. “Kagvinyn” begins from Khatyrka and goes south to Kamchatka, and on the west coast of Kamchatka the term *pilgyn* is encountered again: Vayampolka—in Koryak Vaiampilgan—“river opening” or “stream mouth” (Stebnitskii 1937:290).

An enigma is the toponym Opuka (Opukha), which Opukinskii lagoon, river, and cape are called that are located on the coast of the Chukotka Autonomous Region. The fact is that among the Khatyrka Kerek and Chukchi this toponym is not used at all; they say that true Opuka is very far to the south (think of Apuka in Olyutorskii Inlet). They call the lagoon Kitana—“cold, freezing,” and the river—Mallyviam. It is possible that in this case a geographic error was made, but by whom and when has meanwhile not been established. If the name Opuka existed, it would have been retained in the Chukchi-Kerek toponymy.

As is evident from the cited data, the toponymy of the Northeast has an Old Koryak-Chukchi base and its parallels are found far beyond the boundaries of Kamchatka and the Magadan Region (compare Koryak-Chukchi *kuyul* and *kuul* with Yakut *kyuel'*, Kazakh *kul*).

<sup>12</sup> Here and later the Chukchi-Koryak lexicon was borrowed from the following dictionaries: *Chukotsko-russkii slovar'* 1957; *Koryaksko-russkii slovar'* 1960; *Russko-koryakskii slovar'* 1967.



## FOLKLORE

The folklore of the Kerek has not been studied at all; there are only a few publications of stories in the Russian language in separate publications. Thus, sixteen texts of Kerek stories were recorded in the 1940s by teacher O. E. Baboshina in the villages of Meinypil'gino and Khatyrka in the Chukchi Autonomous District (*Skazki Chukotki* 1958:64–67, 178–199, 203–206). She calls these stories Koryak, though our information, obtained from Kerek informants, does not support her assumption that Koryak lived in Meinypil'gino and Khatyrka in the 1940s. O. E. Baboshina erroneously took Kerek for Koryak. The stories were recorded in the Russian language and in most cases from students of the elementary grades who were already acquainted with the Russian language and knew some Russian stories.

Despite the remarkable artistic treatment of the Kerek stories by O. E. Baboshina and D. Nagishkin, ethnographic features of daily life, customs, and religious ideas were missed and the names of folkloric heroes corrupted—and at times simply identified by common nouns.

P. Ya. Skorik recorded some Kerek texts in 1954 and 1956. One of them—“Mal'chik s lukom” [Boy with a Bow] (*Skazki i mify*. . ., 1974:351)—can hardly be assigned to Kerek folklore. In heroic stories of the Chukchi and Eskimos the subject of the bearded strongman-rapist Yakunin, who is blinded by a boy's arrows, is widespread (*Skazki i mify*. . ., 1974: 619). A similar version of the story in the Chukchi language was recorded in 1971 by I. V. Polomoshnov from the Chukchi storyteller Enpyk at the village of Numyano in the Chukotka Region (*Menin ynanarman* . . ., 1974:100–105). The subject of this story corresponds almost in detail with the story recorded by P. Ya. Skorik from the Kerek Tevlalkot, a resident of the village of Khatyrka. Based on information available to us, the Kerek did not occupy themselves in the past with reindeer herding and never traveled with harnessed reindeer. Among the Chukchi and Koryak the Kerek were considered good dog breeders. Most probably the story recorded by P. Ya. Skorik was borrowed from Chukchi folklore, in which are many heroic legends the Kerek do not have. The other texts recorded by P. Ya. Skorik, based on content and style and the fictional characters, belong to Kerek folklore.

In 1970–1974 we recorded on a tape recorder several more texts of Kerek stories, historical accounts, everyday stories, and one riddle, some of which are given in the appendix in literal translation into the Russian language. Among the stories we recorded, there are versions corresponding to the texts of O. E. Baboshina, though with a somewhat different presentation.

Thus, O. E. Baboshina's story “Voron i volki” [Raven and Wolves] (*Skazki Chukotki* . . ., 1958:68–70) corresponds to our story “Volk-muzhchina” [Wolf-Man]. In the story of O. E. Baboshina, the heroes do not have their own name and are called by nominal words, “wolf” and “raven”; in our story, “Volk-muzhchina,” all the heroes have proper names: Kukki is the raven, Miti—his wife, Auppali—Kukki's younger son, Itchym—Kukki's nephew, Sinil'lymnylnakkut—Kukki's daughter, whom the wolves take away, Uchuuityi—the younger brother of the killed wolves. O. E. Baboshina's story also differs in content.



Figure 22. Storytellers E. Kal'vichanau and M. I. Etynkeu.



Figure 23. Translator E. Khatkana and informant K. A. Turyl'kot.

The general outlines of our story “Zayats-muzhchina” [Hare-Man] and O. E. Baboshina’s story “Zayats i nerpy” [Hare and Seals] correspond (*Skazki Chukotki . . .*, 1958:72–73). But in O. E. Baboshina’s story many ethnographic details and some particulars are omitted. Thus, Milutkalik (Hare-Man) does not gather seaweed at the shore, which hares do not eat, but with a chopper strips bark from logs of the devil’s house, for which the seal Uppapil’ (more precisely a bearded seal) ridicules him. Milutkalik does not kill bearded seals with a stone, but with the chopper with which he stripped bark. At the end of the story, in our version, the hares conduct a ceremony of seeing off killed animals, after which the grandfather and grandmother—bearded seals—become live and return to their granddaughter Uppapil’, who is very happy to see them.

The subject of our story “Kukki” corresponds to the story of O. E. Baboshina “Voron i myshi” [Raven and Mice] (*Skazki Chukotki . . .*, 1958:76–80), though our version differs in a number of details and particulars.

In the preface to “Skazki Chukotki” [Stories of Chukotka] D. Nagishkin writes,

These stories did not undergo literary alteration. Only the most necessary correction of this or that turn of speech of the narrator, as well as the abbreviation of tedious passages or opening of brackets where they were dictated by specifics of the material, and the disclosure of those concepts that are unfamiliar to the Russian reader, was all taken care of by the publisher. Also removed, for purely aesthetic considerations, were extremely crude—naturalistic, pathological—details that add nothing to what was already said, and cause only an uncomfortable feeling through their nakedness (*Skazki Chukotki* . . . , 1958:10).

From the point of view of a literary publication of the stories, D. Nagishkin is right to some degree, though, knowing well the ethnography of the Kerek, more could have been done to reveal the specifics of the material, which give the story its special, national color and thereby make it more accessible to the Russian reader. And thus the stories lost their distinctiveness and style, and you cannot distinguish them from the Chukchi and Eskimo stories in the collection.<sup>13</sup>

The story of each people has its specifics in composition, style of narration, beginning, and end. Thus, for example, almost every Chukchi story begins with the word *enmen*, which can tentatively be compared with the Russian “Tak vot zhili” [“There once lived”], and ends with the word *ytr?ech*—“vse” [“that is all”]. The Eskimo story begins with the word *imnanuk*—“davno,” literally “davnishnee eto, govoryat” [“this long-standing, they say”] and ends with the interjection *tfai!*—“t’fu!” [“ugh!”]. “The one who ends the story or legend usually spits, which indicates that he has finished, as if he spat out the story or legend,” writes E. S. Rubtsova.

After the word *tfai* (“spit”) he (the Eskimo.—V. L.) sometimes says the words: ‘Get into the mouth of so and so.’ The named was supposed to begin a new narrative or story. Among the Eskimos there was the popular belief that a story or narrative could not be left unfinished. If not on this day, then in the nearest time the story or narration must certainly be finished, otherwise the one who does not finish it suffers death. Therefore, if the storyteller did not remember the whole story, he did not tell it at all (Rubtsova 1954:36–37).

Kerek stories, as a rule, begin immediately with dialog, or the storyteller warns that he begins the narration about the Wolf-Man, the hare Milutkalik, and so on, and ends with the words *taak typlyttuk*—“I finished all.” In general, for Kerek stories, in distinction from Chukchi and Eskimo, dialog is typical; there is almost no description of the hero, and surrounding nature and actions are given very briefly and only with necessity, when it is necessary to clarify where the hero of the story set off to or where events occur. You do not encounter in Kerek stories such descriptive moments as “Once it was a nice day, from the tundra came the smell of flowers, the sperm whales played in the sea waves, and seals thrust their heads out of the water.” This is rather an element of Russian presentation and understanding of nature (*Skazki Chukotki* . . . , 1958:76).

<sup>13</sup> The Kerek Ekaterina Khatkana from Meinypil’gino worked with us as translator. In her time she had also helped O. E. Baboshina (*Skazki Chukotki* . . . , 1958:254, 255). When reading Baboshina’s stories, she sometimes burst into laughter and sometimes cried: “She messed up everything! Indeed, hares don’t eat seaweed!”

Also, distinct for Kerek stories is the manner of narration and perception. The audience listens to the story quietly, seriously, not encouraging the narrator, like the Chukchi and Koryak, with words of *Ka! Kakumei! Kyke! Kolemei!*—exclamations of surprise—but rather quietly, chuckling if the story is funny. A large artistic and semantic role is played in the Kerek story by intonation and facial expression. Listening to a story of the Kerek, you experience horror and fear, or you burst out laughing, but when you read it on paper, all emotion disappears.

Four Kerek texts were published by P. Ya. Skorik; they were recorded by him in 1954, 1956, and 1970 (*Skazki i mify*. . ., 1974: Texts No. 112, 115, 116, and 117). The first three stories, not the fourth, “Mal’chik s lukom,” can be safely attributed to the Kerek cycle of stories about adventures and pranks of the fox Iaiuchanykkut, who tricks the raven Kukki and the wolf Ankakumikaityn. In one of P. Ya. Skorik’s stories, like O. E. Baboshina’s stories, the heroes are called by nominal words (No. 115). The text of story No. 116 corresponds almost entirely to the version of the Itel’men story “Amnyl,” recorded in the village of Utkholok in 1933 by S. N. Stebnitskii and cited by him as illustrative material in the essay *Itel’menskii yazyk* [An Itel’men language] (Stebnitskii 1934:104). Even earlier, in 1926, this story was recorded by E. P. Orlova from the Itel’men M. Zaev in the village of Utkholok (*Skazki i mify*. . ., 1974: Text No. 179). These versions differ only by the fact that in Itel’men stories, instead of the woman-feces the object of ridicule and trickery is the raven Kutkh, eater of mice.

In the process of working with Kerek storytellers a peculiarity was revealed. Young storytellers, who were born in the 1920s–1930s, as a rule called folkloric heroes by nominal words. In contrast, storytellers of the older generation give the personal names of the heroes of the stories and repeat the text in all its details and particulars, which at times were impossible for young translators to translate. Before us is the process of active Chukchi assimilation in the realm of folklore, and Kerek folkloric traditions gradually began to be neglected; the names of folkloric personages began to be replaced with nominal words, and stories and myths that were once united and long are now repeated as individual episodes. The subject of the raven that rode from the mountain, discussed below, can serve as an example.

In our Kerek folkloric recordings can be traced close analogies with Itel’men stories, though the cycle of myths and stories about the raven Kuikynnyaku is widespread also in Koryak folklore (in Chukchi about the raven Kurkyl’, in Eskimo about the raven Koshkli). For example, the stories “Kutkh i myshi” [Kutkh and the Mice] and “Mysh’ i voron” [Mouse and Raven] (*Skazki i mify*. . ., 1974: Texts No. 180 and 202) correspond almost entirely in their content to the trickery and ridicule of the mice over the “wise” Kutkh in the Kerek versions.

The Kerek version of the story about the wolf that rode from the mountain is encountered in Chukchi (*Skazki i mify*. . ., 1974: Text No. 110), Eskimo (*Eskimossskie skazki*. . ., 1969:23), and Koryak (*Skazki i mify*. . ., 1974: Text No. 126) folklore. “In this sense,” writes G. A. Menovshchikov, “the Kerek story has much in common with the Koryak text No. 126, where the other wolves, and their mythical beings, try to retaliate against the raven for their murdered brother” (*Skazki i mify*. . ., 1974:620). It is impossible to agree with this.

The Chukchi version of the story corresponds with the Kerek only at first, based on the first episode—the wolf’s ride from the mountain and his fall into the water. In the Koryak version, the layout of the narration is somewhat expanded. The wolf rides from the mountain, then goes to visit his cousin;

along the way he finds parts of the body of the raven and eats them. Raven, in the stomach of the wolf, becomes alive and sinks his teeth into the wolf's heart; the wolf dies. In the Chukchi version, the wolves take revenge on the raven in union with various mythological beings in the form of animals.

In the Kerek version of this story a single outline and the logic of the narration can be clearly traced. Thus, Kukki's dispute with the wolf arises because Kukki does not want to pull the wolf from the water. The wolf embarks on a trick, promising him his nonexistent sister in marriage. Kukki, a great adulterer, immediately agrees and pulls the wolf from the water.

Perhaps, closest to the Kerek version is the Eskimo story "Voron i volk" [Raven and Wolf] (*Eskimoskie skazki* . . ., 1969:23–25). The raven in it does not have its own name (Koshkli). The content of the Eskimo story corresponds almost completely with the Kerek version up to the moment when the raven throws out the intestines and heart of the wolf and thereby kills it. Further actions of the heroes of the story in the Eskimo version are absent.

It is difficult to determine from whom this subject was borrowed. In each version, there is the basic episode—the ride of Raven and Wolf from the mountain. In the Chukchi version Wolf offers Raven a herd of mice, then a bunch of ground squirrels, and later *rilkyril* (porridge) with a spoon stuck in it. In the Eskimo version Wolf offers Raven a hare hide, then hunting equipment, and only after this his sister with three stripes on the nose, that is, with tattoos. In the Koryak version Wolf does not fall into the water and therefore offers Raven nothing. In each of these versions are reflected ethnographic features of the daily life of the population. Among the Chukchi, porridge was considered a tasty food, mice—this is a herd of reindeer; among the Eskimos, hunting gear had great value, while a good-looking woman was considered one with a tattoo. Among the Kerek a swarm of fleas was a sign of wealth, since their presence spoke of a multitude of hides; a herd of sheep was an object of the Kerek hunt; and so on. Based on the elaboration of the subject, the logic of the presentation, and the completeness of the plotting and its resolution, it can be thought that the Chukchi, Eskimo, and Koryak versions of the story were borrowed from Kerek folklore.

The Kerek myth "Kukki i zhena" [Kukki and Wife], recorded from the Kerek Kezhgynto, has something in common with the Itel'men myth about Kutkh. Unfortunately, only the beginning of the Kerek myth was recorded since the storyteller died. The Itel'men myth says, "Kutkh, leaving his son and daughter, departed from Kamchatka, and where he disappeared, they don't know; they announce only that he left Kamchatka on skis and that the mountains and valleys were made from his travels, because the earth under him buckled like thin ice, and thus lost its evenness and flatness" (Krasheninnikov 1949:407). In the Kerek version, Kukki also creates mountains: "And of course, however, always smooth land, there are no, entirely no mountains. . . . Will we always live this way? Kukki said, 'Oh, I will create, mountains, I will make mountains.' When they awoke, the mountains were formed. Kukki had created the mountains. . . ."

The oral folk creations of native peoples of the Northeast has received rather broad elucidation in scholarly literature and fiction. The folklore of the Asiatic Eskimos, Chukchi, Koryak, and Itel'men is represented especially fully. There are also special theoretical investigations in oral creations of these peoples (W. G. Bogoras, W. I. Jochelson, L. V. Belikov, G. A. Menovshchikov). The Chukchi, Koryak, and Itel'men are at present usually assigned to the Northeastern Paleo-Asiatics, having common features in material and spiritual culture, in the origin of languages, and based on linguistic classification to the Chukotka-Kamchatka group of languages. The Kerek are also assigned to the Northeastern Paleo-Asiat-

ics. The folklore of these peoples has many common typological traits, subjects, and cycles. Summarizing all the previous classificatory schemas of W. G. Bogoras, W. I. Jochelson, and L. V. Belikov, G. A. Menovshchikov assigns the following genres to basic categories of oral creation of the Paleo-Asiatics of Chukotka and Kamchatka: 1) mythical (or cosmogonic) legends; 2) magical-mythical stories with subdivisions: a) magical-heroic stories about the fantastic adventures of the heroes in different worlds and their struggle with hostile forces; b) stories about Kele, the Nynvit, and the Tungak; c) stories about friendship and marriage unions of man and animal; d) stories about a rebellious daughter; e) stories about an orphan; f) stories about shamans; 3) heroic legends; 4) historical legends; 5) stories about animals; 6) everyday stories (accounts); 7) spells; 8) songs; 9) riddles (the last are noted only among the Koryak) (*Skazki i mify*. . ., 1974: Introduction, p. 16).<sup>14</sup>

This classification by genres can also be approximately applied to Kerek folklore, excluding heroic and historical accounts and legends, stories about the rebellious daughter, and stories about the orphan. The orphan is not typical for Kerek folklore. (O. E. Baboshina in the chapter “Magical Stories” cites one text about an orphan, “Bog i sirotka” [God and the Little Orphan], but this story corresponds entirely with the Chukchi version of the story “*Kele-lyudoed*” [Kele-Cannibal], published in the collection *Kto samyi sil'nyi na zemle* [Who’s the Strongest on Earth]; O. E. Baboshina’s story is most probably a borrowing from Chukchi folklore or erroneously assigned to Kerek stories.)

In Kerek folklore mythical legends are widely represented, in which the raven Kukki and his son Sikulylan (according to O. E. Baboshina—Sokholylan) emerge as cultural heroes. All folkloric personages are closely connected to the raven Kukki by birth and are his children and nephews, even the animals: the fox Iaiuchanakkut, the hare Milutkalik, and others.

Doing comparative analysis of cosmogonic legends, G. A. Menovshchikov arrived at the entirely correct conclusion that the center of greatest distribution of the raven cycle was not Chukotka but Kamchatka. It is in Itel’men and Koryak folklore that the unique legends and stories of the raven Kutkh—Kutkynneku—appeared and were developed (*Skazki i mify*. . ., 1974: Preface, p. 20). To this it can be added that Kerek mythical legends about the raven Kukki are closer in subject to the Itel’men than to the Koryak.

In Kerek stories, just as in Itel’men and Koryak, the main hero is the raven Kukki—a simpleton, buffoon, and liar, and a terrible ladies’ man. He tries to do something useful, good, but everything turns out the opposite for him. However, the Kerek Kukki is able to work magic and is considered a powerful shaman. Thus, he can turn into a piece of meat on the wolf’s way, revive the wolf, and create mountains so his sons can more easily stalk wild reindeer and mountain sheep. But despite his magical abilities, the Kerek Kukki is lazy and cowardly. Thus, in the first days of marriage he is terribly afraid of the sunrise; he hides from it and does nothing; he crawls under the skins when the wolves arrive to avenge their murdered brother. Just as in Itel’men folklore, the Kerek have two Kukki: a sea and a river; two sons are born to him: sea and river Sikulylan. He also has two daughters: sea Sinillymnylkakkut and river, the nephews—Itchym and Kunuitchym. Kukki’s wife Miti has a second sea husband and bears for him a second set of sons and daughters of the same name.

Many folkloric names of Kerek story heroes correspond to Itel’men by their lexico-phonetic base: Kerek Sikulylan—the older son of Kukki and Itel’men Symskalin; Kerek Sinillymnylnakkut—the older

<sup>14</sup> Some Chukchi riddles are cited in the collection *Menin ynanarman*. . ., 1974:145–146). The cited riddles most probably are imitations of Koryak riddles.

daughter of Kukki and Itel'men Sinanevt; Kerek Iilynau—the nephew of Kukki and Itel'men Il'kkhum; and others. Some of these names are an obvious borrowing from Itel'men folklore, since the first parts of the bases do not translate into the Kerek language. Take for example Sinillymnylnakkut: the first base *-sini-* comes from the Itel'men *-sina-*; the second *-lymnyl-* in Kerek means “story”; and *-nakkut-* means “woman” That is, literally, “Sini story (folklore) woman.” The Kerek name Iilanau, close to the Itel'men Il'kkhum, means “talkative woman.” These names do not have analogies with Koryak personages, with the children of Kuikynyaku, except Sisisyn and Klyukenevt—“woman from berries.” At the same time, in Kerek stories some personages have personal Kerek names; these are the younger children of Kukki: Anantakill'an—the second son of Kukki, Anaiiuptynakkut—the younger daughter of Kukki, and Auppali—the younger son of Kukki. In distinction from the Itel'men, Koryak, Chukchi, and Eskimos, the Kerek have no folkloric name for Ememkut—Amamkut—the older son of raven.

Linguistic analysis of the name of the mythical raven Kutkh—in Koryak, Kutkyneku; in Chukchi, Kurkylya; in Kerek, Kukki; and in Eskimo, Koshkli—which G. A. Menovshchikov gives, brings him to the conclusion that the personal name of the Paleo-Asiatic raven leads us to an Itel'men source, where the base *-kutkh-* is non-derivative. The indicated sign, as well as the encountered myths and stories with the name Kutkh specifically in Itel'men folklore are evidence that the earliest center of distribution of the raven cycle about Kutkh that are similar in subject and genre might be the Itel'men region (*Skazki i mify. . .*, 1974:21–22). In fact, the Koryak, Chukchi, and Eskimo name for the raven is derived from the Itel'men Kutkh. However, the name of Kerek, “Kukki,” according to its lexico-phonetic base, is close to the Kerek nominal word *ukkakana*—“crow,” which evidently does not go back to the Itel'men name of a raven, *-fe'kl-* or to Chukchi-Koryak, *-velv-/-valv-*. However, in texts recorded in the Kerek language, nowhere is the nominal word *ukkakana* used, only the proper name Kukki.

Besides the analogies with Eskimo, Chukchi, Koryak, and Itel'men folklore, Kerek folklore also has its specific features connected with the social order and religious ideas of the population. Thus, in any Kerek story, before carrying out any action, the character is obligated to request permission from the grandmother *yllapil*. “Grandmother, give me the braided rope,” says the hare Milutkalik; in the story “Pluntykanelan,” Kunuitchym refuses to go to the shore of the sea with Itchym, since the grandmother does not allow him.

In all Kerek stories all the younger children prove to be smarter than their mothers and fathers and even instruct them. Thus, the fox Iaiuchanankkut, before going anywhere, asks permission from her daughter Imynna, and Imynna, in turn, scolds her mother for cheating and trickery. The younger son of Kukki, the crow Auppali, guesses earliest of all that the fox is cunning.

The first feature, it seems to us, is reflection of a maternal beginning in a large matriarchal family of the Kerek; the second is connected with Kerek ideas about the return of the ancestors in the form of children who are born.



## CONCLUSION

The past economic life of the Kerek is distinguished by its archaicism and absence of specialization in hunting and gathering. An equal place was occupied by hunting birds and small rodents, fishing in spawning rivers and lakes, and gathering on the shore and in the tundra; hunting sea mammals was limited primarily to taking them in rookeries with clubs and weapons of the *kaluvianana* type. Also attesting to the archaicism of the Kerek way of life is the seasonal type of settlements.

In determining the place of the Kerek within the group of peoples of Northeast Asia, it is possible to assign them to the Northeast Paleo-Asiatics, who are more ancient than the Chukchi and Koryak.

The Chukchi, and possibly also the Koryak, connect their origin with residents of the sea coast and streams. They acknowledge that “*kerekit y'tt'yel'ano gitlinet*”—“the Kerek were the first.”

Of all the subdivisions of the Koryak, the Kerek are closest to the Apuka people, among whom analogies in dwellings, settlements, and language can be traced. Most probably in the past this was one of the groups of Kerek that adopted a number of elements of culture from their closest neighbors, the Koryak—namely, the Alyutor and Chavchoven peoples.

With preservation of their archaicism, the Kerek represent a conglomerate of borrowings both in spiritual and in material culture from all the peoples of Northeast Asia. In the process of their historical development the Kerek absorbed elements of Itel'men, Koryak, and Chukchi cultures. Especially strong influence was rendered on the culture of the Kerek at some historical stage by the Itel'men culture, which is evident in the similarity of folklore, in preparation of food, and in methods of catching birds. Then, great influence was rendered by the Koryak, and in the last two centuries, by the Chukchi, who assimilated them. At the same time, connections with the Old Koryak culture of the Okhotsk coast and the coast of western Kamchatka can be traced in Kerek culture (such as the complex of dwellings, hearths, hunting inventory, and toponymy).

On comparing the Kerek language with the languages of other subdivisions of the Northeast Paleo-Asiatics, it can be tentatively said that at present, Kerek is a dialect of the Koryak language, close to the *ya-kayushchaya* group. It is entirely possible that in the past the Kerek had their own language, but in the process of historical development it was assimilated by the Koryak, and then by the Chukchi, having preserved a small basic word stock.

Despite the presence of elements of different cultures, the Kerek nevertheless preserved their ethnic characteristics. The physical type of the Kerek distinguishes them from the Chukchi and Koryak: they are short (140–150 cm) [~4'7" to 4'11"], mobile and quick, rolling in their gait, pigeon-toed, and clumsy as bears. In Chukchi folklore “an old woman of the Kerek tribe is the size of a finger” (Bogoras 1900:XVII–XIX). The Kerek ceremony of burial in the sea does not have analogies among other peoples of Northeast Asia. When lowering the body into the water the Kerek always addressed the deceased with the phrase: “Gone to the ancestors.” It is possible that the rite of burial reflects the transgression of the sea: when its level rose, it flooded the “land of the ancestors of the Kerek,” forming bays and lagoons.



## *APPENDIX*

# EVERYDAY ACCOUNTS, STORIES, MYTHS, AND LEGENDS

Samples of texts are provided that were initially recorded on a tape recorder in the Kerek language, then translated into the Chukchi and Russian languages. These are accounts about their life, intertribal wars, dwellings, stories, myths, and legends.

### **Translation 1: *My Maturing***

Formerly, in winter we lived in pithouses (*val'kary*) and in summer in yarangas. When spring came and summer arrived, we began to catch birds in the cliffs. Birds were the primary food. I was still a youth then. Now we live under a new authority. The young began to live very carelessly and to use motors. But at that time, we still made everything by hand; we traveled with paddles in baidary in summer. We brought home caught birds and gave them to our mothers. Our mothers fed us only such food. My two sisters were still weak and small. When I became an adult, I myself began to catch food and bring it home. Mother prepared it, roasting the guillemot on the fire. Having cooked the food, mother would wake me when I, tired, slept, and said, "The food is ready; let's eat."

There were three of us: two sisters and I, the third, a man. I was an orphan. I grew up without a father; I don't even remember when he died. I learned everything myself. Mother tried hard; she fed us different food. At that time, we were in great poverty and lived in terrible poverty, not as now. That was how we existed then.

Now I tell my son, "Oh, our life was hard. You don't know it at all."

We worked hard and lived in need. There were no stores then, and we ate only animals as food. In spring, we caught food on the cliffs and killed spotted seals from baidary. But this was not much.

If the weather turned bad we did not hunt; we ate up what we had procured. And what were we to do? . . . Though the old people said that in summer we would not die of hunger. Mother cared for us and, saving food, let us take a bite from a little piece of meat. She fed us in this way in bad weather. My sisters were small; only I brought home food.

I had an uncle, Kaakvyrgin. I considered him my father. He was a good grandfather, but when I had become an adult, he was so old that he was completely helpless.

Then we moved from Amamkut to near Gachgatagin and built dwellings. At that time the Soviet authority grew, gaining strength. Then we considered all Russians rich, like the Americans. We said, "Russians are unknown. What are they like?"

But then winter came; we built *val'kary* and moved into them. The summer dwellings we broke down and set up racks beside the *val'kary* and stored the summer belongings on them. We took only the bed from the summer dwellings into the *val'kary*. The *val'kary* were cold; there were no warm iron stoves such as there are now. Now there are brick stoves; then there were none. The only warmth was from the fire. There was a hole in the top of the *val'kary*; when the fire was kindled, then it was opened. The smoke left the *val'kary* through the hole.

Our life was difficult, [we were] constantly in need. The *val'kary* stood close to each other; they were heavily covered with snow, and inside everything was covered with frost.

But now, the new authority was entrenched. Iron stoves appeared in the *val'kary*. Then we, not opening the hole, began to make tea directly within the bed canopy. People began to live well.

Formerly, in winter we only went by dogsled. But it happened that our uncles would go somewhere on the dogsled, and we had to go on foot for firewood. And we went. When the uncles-fathers returned, we had sufficient firewood. They said, "Oh, you have much firewood! You watch over the house well."

Our mother always said, "Don't wait for the dogsled to return; go in good weather for firewood." Mother said this, and I remembered her words and promised her to do everything to raise my young sisters. Mother nevertheless raised all of us, though she was a woman, and I was the only man in the family. Now I will feed mother.

Once very long ago my mother, when her father was alive, and I was not yet, was fed dog meat. Then, in severe hunger, they killed father's dogs, and with this they fed the sisters, and among them there was also only one man, her (mother's—V. L.) brother. And such life continued for a long time.

Mother's father also soon became rather helpless. He was not able to get food year-round. Only in spring he caught birds and the children could eat their fill. And in summer he caught fish with a hook (leister—V. L.). Indeed, by such [a] method it was stored up. At that time there were no nets and there was nothing to make them from. Formerly, we didn't yet know the Russians. But then the new authority arrived. Material appeared for nets, and we began to acquire nets. Sufficient fish began to be caught.

Then I had a boy. And he is alive now, Nikolai Etyнкеu. He learned mechanics. He goes in motorboats wherever he wants. And formerly we were illiterate; we knew nothing at all about motors. Only with the hands, with our body we procured everything for life. In winter we went on dogsleds—this was our ancient mode of transportation, and in summer we paddled in baidary.

I've sort of told everything about our old life. Let Turyl'kot add to my account; of course, he's young, but he still knows something and is able to narrate in Kerek.

Now I'm done speaking. Some things I've already forgotten.

*The account was recorded 15 August 1970 from the Kerek Mikhail Ivanovich Etyнкеu in the village of Meinypil'gino of the Beringian Region of the Chukotka Autonomous District.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix to materials on the history, ethnography, folklore, and language of the Kerek, inventory no. 1034, pp. 27–30.*

## Translation 2

Formerly there were shamans, not like people. The body they freely pierced with a knife, but it did not kill them, no. And to another person they say, “Come on, pull out the knife!” The one destined to die could not pull out (the knife), the one not destined to die could freely pull out (the knife). And his (the shaman’s) wound, pierced by his knife, was not noticeable; blood didn’t even flow.<sup>15</sup>

*The narration was recorded on 16 August 1970 from the Kerek M. I. Etyнкеu at the Kuet fishing camp.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . . , p. 34.*

## Translation 3: A Story about a Feud

This is how formerly the enemy Tannyt acted. Our people, the Kerek people, were always on the alert, since the enemy wanted to annihilate us when in winter we lived in *val’kary*. The enemy approached the *val’kary*, opened the smoke holes and set the *val’kary* on fire, throwing down burning tow with fat. The *val’kary* burned since they were wooden. But the people didn’t burn; they ran out! The enemy was armed with spears, but we didn’t have spears, only bows. We shot with the bows; we fought off the enemy with whaling equipment. And this is how we waged war.

The *val’kary* at that time had large, long vestibules. We made them of snow, but the walls were so thin that when the moon shone outside, the shadows of passing people were illuminated through them. As soon as a shadow was seen through the ice vestibule, the Kerek shot an arrow through a hole and killed the enemy. Sometimes the Kerek got engaged in combat with the enemy and, fighting, killed them. The remaining enemy we finished off with bows, since formerly the Kerek also were powerful. We even killed two of the enemy with one arrow. Finally, the enemy did not endure; they fled because they had arrived in a small number. Only the most militant came, as they said, wishing to fight.

*The account was recorded from the Kerek M. I. Etyнкеu in August 1970 at the Kuet fishing camp.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . . , p. 38.*

## Translation 4

Now then, on the cliff at the shore of the sea there were caves. The sea washed them. They are still there now. Within [the caves], there were allegedly stone dwellings, though directly within the cliffs. In summer the Kerek were there in time of war to escape the enemy.<sup>16</sup>

*The account was recorded from the Kerek M. I. Etyнкеu in August 1970 at the Kuet fishing camp.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . . , p. 39.*

<sup>15</sup> Similar shamanic acts with a knife were rather widespread among the tribes of the Northeast, but Kerek shamans were considered more skilled (V. L.).

<sup>16</sup> The Kerek concealed themselves from the militant Chukchi and Koryak in such caves. The residents say that there are two such caves at Lake Pekul’neiskoe. It is possible to get into these caves only during low water. We examined the caves but found no traces of the presence of people in them. It is possible that the sea washed everything away since the caves are inundated in high water during storms (V. L.).

Mikhail Ivanovich Etyнкеu, is Iatynkavav in Kerek, in Chukchi Etyнкеv, which means “the one who arrived.” He was born in 1903 in the small locality of Amamkut by Lakhtina Lagoon. His father was Tynachan, mother Vul’kyt—both Kerek of the Meinypil’gino group. His father died early. He grew up with his mother and uncle. In the 1940s he was an active organizer of the kolkhoz. After the death of his brother Nutanvat he became chairman of the “Kerek Association.” He was uneducated. He knew well his native Kerek language and remembered the old days. He could converse fairly well in Chukchi. He knew the Russian language poorly, lived a large part of the year at the Kuet fishing camp 20 km from Meinypil’gino, and was a pensioner. In the past he was a fisherman and sea mammal hunter. He was married three times. His first wife Appla was from the Meinypil’gino Kerek; the second, Uivi, was from the Khatyrka Kerek; and the third, Kal’vichchanav, was from Meinypil’gino. The first two wives died; from the second was left a son, Nikolai Etyнкеu, with the Kerek name Kaavykuiyn. He did not have children from his third wife. He died in the fall of 1975.

Etyнкеu was one of the best informants and narrators; he remembered well the past life of the Kerek and knew stories and legends. When he understood what the Kerek stories and other information were for, he began to work very willingly and said, “It is good that you are occupied with the history of our people. Our language will live. I will tell you everything I know.”

### **Translation 5: *E. Khatkana’s Story about the Life of Her Mother***

Now I will tell about the life of my mother Omrytvaal’. Of course, I don’t know everything, but I remember what I heard from my mother, grandmother, and uncle Nutavei.

So, once there came to Tupyl’ the father of Omrytvaal’, the father of the rich Raglyat Mylyu, for shepherds. They were about to take my uncle Nutavei. But Nutavei was stubborn and short-tempered and didn’t want to go to the Chauch. Then Tupyl’ said, “Let them take the woman Omrytvaal’. She’s a woman. Let her live in poverty.” He didn’t want to let his sons go; hunters were needed. They got the daughter ready. She didn’t want to go and cried loudly. Then they tied her up and took her away on a sled.

There in the nomad camp, Raglyat had the wife Ypyko. This woman was very good. She dressed Omrytvaal’ warmly and fed her well. And they had a small boy, Ypykuei, born to them. So at first Omrytvaal’ lived well. But Raglyat decided to take a second wife.

So, once they cooked a porridge of stomach contents. Raglyat says to his wife Ypyko: “Call Einevnevty (the future second wife); let people come and eat porridge.” And his wife Ypyko is jealous and doesn’t want to call anyone. Then Raglyat fought with Ypyko. And the pot with porridge stood by the canopy. In the canopy Omrytvaal’ dandled the child. Suddenly, in the scuffle they pushed Omrytvaal’ and the child, and it fell directly in the hot porridge. The boy was scalded and died on the following day.

The first wife of Raglyat was a smart woman, but after the death of her son she ceased giving birth and she had no children. Ypyko left Raglyat. She probably returned home. And Raglyat took Einevnevty as a wife. It became bad for Omrytvaal’. She was fed scraps and dressed in old torn clothing. Raglyat all the time forced her to herd and used her like a man, as a herder.

One day Omrytvaal’ went to the herd. Suddenly wolves appeared. They scattered the herd, but did not kill any deer, rather bit and tore their hides. Some deer were alive but severely hurt. Omrytvaal’ ran to the yaranga and said that the herd was in trouble. And Raglyat swears and shouts, “Why didn’t you shoot!” and beat her on the head with a heavy thong from the yaranga. Then he began to beat her with a

stick. And then Raglyat's new wife also began to take revenge. Omrytvaal' sits by the fire, prepares food, and she [Einevnevyt] throws a long knife at her and wounds her legs. She orders, "Now, go for water!" And Omrytvaal's socks were filled with blood. Thus, severely wounded she goes for water.

Spring came. The snow melted. The rivers filled with water. Suddenly the herd began to swim to the other side of the river. And she, Omrytvaal', a woman, was not able to get to the other side, the river being deep. The herd was now on that side. She arrived in camp and said, "The herd swam to the other side of the river." Raglyat goes with Omrytvaal' to the river and throws her in the water. And she, Omrytvaal', thinks to herself, "Oh, it would be good to die." But she doesn't sink.<sup>17</sup> She is carried to the other bank, to that side where the herd is grazing. Omrytvaal' grabs a bush and climbs out. She wrings out and dries her clothing. And she stays with the herd a long time without food.

And when it was winter she again decided to commit suicide. She took a Winchester and wanted to shoot herself. "Well, I will kill my body," she said, but the cartridge misfired. It didn't work out.

During another duty, she took with her a strong rein of bearded seal hide for a reindeer harness. She tied it in a loop to a crooked cedar bush, deciding to strangle herself. She now slipped the loop around her neck. And again she was not able, since the thong did not bear her and broke. From that time on, she stopped thinking about death.

And so all the time Omrytvaal' was with the herd. She goes to the neighbors, where it is happier, and the masters admonished her to go back. Once she made tea and over-boiled it, and it became black. Einevnevyt, Raglyat's wife, took and poured it, hot, on her back under her *kerker* [coverall-like clothing]. The neighbors began to pity her. They say, "It's enough; hide. You can't live like this anymore. Over there, near Gachgatagin, there is the settlement of the Kerek Arat. We will hide you."

And one Chauchu hid her in thick cedar bushes. How many days she remained hidden, she doesn't remember. This was in summer. The fish ran. This Chauchu brought her fish heads. And when it gets dark the wife of this Chauchu came and brought her food, so that Omrytvaal' did not leave from concealment. For several days Raglyat looked for her. He punched in the bushes with a long spear and shouted: "Omrytvaal', where are you?"

"Oh, I was so afraid. I thought he would find me and kill me," Omrytvaal' said.

One time the Chauchu explained to her where the route went to the Kerek and how to get there. Near Pot'pot' Lagoon at Kelinei Mountain there are dwellings. It was necessary to go to them along the lagoon. "On the way there will be the mouth; on the other side you will see dwellings. There they will come for you; you don't need to be afraid." And the garment on Omrytvaal' was short, on her feet only summer boots without any insoles or socks, and her calves bare.

She set off to the mouth. My future father, Tanomryn, came for her. At first Omrytvaal' was afraid of him, always hiding. But Tanomryn wasn't offended; he didn't admonish her, and said, "Don't be afraid of me. Who are you?"

"I'm Omrytvaal'," answered my mother.

They arrived in the Kerek settlement. Ol'naut, Tanomryn's sister, fed her well with seal meat and other food, and dressed her in warm clothing. As soon as Nutavei, Omrytvaal's brother, learned that his

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<sup>17</sup> The clothing of reindeer hide will maintain a person well in water (V. L.).

sister was there, he went immediately for her. They said to him, “We want to marry her.” The parents of Tanomryn said this.

While Nutavei was there, baidary arrived. This was Raglyat arriving with his people. They say, “Give us the woman; we will take her home!” A fight was barely avoided.

Nutavei said to Tanomryn, “If you attempt to give her away, I will take her home!”

“No, she goes nowhere now. She lived in poverty there; they treated her badly. No, enough!” answered the Tanomryns.

And Tanomryn himself said to Omrytvaal’, “If you get frightened and get into the baidara, I will shoot them all!” Also Raglyat said, “If you take the woman, we will kill all of you.” But the Chauchu insistently demanded that the woman be given over. Then Tanomryn said to Omrytvaal’, “When they fall asleep, disappear, go somewhere, go there to Val’kap’elgytkin, hide there!” Omrytvaal’ left and hid. Oh, how the Chauchu cursed because of her! Then they left, and Omrytvaal’ remained with the Tanomryns. They didn’t allow Nutavei to take her. Later, Nutavei also went home, leaving his sister. Then Tanomryn married her. They were very long without children.

Once they went to Gachgatagin to catch birds (guillemots) with a net. Three of them went: Tanomryn, Omrytvaal’, and Kezhgynto, Omrytvaal’s older brother. And so they threw the net from the cliff, and guillemots got tangled in it. Kezhgynto was up above, Tanomryn below. Suddenly Kezhgynto knocked off some stones, and they fell on Tanomryn. Tanomryn fell onto flat rocks. Omrytvaal’, sitting by a fire, began to worry and came. “Where are you? What are you doing?” Kezhgynto very quietly says to his sister: “Now he fell. My friend fell down. I was laughing at the entangled birds and didn’t notice how I knocked stones off.” “Why were you laughing?” Omrytvaal’ says to him. “Go, go down, let’s go to him!”

They approached. Tanomryn lies below on the rocks. Along the way Omrytvaal’ pulled up moss. Tanomryn lies among the stones, blood all round. The entire scalp ripped from his head, but the bones are not affected. They sat Tanomryn up, washed off the blood, and boiled the moss. With this moss Omrytvaal’ wiped his head and stretched the skin. Then she wove the moss and placed it on his head. Then she pulled duck intestines from a bird and placed the fresh skin on his head. She tied up his head, and they took him to the tent. There they again examined his head. After this Tanomryn felt better. They returned home. Finally, I was born there. Father always took me hunting in the baidara. Truly, it’s enough.

*The account was recorded from Ekaterina Khatkana on 26 April 1971 in the village of Meinypil’gino of the Beringian Region.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . ., inventory no. 1034, pp. 47–52.*

## Translation 6

I was two years old when my father died. Then my uncle Nutava came to us, mother’s brother. For us, he came to take us home with him. My uncle carried me. My mother cried the whole way. We went to him in Amamyn. We arrived there. Nutava’s mother was home. As soon as we arrived, we drank tea, ate, and then it got dark. They said to me, “Go lie down and sleep.” I said to grandmother that I will not sleep in the canopy. I will spend the night on the gravels. Grandmother says nevertheless, “That’s

right, sleep in the canopy.” I spent the night in the canopy. We began to live there always.

*The account was recorded on 3 January 1970 in the village of Meinypil’gino of the Beringian Region from Ekaterina Khatkana.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . ., inventory no. 1034, p. 54.*

Ekaterina Khatkana is in Kerek Kattsykanau, in Chukchi Kechykynev, which means “a female walrus with cub in arms.”

Her father Tanomryn, mother Omrytvaal’, are both Kerek. Khatkana was born in 1923 in the small locality of Gachgatagin in Ugol’naya Bay. When she was two years old her father died. Her uncle Nutava, her mother’s brother, took her and her mother.

Before marriage she lived in Kerek surroundings. She married the Chukchi Votgyrgin, which was met disapprovingly by Kerek relatives, and uncle Nutava tried to return her by force, but the new laws of the Soviet authorities prevented this.

She finished primary school. She worked as an accountant at the Meinypil’gino fish plant. From 1950 she lived in a Chukchi environment. She knows the Kerek, Chukchi, and Russian languages; a good informant, she knows much of Kerek and Chukchi life, and with great desire and energy helped work on the ethnic history of the Kerek people. Active and inquisitive, she now works as a laundress at a boarding school. She is a widow and mother of eight children: six of her own, two of her husband’s brother that she adopted.

## **Translation 7: *Pluntykanelan—The Owner of an Iron Hook***

### *A Story*

Grandmother fell asleep, but before this she tied up a cannibal who was devouring people. In our language, in Kerek, this is the devil. He is always tied up. Two sisters live with grandmother. And suddenly the devil says to one sister, “Younger sister, grandmother’s asleep now, untie me.”

The younger sister answers, “No, I won’t untie you. Grandmother said to stop wandering wherever you like. You’re bad, foolish; therefore, stay tied up.”

Then the devil turned to the other sister: “Little sister, untie me!”

The younger sister is smarter than the older and says to her, “Don’t let him go.”

And the devil again asks the older sister, “Untie me! Listen to me!”

The older sister listened and untied the devil. The devil immediately grabbed an iron hook and went to the pithouses (*val’kary*) where the Kerek lived. He came there, opened the smoke hole, and there in a *val’kar* were only women; the men had gone hunting.

The devil cries in the smoke hole, “Hey, are you asleep?”

Two old women answer from there, “No, we’re not asleep.”

“But what makes a noise like small children crying?”

“No, it’s not children,” answers one of the old women, “probably my chest ailing from the bad weather.”

“Enough. Now then, I will begin to catch you with the hook,” cries the devil.

“What do you want to catch?”

“Young ducks.”

“There are no young ducks here; they’re on the cliffs in summer. No ducks here, we’re people; we live in a *val’kar*.”

“But I didn’t come in vain?!”

“Why do you commit acts of violence,” they answer from the *val’kar*. “If so, then let your way be. Catch with the hook.”

“Just watch, I’m beginning!”

“Ok then, begin! Who do you want to catch? Begin!”

The devil lowered the hook into the pithouse, moves it there, and sings, “Tomorrow, tomorrow there will be food! Tomorrow, tomorrow there will be food! Today, today there will be food! Today, today there will be food! Who, who will I catch! Who, who will I catch! Well, where are the young ducks?!”

“There are no young ducks here, we tell you.”

“Then I’ll come in.”

“No no, continue to look from there and we’ll look for the young ducks.”

Meanwhile, one of the women dug a hole in the wall in order to go out through it.

“Look, again I’m beginning to catch with the hook!” cries the devil.

“Begin already!”

“Who, who will I catch! Tomorrow, tomorrow there will be food!” sings the devil.

Suddenly he hooked something; he hooked a *kerker* [coveralls]. Not looking, he pulled it out and immediately tore it to pieces. Outside there was wind, and all the dry grass flew into his eyes. The women had stuffed the *kerker* with rubbish and dry grass and slipped it under the hook.

“Oh-oh!” yelled the devil. “I’m showered all over with rubbish! What is this? What’s inside? A duck? No, not a duck! This is not right!”

The devil threw the dummy through the hole in the pithouse: “Take it, I don’t need it. There is no duck.”

While the devil was fiddling with the dummy, the women crawled through the wall and ran off.

“Hey, I’m coming in!”

The devil entered the pithouse, and there was no one there, only a dog on a leash. He said to it, “Where are the people?”

The dog answered nothing, recognizing that this was not a person but the devil, and scratched his eyes.

“Oh, oh!” cried the devil. “There’s dust in my eyes. What are you tearing up?” He didn’t understand that the dog scratched his eyes.

The devil became enraged and began to run around the pithouse. He pulled out the pillows and tore them. For a long time he ran around the pithouse.

At this time, the women ran to Silt grandmother, the Old Woman of the Sea<sup>18</sup> and said to her: “Oh, the devil is after us; he wants to catch us. If you would, help us escape.”

“Oh, how frightened you are, how frightened you are! Well, we’ll see,” and the Old Woman of the Sea stretched out her legs across the sea. “There, carry the children over on these legs, and run yourself.”

The women crossed over the sea. . . .

The devil calmed down, came to his senses. He, Pluntykanelan, began to think, “Oh, they’ve gone from here,” he guessed, seeing the hole in the wall. “It is they, the women, then they were crying; the children were with them.”

He set off on the track. He ran to the Old Woman of the Sea. And the Old Woman is washing her *kerker* made of silt in the sea, looking like trash.

The devil asks:

“What’s this for and what’s this you’re washing, old woman?”

“My clothes.”

“Oh, these are not clothes. You’re tricking me. There our grandmothers dressed only in iron clothing,” and suddenly he threw the silty clothes into the sea. “This is not clothing. No.”

“How so? My life is such, I live in the sea—I wear such clothes.”

“Where are the women? Their tracks lead here. Where did they go?”

The Old Woman of the Sea answered Pluntykanelan, “They drank the sea and crossed to that side.”

“What about me? I’m not able to drink the sea.”

“You can. They did it.”

“Well, I’ll try to drink it.”

The devil began to drink the sea, but the sea does not go down. He drank and drank; he became heavy and burst. The devil was gone; he burst.

The Old Woman of the Sea threw the dead devil into the sea and said, “Let his body (iron) turn into different things for the descendants, he the devil, Pluntykanelan—‘Possessing an Iron Hook.’ Let the head become a tea kettle, the legs—guns, the arms—also guns, the brain let turn into beads. Let his body be a benefit to people.”

And so it happened. . . .

<sup>18</sup> The Old Woman of the Sea, Ankanpynav, is mistress of the sea, the sea spirit (V. L.).

In the story there are two friends: one is Itchym and the other [friend] Itchym, that is, the other is a comrade in name, a namesake.

Itchym went to his friend Itchym and says, "Well, let's go to the sea shore, Friend-Itchym."

"First I'll go to grandmother and ask," answers Friend-Itchym.

He went and asked the grandmother, "Itchym asks that I go with him to the sea shore."

"Who?"

"Yes, Itchym."

"Oh, it is not masculine this business of going to the sea shore; only women are occupied with this."

"So you don't permit me?"

"No, I don't permit you. Don't go with him. Tell Itchym, go alone to the sea shore. Tell him, grandmother did not allow it."

Friend-Itchym went to Itchym and says, "Go alone. Grandmother won't let me."

"Well then, I'll go alone; I will find something useful on the sea shore."

"But they won't permit me. If I go, then they will scold me. Go alone."

"Ok, I'll go."

Itchym went to the sea shore. He goes along the shore; suddenly, he found a pen knife, saw a tea kettle, then he found guns and beads. And just what did he not get from Pluntykanelan! Itchym collected much; he found whole riches. Whatever he wanted, that he found. Itchym went home; he piled a great load on himself. Itchym went to the sisters. One they call Ilynau, the second Kaiklyukanau. Itchym called to the sisters,

"Sisters, Ilynau, Kaiklyukanau, come out, take the load."

The sisters came out; they asked their younger brother, "What's this? Why such a load; it rattles like iron?"

Itchym answered the sisters:

"This I told you, that I set out to the sea. What if I alone will find wealth. I invited friend-Itchym, but he didn't go. Indeed, I alone became rich. A whole pile of goods still remains there. Let's go for the remainder. Only now, give the pen knife to cousin Avylpalin, son of Kukki. Help. We will go for the remainder."

"Well, we'll go," agreed the sisters.

They went for the remaining goods. They returned home with a large load. A [female] cousin says to them, "Give a tea kettle to your [female] cousin."

"Oh, where do such riches come from?" she exclaimed.

"I found them there on the sea shore; there were all kinds," answered Itchym.

Meanwhile, Friend-Itchym went to the neighbor, to Itchym, who suggested going with him to the sea. Friend-Itchym said, "Oh, and truly: my namesake became rich. You didn't say in vain that you will find useful goods."

"Grandmother didn't let you," he turned to the sisters. "Give to comrade by the name Friend-Itchym the pen knife."

The sisters gave him the pen knife. He was happy, went home, showed the grandmother, and said, "Indeed, Itchym became rich. Not in vain he then said to me that he will find riches. But you didn't let me."

"Yes, I several times said to you," the grandmother got angry, "that the sea doesn't throw up such things; only edible things does it throw up on the shore."

"Ok, that's enough."

Friend-Itchym went again to the neighbor.

"Ah, again you come," Itchym greeted him.

"Yes."

"Enough being angry. I couldn't then take you as a companion. Let's just calm down," said Itchym.

There a certain Ynnulnakut says, "He found good things for the sisters; all women love beads the most."

Enough, the story is over. I [am] finished.

*The story was recorded on 16 August 1970 from the Kerek M. I. Etyneku at the Kuet fish camp.*

*The science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . . , inventory no.1034, pp. 74–81.*

## **Translation 8: *Milutkalik, the Hare Man***

### *A Story*

Milutkalik told it to the grandmother and the sisters, "Grandmother, give me a strap for the load. I'll go for bark."

The grandmother is afraid to let the grandson go: "Enough, don't go for bark, that hurts the liver."

"No, the liver won't hurt. Rather give me the thong, you're slowing me down."

"No, I won't. The guts will hurt."

"Guts won't hurt. Rather give me the thong; I'll go for bark."

"No, you're not going for bark. The liver will hurt."

"Liver won't hurt."

"Guts, the kidneys will hurt."

“No, guts won’t hurt,” persists Milutkalik. “That’s not true, grandmother. Sister, then you give me the thong.”

The sister gave the younger hare boy the thong. He went. Milutkalik saw the devil’s dwelling, approached, and began to strip the old bark from the logs. He strips and repeats, “Oh, I’ll give this to grandmother, bitterish, but just good for the teeth.” Another piece of bark he tore off: “I’ll give this to sister Lylyachak. Sweetish and strong bark.”

Milutkalik strips bark, makes a pile in order to tie it up better with the thong.

“Oh, and this I’ll give to the older sister,” exclaimed Milutkalik, “only this is dryish and bitter!”

The devil’s dwelling stands on the shore right by the sea. The young bearded seal Upapil’ emerged and began to tease Milutkalik: “Th-he de-vi-l’s dw-el-ling y-ou are clea-ning!”

“Hah! Go away, girl friend!” Milutkalik couldn’t resist.

But Upapil’ wants to draw Milutkalik into an argument, and so shoots out of the water and sings, “Th-he de-vi-l’s dw-el-ling y-ou are clea-ning!”

Milutkalik couldn’t resist: “Ice floes are clean, but after you it always remains dirty. There!”

“No, my poops are plump, fat, and you have dry and hard, as white pebbles.”

“So you’re fat, thick; therefore, your poops are also such!”

“And you are scrawny, scrawny!”

“Wait, and I’ll be just as fat. Don’t compare me with you.”

“Liar!”

“You’ll see! Hah, go away!”

“Why are you teasing,” Upapil’ was offended, “my grandfather will kill you.”

“Well, let it happen, let it happen, let it happen!”

“Ah so! Wait, I’ll go tell grandfather.”

“Well, let it happen, let it happen, let it happen!” cries Milutkalik, and he prepared himself to wait; suddenly, in fact a bearded seal swims up. He prepared his chopper with which he stripped bark and holds it ready.

Upapil’ dived and swam away.

“Grandfather, grandfather! Milutkalik is offending me, he’s teasing,” complained Upapil’.

Grandfather bearded seal swam to the shore, and at the shore there was already coast ice. He began to come up at the edge.

“Why are you teasing my granddaughter?” he shot up and asked Milutkalik.

“Well, let it happen, let it happen, let it happen!” cried Milutkalik. “Swim to the shore. I’m not able to go to you in the water. It’s better if you come up on the shore, and here on a dry place we will talk!”

The grandfather bearded seal dived and dived and finally came up on the shore. The hare grasped the chopper and struck him.

“Oh, for that you killed my grandfather!” Upapil’ began to cry.

“No, I didn’t kill him. He came as a guest. You see, grandfather waves flippers to you, swim to shore!”

“Liar, I saw how you struck him. I’m going to tell grandmother,” and Upapil’ dived into the depths.

“Granny, granny, wake up!” Upapil’ cries. “Our grandfather is dead. Milutkalik struck him.”

“Apa-pa-pa!” grandmother woke up and her teeth chattered, “No wonder my back stiffened; my sleeping companion left.”

Upapil’ swam away again, came up and cries to Milutkalik, “Wait, grandmother is swimming to you. She too will strike you.”

“Well, let it happen, let it happen, let it happen!” shouts Milutkalik, and readies himself with the chopper to meet grandmother bearded seal.

Grandmother bearded seal swims up, and comes up at the edge of the ice.

“Come here, look, your husband is waiting for you,” Milutkalik calls to her. “I’m not able to swim in the water. You come, come up on the shore.”

Grandmother bearded seal swims to the shore, coming up frequently.

“I’m not able to meet with you in the water,” Milutkalik does not leave her alone. “And also, you won’t be able to strike me.”

Grandmother bearded seal dared and crawled onto the shore. She did not manage to feel at ease on the shore, as the hare struck her with the chopper.

“Oh, now he’s struck my grandmother,” Upapil’ began to cry.

Milutkalik, not turning attention to Upapil’, began to cut up the killed. He had killed the two bearded seals. He skinned and tied on the load. “Enough, I’ll go home. The catch is rich,” decided Milutkalik.

The two sisters live at home with grandmother. “Grandmother!” they began to shout. “Your Milutkalik is coming.”

“Ah, let him come; we’ll wait for him in the pithouse.”

“Why does he come so slowly?” wonder the sisters. They do not see what he is carrying. The

sisters entered the pithouse.

“Little sisters, come out, take the load! Your little brother has arrived.”

The sisters came out and looked: “But where is the load of bark?” and there they tried to bring in what Milutkalik had brought. But the load was heavy for them; they were not able to lift it.

The older sister said, “No, this isn’t bark. Bark’s not so heavy.”

“Well, enough, bring it in. Grandmother is also interested.”

“But we’re not able to carry it in.”

“Ok, I’ll carry it in myself.” Milutkalik carried the goods in.

“Ah, Milutkalik has finally arrived!” grandmother met him.

“Yes, I’ve arrived.”

“Where’s the load of bark?”

“Untie it. This load isn’t bark.”

“What is it? What is it that’s very soft?” wondered grandmother.

“So, untie it,” Milutkalik did not wait and untied it himself. “I brought pieces of fat, bearded seal meat.”

“And where did you find carrion on the sea shore?”

“I didn’t find carrion; I killed two bearded seals. There, we’ll eat, and then we’ll go down for the remaining meat.”

“Oh, now I’ll prepare the food,” said grandmother. . . .

Meanwhile, the fox Iaiuchannakut had gathered somewhere in another dwelling.

“Imynna!” she says to her daughter. “Give me a braided rope!”

“Where are you going?” asks Imynna.

“I’m going to the sea shore to wander around for a while. It’s possible something was thrown up.”

“Well, go on, go on. Only you’ll hardly find anything.”

“We’ll see. . . .”

Meanwhile the hares had arrived at the place where the meat had been left. They did not manage to do anything as they see the fox running.

“Oh, look,” says Milutkalik, “our auntie runs. And from where is it that she knows everything so well, as if someone has really said to her that Milutkalik procured two animals.”

The fox came running.

“Oh, nephew, did you really kill a bearded seal?!” wondered the fox.

“Yes, really, I killed a bearded seal. And you arrived in time; you know everything as if they really told you that your nephew killed an animal.”

“I decided to wander on the shore, from the sea the wind blows and carries a pleasant smell.”

The fox has a strong sense of smell.

“Ok, take as much as you need,” Milutkalik says.

“With pleasure, but how much can I take?”

“Load up as much as you can carry. You’re strong.”

The fox loaded as much as she was able, tied it with a braided rope.

“So there, we’ll leave,” said Milutkalik, “but we’re not able to carry everything. And even this is heavy, resting on the way, we’ll be going.”

The hares went home. The fox also ran to her house.

The younger son of the fox Lymnoinytkyn goes near the pithouse. Suddenly he sees—the fox is running.

“There goes mama,” he says. “Imynna, I’ll run and meet her.”

Lymnoinytkyn ran and met mother: “Oh, mama, what is this so much you carry?”

“It’s bearded seal meat.”

“How did you kill a bearded seal?”

“Well, not I; Milutkalik killed the bearded seal. Let’s go home quickly.”

Tomorrow, all three of us will go and take away the remains of the meat.

Meanwhile the hares spent the night at home. The next day at dawn they went for the rest of the meat. They are afraid—the fox Iaiuchannakut is tricky. Without fail, she went with all her children. She will certainly leave nothing. But the hares are also no fools: they set off all three together. They run, they hurry, so that the fox would not overtake them.

And certainly, the fox also had set off early. Behind her Imynna, and in back Lymnoinytkyn.

“Oh, you came!” Milutkalik greeted them.

“Yes, we came.”

“Take these remains; we’re already loaded up.”

The foxes went back. In front the Fox, then Imynna, and Lymnoinytkyn trudged along behind. Lymnoinytkyn is a weakling and carries nothing.

The hare with his sisters also went to their dwelling.

And grandmother hare does not wait; she goes and looks for the hares to appear. Finally, she saw her children. “I’ll run and make some food,” she decided.

The children arrived.

“There, grandmother, we brought it.”

“Oh, finally you arrived,” said grandmother.

“Yes, we arrived.”

“Where’s the fox?”

“Together with her children, she also went for meat. This time I didn’t tell her to take as much as she wanted. They picked up only the remains.”

“Well, it is good that it sufficed the aunt; you treated them with fat,” rejoiced grandmother.

The hares spent the night, and in the morning grandmother says, “Enough, we’re satisfied. It’s necessary to thank the friends. Prepare them various things: reindeer meat, crow berries, and *pal’kumiat* roots. The friends have to go home; granddaughter Upapil’ is waiting for them. Go, take them the gifts.”

The hares went to the sea shore; they took every single little bone of the bearded seal together with the gifts. They buried the little bones on the shore, and left the gifts. And they immediately went home.

Granddaughter Upapil’ saw as if her grandfather and grandmother coming. She was glad. Father was at home. He began to scold his daughter: why did she permit grandfather and grandmother be killed? And at this time grandmother and grandfather arrived home. They brought the gifts.

“Look what the hares treated us with: berries, and roots, and reindeer meat.”

“Oh, not in vain, grandmother, you went for the gifts,” said father of Upapil’.

So the deceased returned home. That’s all. The end of the story.

*The story of “Milutkalik” was recorded on 16 August 1970 from the Kerek M. I. Etynkeu at the Kuet fish camp.*

*The science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . . , inventory no. 1034, Pp. 104–111.*

## **Translation 9: *The Raven Kukki***

### *A Story*

The little mice said, “Well, let’s go to the sea shore.”

They went to the sea shore and suddenly saw a small spotted seal thrown up by a wave.

One little mouse said, “Oh! I found a little seal!”

The older mouse also says, “Quiet, or then again grandfather will hear; come and take the seal.”

And truly. At this time Kukki sits in the yaranga and says to his wife, “Miti, I’ll go outside.”

He went out; suddenly, he hears someone make a noise, as if mice. Kukki went to the sea shore.

“There, there, grandfather is already coming! I said that he would hear!” shouted one mouse.

Unnoticed, the mice pulled the seal to the side and covered it with dry sea weed.

“Quiet, or then he’ll take the seal from us!”

“What did you find?” asks Kukki.

“Oh nothing, grandfather, nothing.”

“But what did you drag along the shore? A track was left.”

“We dragged a root wad there onto the shore.”

Kukki thought and suddenly says, “Well, comb me. Yesterday I ate raw brains; I’m all dirty.”

The smallest mouse answers, “Let me comb you, grandfather; I’ll look for lice.”

“Well, look for lice.”

And the mouse sisters laugh, “Little sister, what’s with you? Stop looking for lice on this shaggy head!”

“What’s this they’re saying there?” Kukki became indignant.

“They say, I will look in vain for lice on the shaggy head.”

“So, take hold of the hair on my head, and you, the smallest, hold at the top.”

The mice grabbed him by the hair; Kukki shook his head and the little mice fell into the water, but the smallest held on.

The little sister cries:

“Ai, why did you throw my little sisters in the water; you shook your head?”

“Then they will go to the shore; they can swim. Let’s go to what was hidden. What did you find?”

“We said that we found a root wad.”

Kukki does not believe it; he opened the grass heap, and really: a small seal is lying there.

“Why do you conceal it from grandfather? Daughter, let’s divide it in half.”

The mouse was foolish. “Yes, let’s divide it,” she agreed.

They divided it in half and left. Kukki brought his load. And his son Auppali meets him:

“Oh, what’s this you’re bringing, papa?”

“Yes indeed, a small seal. Tell your mother; let her sing a thanksgiving song.”

Auppali ran ahead: “Papa found a small seal; sing a thanksgiving song.”

“Oh, a young seal?” asks Miti.

“Yes, a young one.”

Kukki arrived. Miti hums and dances: “Ku-u-kki ki-ll-ed a seal with one flipper, killed a seal with one kidney!” Miti thanks the spirits.

“Enough, sufficient!” says Kukki. “Cook and, for the time being touch nothing; take it outside. Take it out and say, we all had our fill.”

“How is that, did you catch the animal for nothing. You yourself don’t eat,” Miti was surprised.

They took the kettle with seal meat outside, and they at this time fell asleep.

The little mice got out of the water and went home. Grandmother mouse meets them: “Oh, you arrived!”

“Yes, grandfather took the seal and cut it in half.”

“When he falls asleep, we’ll go down to him,” grandmother mouse reassured them. And really. All together the mice went and pulled everything from the kettle. Kukki is sleeping with his mouth open. They pooped in his mouth and ran away.

Kukki woke up and says, “Miti, bring the seal because something smells like mouse poop in my mouth.”

The wife entered: “There’s nothing there; only the kettle’s left.”

Kukki became angry: “Well, I’ll go to them; give me a small kettle!”

Kukki went. He began to shake the mouse yaranga.

Grandmother mouse says to the younger girl, “Look, your little sisters will perish; go, tell grandfather that you frighten me; I’m the daughter of Sikulylan, your son.”

The small mouse went out: “Grandfather, you frighten me, enough, eat *palkumiat* roots.”

And the mice meanwhile wet the *palkumiat* roots with urine.

“Go eat!”

“No, why did you take the seal away?”

“No, we didn’t take it; we shared together so we could eat together.”

“No, I don’t believe you.”

“The older sisters die. Don’t shake!”

“Well, let it be!”

Kukki went into the mouse yaranga.

“Grandfather, listen to me!”

Kukki recovered himself: “What is this, I frighten the daughter of my son. Well bring in the kettle!”

He nevertheless went into the yaranga, and it collapsed.

“Oh, what happened with the yaranga!” the mice were frightened.

“A gust of wind blew it,” and immediately Kukki fixed it.

“Eat the *palkumiat* roots. Then the girls will scratch you and look for lice.”

The girls scratched the raven. Pleasantly. He fell asleep.

“Make his eyelashes red,” said grandmother mouse.

They did his eyelashes.

“Wake up, grandfather! It’s already getting dark.”

“Oh, I slept well! The girls scratched me well. Well then, I’ll go.”

“Just as you approach the yaranga, then lower your eyelashes,” said grandmother mouse before he took off.

Kukki began to approach the yaranga, he lowered his eyelashes. “Oh, as if the earth is burning!” Kukki sees nothing. He became angry. “Miti, Miti! Put out the fire, the earth is burning!”

His son Auppali goes toward him, he wanted to pick him up, but his wife approached and plucked the eyelashes. “How naughty! The mice glued your eyelashes. The earth’s not burning.”

“Oh, ok! What they did to me! I’ll go again.”

Again Kukki went to the mice. He shook the yaranga of the mice. “Now I won’t believe this girl,” he decided.

Grandmother mouse says to the granddaughter, “Say: grandfather, you frighten me. I’m Si-kulylan’s daughter.”

“I don’t believe you. Why did you tangle my eyelashes?”

“Not I, the older sisters, I didn’t tangle your eyelashes.”

“No, I don’t believe you.”

“Grandfather, listen, you frighten me.”

“Ah, you’re the daughter of my son. There, bring in the little kettle.”

Again Kukki entered.

“Oho, again something happened! The yaranga fell over!” cried the mice.

“That was a gust of wind,” and the raven set up the yaranga.

“Eat the roots, grandfather.”

Kukki ate the roots.

“Let the girls scratch you again,” said grandmother mouse.

Kukki went to sleep.

“Paint his nose all over.”

The mice painted his nose. Grandmother mouse wakens him: “Wake up, it’s already getting dark,

you must go home.”

“Oh, I had a good nap. I completely forgot myself.”

“Well, go down for a drink,” grandmother mouse says to him.

“Yes truly, I want to drink after sleep and roots.”

Kukki went to the river and saw his reflection.

“Oh, what a pretty woman with a painted nose! Well, come! Oh, you don’t want to. Wait, I’ll go home. Wait!”

Kukki went home. He brought a white stone, a cutting board, and a scraper; he grabbed the canopy with stanchions. He threw the stone in the water. It gurgled and sank.

“Oh, she like it; took the gift.”

Kukki threw the cutting board and scraper, but they were wooden, they came immediately to the surface.

“There, I’m going now,” he got bundled up in the canopy cover.

Kukki fell into the river and it took him to the sea.

Miti becomes worried and says, “Where did Kukki go? I’ll go to the sea shore.”

She went to the sea shore. She sees a canopy with poles tossed up by a wave. She untied the canopy, and there was Kukki.

“Out of jealousy you came for me,” says Kukki.

“No, not out of jealousy, you were simply in the canopy.”

Kukki says, “Let’s go home, Miti.”

“Enough. The mice took advantage of you,” says Miti.

The ravens went home.

I finished. There’s no more story.

*The story was recorded in August 1971 at the Kuet fish camp from the Kerek E. Kal’vichanau.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . . , inventory no. 1034, pp. 131–137.*

## Translation 10: *Iaiuchannakut, the Fox Woman*

### *A Story*

Fox went to her daughter and says, “Imynna, give me the braided rope!”<sup>19</sup>

“Where are you going?”

“I’m going to trick Kukki.”

“Stop tricking; get food honestly.”

“No, I’m going anyway.”

Her daughter gave her a braided rope and Fox went out. It had already gotten dark, but the moon shone brightly. She approached Kukki’s dwelling and began to knock snow off her boots with the beater<sup>20</sup> and so knocks her boots as though it were two people.

“Chu-chu-chu-chu!” Fox knocks her boots.

“Wait, wait, now they’re coming out,” the voice of Kukki is heard from the pithouse, and he wonders why he hears a different knock. “Hey, who’s there?!”

“It’s I, I, I with my husband! My husband has very shy reindeer.”

“Keep the reindeer away!”

“Oh, oh, don’t come close, stay a little to the side.”

“Oh, then I’ll go back in.”

“Wait, wait, my husband is a night dweller, and doesn’t like light; turn off the lights!”

“Oh, then I’ll come in; I’ll tell the daughters.”

Kukki entered the pithouse and says to them, “Ilynau, Chinil’nakut, turn out the lights!”

Kukki’s wife Miti wonders, “What kind of guest has arrived? Doesn’t like light. Ok, if asking, let it be.”

“Hey!” cried Kukki. “Come in! The lights are now turned out. Your husband must surely have tied the reindeer now?”

Fox entered the dwelling.

“Oh, you’ve come!” they think there are two of them.

“Yes, we’ve come! Here’s my husband. I married a night visitor.”

“Well, sit down.”

“My husband taught me to do everything in the dark,” boasts Fox.

<sup>19</sup> When the Kerek were preparing to go to the tundra or on the sea shore they always took a thong or rope braided of grass with them in order to be able to carry back a bundle of firewood or other load (V. L.).

<sup>20</sup> Among the Kerek, as among the Chukchi, it was the custom to knock snow from the boots and clothing with a beater of reindeer antler before entering a warm dwelling and to stamp one’s feet. This was a sign to those sitting in the canopy that someone was coming (V. L.).

“Well, eat. Prepare aunty a dish, let her eat sea food.”

They cut up small slices of fat and meat. And Fox tricks and puts all this in her bag.

“Oh, and we are full!” says Fox.

“You didn’t come in vain; eat well.”

“And don’t you have egg sausage?”<sup>21</sup>

“Miti, don’t we have egg sausage?” Kukki asked his wife.

Miti went down and brought egg sausage.

“Wait, I’ll prepare the dish myself,” Kukki trying to please Fox.

And Fox again placed the sausage in the bag. Indeed, she is alone, lying and tricking, [and she] talks in two voices: for herself and for her “husband.” The moon through the ice window shines.

Kukki’s son Auppali speaks quietly to his parents, “Fox is pretending, talking in two voices.”

“What’s that he says,” Fox began to become anxious. “I have something to thank.”

“Shut up, boy, thinking about yourself,” Kukki became angry at his son.

“Oh, we are full already.”

“What, will you go?”

“Yes, we will go. Very shy reindeer my husband has,” says Fox.

“Yes, yes, very shy reindeer; they are accustomed to only one man; only one man can ride them,” says Fox in her husband’s voice. “Only I can manage them.”

“Well, then I will not see you off.”

“Yes, yes, don’t come out,” Fox is happy, “we will manage alone.”

“As you wish.”

Fox went out and when she was alone, she raced home.

Auppali says to his parents, “Oh, mama, Fox is alone; she doesn’t have her husband Kymy-val’tyn.”

“No, in fact it’s her husband. Keep quiet, it’s none of your business.”

“Oh, oh, oh!” Fox arrived home to her daughters.

“Oh, you arrived!”

“Yes, I arrived! Untie the load; feed your younger brother.”

The sisters fed younger brother Lymnoinytkin.

<sup>21</sup> They prepare egg sausage thusly: from the body of a guillemot they remove the gullet, clean it, and fill it with egg yolk and then cook it. This product can be prepared for the future, having been lightly smoked. Egg sausage was considered a great delicacy.

“And they even treated you with egg sausage?! What are the sausages filled with?”

“The duck innards are filled with egg yolk. They also treated me with sea food there: dried whale meat and fat. . . .”

On the next day the Kukkis awoke. The father began to speak to the son:

“Well, go along the tracks, see, where they set off from.”

Auppali went along the trail.

“Well, what?” asked Kukki when he returned.

“No, papa, I saw only one fox track.”

“They probably left the reindeer far out. . . .”

“Tomorrow I will go again,” Fox says to her family. “I’ll pull out and freeze a winter net from under the ice. You go without fail along behind me. Everyone go.”

The next day it began to get dark, night came, but the moon was bright. The foxes went to Kukki’s dwelling.

“We’ll pull the net from here,” said Fox, having stopped at an ice hole, “and while the net will be freezing, we’ll go down to the food cache. The owners are sleeping.”

There was no one. Only the foxes are working. Fox got into the food cache and pulled everything out.

“Carry as much as you can,” she says to the children. “Go home, and I will go for the net. I will tell them, here is a rich gift to you from my husband.”

The children went home. Meanwhile the net had frozen; it chimes with chunks of ice, as if iron rattles. Fox went to Kukki.

“Chu-chu-chu-chu!” Fox shakes her boots with a beater near the dwelling.

“Oh, Fox has come again; my husband has come! Wait, wait there!”

Kukki went into the corridor: “Hey, who’s this?”

“We, we, we! We of last night; we have come again. My husband there has brought you riches.”

“Where?”

“There’s a full sack,” and Fox gave it to Kukki. “Only don’t put it in the wrong place; the iron is cold; when it sweats, it will rust. Put it high, on the canopy.”

“Miti, Miti!” cries Kukki. “Look, her husband brought riches, iron. Put it up, put it on the canopy.”

“We’ll come in,” calls Fox.

“Come in, the lights are already out.”

“Oh, they’ve arrived again!”

“Yes, we arrived! We decided to visit our boy and girl cousins more often. We came to eat fat.”

They cut up thin slices of fat and put it in the dish. They eat, as if there are two.

“Is there no egg sausage?”

“The last time everything was given away!”

“A pity, that was my favorite food.”

“Well, Miti, look for it! Fox’s husband walks a lot, let him eat well.”

“Papa, papa!” whispers Auppali. “Only Fox is talking. She’s pretending; she speaks in different voices. She’s alone.”

“Oh! Again the boy said something! The fox has something to thank you.”

“He just talks, don’t listen, he’s still stupid. If you were alone, we’d see it.”

Itchym, Kukki’s nephew, also watches Fox. Suddenly he says to Kukki, “She alone is talking. Again, she fools us.”

Kukki does not hear and continues, “Maybe you’ll eat more? If you want, tell,” evidently he also suspected. “You, yourself stick a paw in the bladder, get out fat, but we want to sleep. Yesterday we slept very little.”

“Is there still fat?”

“Miti spoke correctly, go yourself, stick your paw in the bladder, take out fat.”

And this time Miti had prepared to tie up Fox’s paw.

“How do I get fat?”

“Yes, go, stick your paw in the bladder of a stomach,” says Miti to her.

Fox listened, she put her paw in the bag of fat.

“Deeper, stick the paw deeper,” says Miti and immediately tied tightly the edge of the bag together with the paw.

“Oi, oi, oi! What are you doing to me?!”

“Why do you lie! You don’t have a husband, you’re wandering around alone; yesterday also you lied!”

Fox rushed out and ran away. She ran off with the bladder on her paw as if caught in a trap. She carried off the bladder. Fox is cunning.

“Imynna, Imynna! My hand’s numb! They caught it with the bladder as if by a trap!”

“And you are such always; you want to do all through cunning and deceit. You should have asked nicely.”

“Heat water quickly, I’ll wash my hand.”

When Fox ran off, Kukki yelled after her, “You should go to cheat the rich woman Kontytvaal’!”

“Untie my hand quickly, Imynna!”

“Still yesterday I said, ask amicably.”

“Beg them, they are greedy.”

Imynna heated water, washed Fox’s paw. . . .

The next day the Kukkis awoke. Kukki says to his daughters, “Check our supplies; they probably stole everything.”

The daughters went to the food cache and returned home.

“There are no supplies of food; they took out everything; the wall remained naked to the bone,” they said to Kukki.

The ravens remained satisfied at least for the fact that they annoyed the tricking Fox, they punished her. . . .

But Fox didn’t stop. She says to her daughter, “I’m going for food to the rich woman Kontytvaal’.”

“Where are you going?”

“In any case, tomorrow I’m going to Kontytvaal’.”

“You’re not able to live without deceiving; it would be good to get food kindly.”

“It’s good you don’t beg from them, they’re greedy. We’ll sleep a little and tomorrow, as it gets dark, we’ll leave.”

On the next day they awoke.

“Well, give me the braided rope, Imynna, I’ll try to get food.”

“Only ask kindly, don’t do badly. Kontytvaal’ lives with sister dogs. What if something happens? The Kukkis only tied your hand.”

“No, no, I’ll ask kindly. I’ll go now.”

Fox went to the rich woman Kontytvaal’. Just as at Kukki’s, she began to knock her boots with a beater. She beats and it seems that two have arrived.

“Chu-chu-chu-chu!” Fox taps, and distances herself from the door, stands to the side.

“Hey, who’s there?!”

“I, I!” but she remembered that there were two of them. “We, we, we!”

“Who are you?!”

“It’s Kymyval’tynym and me. I married a rich Chauchu. Soon our herd will come, and we’ll slaughter a deer for you. Only the herd is now at Pynakvyn Mountain, a bit far away. But my husband—a night dweller, turn out the lights.”

“How will you eat in the dark?”

“We have learned, got accustomed; we ourselves take food from the dish.”

“I’ll go tell them to put out the lights.”

They put out the lights, but one sister dog says to her:

“Older sister, Fox is alone; there’s no companion with her.”

“It’s ok, let them enter,” Kontytvaal’ didn’t believe.

“So, did you put the lights out? We’ll come in!” they call from outside.

They entered. Fox says in a different voice:

“I’m a night dweller; I can only be in darkness.”

“Yes, yes, sit here for now.”

They prepared a tray of food, but Fox doesn’t eat, but rather places everything in her bag. She put in as much as she could carry.

“Isn’t there any egg sausage?”

“We don’t have any. There are only women; therefore, we don’t climb on the cliffs for eggs, and don’t make sausage. There, eat fat.”

They wanted to cut more fat when suddenly Fox says, “Give it to me. You’re not accustomed to the dark,” and she moves closer to the door. “I’ll cut the fat there near the door. What if I wound myself unintentionally?”

The dog sister whispers, “Older sister, Fox is alone; she doesn’t have a husband.”

“Wait, what if she is with a husband?”

“What’s this she says,” Fox heard, “I’m not deceiving. Hit your sister. The herd is now very close.”

Kontytvaal’ hit her dog sister who had just spoken.

“Beat up all sisters,” Fox adds, “the herd is now very close. Oh, we are full already! Let’s go to meet them; we’ll see.”

“I’ll go with you too.”

“No, no, we alone. My husband’s reindeer are very shy. Stay in the canopy.”

Fox rushed outside and ran off.

Kontytvaal’ says to her sister dog:

“If Fox comes again I’ll turn you loose, and you chase her.”

Fox ran home and says to her children, “Tomorrow you’ll go with me. You will bring much food. The dog woman is rich. She has much food in her store rooms. While I divert them, you take everything from the store rooms.”

The next day the foxes went to the dogs. Fox showed the children the store room.

“Quickly,” Fox hurried the children, “make as much of a load as you can carry, and go home quickly, and I’ll run to them.

Fox ran to the dogs’ dwelling.

“Chu-chu-chu-chu!” she began to knock her boots.

The dogs realized that Fox had come again. One of them says, “Yesterday you promised to let me loose.”

“Wait a little,” and called outside. “Hey, who is it!”

“We, we, we! We of yesterday, we of before! The herd is now quite near and will be here tomorrow.”

“After you’ve cleaned your boots, come in.”

“Did you put out the lights?”

“Yes, we put them out; come in!”

‘Oh oh! I fear something,’ thinks Fox and calls out, “Wait, my husband’s taking off his hat. I will put it away.”

Finally, Fox entered the dwelling.

“Sit down, sit down. Certainly, you will eat?”

“Well, let’s eat,” Fox agreed and wanted to sit down.

And Kontytvaal’ quietly let her dog sister loose and whispered to her, “Just don’t throw yourself on her in the canopy; we’ll listen to what Fox says.

“It would be good to eat fat?” asks Fox.

“The fat’s here, near the door. And you, Fox, are lying, and deceiving us!”

“Oi, oi, oi! We grew up together, we ate from one tray!” Fox was frightened; she jumped up and started running.

Sister dog chased after her.

“Just don’t bite her to death; bite her on her *kerker*,” cried Kontytvaal’ in pursuit and unleashed her second sister dog.

Fox rushes, but the dogs caught up with her.

“Oi, oi, oi! At one tray we grew up, used the same hearth!”

“You’re lying! We didn’t grow up by one hearth; we’re not comrades. Why do you steal? Now we’ll tear you to pieces!”

“Oi, oi, oi!” cries Fox.

And the dogs chase her and grab her fluffy *kerker*; they tore it all to pieces.

“Oi, oi! Enough! Enough!”

“Ok, let her run home to the children. We’ve torn the *kerker* to pieces and scared her,” says one of the dogs to the other.

So Fox ran home with a torn up *kerker*. She ran up and groans.

“What happened?”

“The dog sisters bit me and ripped my *kerker* to pieces.”

“Because you’re a thief you deserve it. They’ll kill you someday.”

“I won’t do any more because they will in fact kill me. Set up the canopy. I’ll lie down.”

Fox was not calm for long; she didn’t intend to go anywhere. . . .

The next day the dogs awoke. They went to look at the food caches. Everything had been taken from two by Fox’s children while she was conversing in the dwelling. But it was good that they at least avenged her, and she won’t come anymore. . . .

The raven Kukki says to his wife, “Well, I’ll go to Kontytvaal’. Perhaps niece Fox went to her also. Then I told her that the dog woman has much food; she’s rich.”

Kukki went to the dogs. He knocks the snow from his boots.

“Oh, probably, has uncle arrived? He shakes of the boots differently, not like Fox,” surmised the dogs.

“Hey, who’s there?!”

“Oh, niece, it’s me, Kukki!”

“When you have your boots knocked off, come in. Maybe, put the lights out?”

Kukki burst out laughing:

“No, don’t, we’re accustomed to the light. Probably Fox came to you yesterday?”

“Yes, she was here yesterday. It’s good that sister dog said that she was alone, without a husband. I guessed that Fox came to deceive us.”

“We’re left entirely without food; the foxes took everything.”

“We have only two caches robbed. What will you do? Maybe, spend the night?”

“Well, I’ll spend the night.”

The next day the dogs awoke, and uncle is ready to go home.

“It’s dawn already; I’ll go home,” says Kukki.

“With what can we treat you?” and they gave him dried meat, reindeer meat, and mountain sheep meat.

“How much will you take?”

“Oh, enough, enough! Probably my children already returned from the hunt.”

“If you are without food, come.”

Kukki went home. His son meets him.

“Look, papa is coming; he’s carrying a lot; slowly he comes.”

Kukki took from his bosom a snack and said to his son:

“Take this home to mama. I’m going slowly; it’s heavy for me.”

The son ran home and says to his mother:

“Papa is carrying many goodies; it’s heavy for him. And this is a goody for you. He has both reindeer meat and lamb meat.”

Kukki arrived. He cries, “There, Miti, take the load!”

“Oh, you came!”

“Yes, I came! Fox was at the dogs’; she deceived them, but they took revenge on her. Well, untie the load and eat.”

The ravens fed their children dried meat, meat of reindeer and mountain sheep.

That’s all.

I finished telling the story. I told everything that I remembered; some things I forgot. These stories were told to us formerly by elders.

*The story was recorded in September 1970 from the Kerek M. I. Etyneku at the Kuet fish camp.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . . , inventory no. 1034, pp. 184–197.*

## **Translation 11: *Igklaul, the Wolf Man***

### *A Story*

I will tell a story about Wolf.

Kukki says to his wife, “Miti, give me the thatched sled.”

“There isn’t a thatched sled, only a braided rope under the rails.”

Kukki doesn’t believe her and looks for himself.

“What are you looking for?”

“Yes, the sled.”

“Where are you going?”

“Well now, I’m going for downhill ride.”

Kukki left. He went down the hill.

“Oh! How pleasant, only the sky flashing before the eyes!” cries Kukki with joy. Kukki again went down the hill and cries, “Oh! How pleasant; only the sky flashing by!”

Wolf heard how Kukki joyfully cries out while sledding down the hill. “Where from is he yelling?” thought Wolf and went toward Kukki. “Hey, grandfather, what are you doing?”

“Oh, you scared me. Where do you come from?”

“Well, I heard you yelling when sledding, and I thought, ‘I’m going to watch as grandfather sleds.’ Let me sled!”

“You can’t; you’ll fall in the water.”

“No, I won’t fall in the water; I have long paws. What should I be yelling when I’m sledding?”

“Yell: ‘Oh! How pleasant; only the sky flashing by!’”

“Ok, I’ll yell that,” and Wolf sledged down the hill. Plop—and he fell into the sea. “Oi, oi! Grandfather, I fell in the water. Pull me out!” cried Wolf.

“No, I won’t pull you out. You have long paws, and I have curved claws; therefore, I don’t fall in the water.”

“Listen, grandfather, pull me out!”

“No, I won’t pull you out.”

“Yes, pull me out, my legs are getting stiff.”

“No, I won’t pull you out; you are long-pawed.”

“Grandfather, I’ll give you a herd of fleas.<sup>22</sup>

“I don’t need fleas.”

“Listen, grandfather, my legs are getting stiff,” cries Wolf from the water.

“I say to you that I won’t pull you out!” Kukki resists.

“I’ll give you a herd of sheep.”

“You lie, my children themselves get mountain sheep.”

“Then I’ll give you a pack of wolverines!”

“I don’t need them. I tell you, my children catch various animals.”

“What to give you,” argues Wolf. “Oh, I’ll give my long-eared sister for you to marry.”

“Well!” rejoiced Kukki. “Hey, father-in-law, wait-wait, now I’ll pull you out.”

<sup>22</sup> The translation is approximate. The particular kind of insect could not be determined.

Kukki pulled Wolf out.

“Br-r-r! My legs are almost numb,” says Wolf and wrings out his clothes. Kukki helps him.

“Well?” asks Kukki. “Are you going to give me your sister?”

“No, I don’t have a sister.”

“Wh-a-t?! You deceived me! Enough, I stopped sledding,” Kukki was offended. “[Through] which valley will you go?”

“Along the Vatvytkavnyn valley. And you?”

“I’m going to the upper reaches of the Antchina River.”

Kukki and Wolf went off in different directions. They went along the river valleys, and on the upper reaches they met. Wolf went to the sources of the Vatvytkavnyn. Kukki went up to the upper reaches of the Antchina River. And suddenly he turned into a piece of fat meat from the hind part of a reindeer.

“Oho!” Wolf was amazed. “Thank you, friends left me food.”

And right there he ate the piece of meat. And this was Kukki.

Wolf went home, and in his stomach Kukki began to stir.

“Oh, this, certainly, my father brought and spread out entrails here in a food cache,” says Kukki in Wolf’s stomach and suddenly throws out the entrails.

“Grandfather, are you speaking from me?”

“I’m not here, I’m at home; I’m sitting in the food cache.”

“Oi, he threw out my entrails!”

“Oh, I’m not here, I’m at home,” and himself throws out the kidneys. “Faugh! This is probably where Itchym hung his smelly boots.”

“Oi, my kidneys!”

“What are you shouting, I’m at home, in the food cache,” and he threw the lungs out. “Faugh! Again Itchym brought it.”

“Grand-fath-er! My lungs!”

“Stop, I’m home, in the food cache,” and he threw the heart out. “Faugh! This certainly is a spear of Puiitynpytyp.<sup>23</sup> Why is it hanging here?”

“Grand-fath-er! My soul!” and Wolf died.

“Oi, oi! I killed Wolf!” cried Kukki and went out from him.

Kukki went home. Auppali saw him and says to his mother, “Mama, papa comes sledding.”

“Well, let him come,” answers mother.

<sup>23</sup> The Kerek spear was not thrown, but used only to pierce animals. It was much shorter than the battle spear of the Chukchi and Koryak. The bone head was similar to a heart.

Kukki is angry; he cries, "Auppali! Tell mother, to carry out the ceremony of thanksgiving!"

"Ok," and Auppali entered the pithouse. "Mama, papa drags something. He said that you should conduct the ceremony of thanksgiving."

"Well, but go and see what's he dragging," and she began to conduct the ceremony. She sang, 'Ku-u-kki ki-ll-ed Wo-l-f without gi-bl-ets!'

Kukki came into the pithouse: "Enough dancing; I've arrived."

"Let the daughters skin the catch."

"No, skinning is not necessary. Let it be whole."

Naumat—mother-in-law—went out;<sup>24</sup> she met father.

"So do it. Take the wolf to the food cache and watch there while you are sewing."

The ravens fell asleep. Kukki slept soundly.

Meanwhile, the wolf brothers went on the track. Kukki sits at the door of the pithouse and weaves a net. His young son Auppali goes out of the pithouse to his father.

"Go out more often and look around," Kukki says to him.

"Papa, look, two wolves are coming," Auppali said to him.

"Oh, wait, now I'll make little balls of fat.<sup>25</sup> Go to the place where they must arrive. Pretend that you are playing and leave the little balls," Kukki says to Auppali.

The wolf brothers approached and saw:

"Oh, probably the boy Auppali played here and dropped his little balls," they decided and immediately ate them.

They approached the pithouse. Kukki weaves the net near the door.

"Oh, you came!"

"Yes, grandfather! What's with us? We're shaking; we can't see!"

"Probably you ate something?"

And the wolves immediately dropped dead.

"Oh, again I killed two wolves," rejoiced Kukki and took them to the food cache to his daughter: "There is some more, watch them. . . ."

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<sup>24</sup> According to the ideas of the Kerek, when a daughter was born, it was believed that the grandmother had returned, that is, the mother of the woman who gave birth; when a son was born, it was believed that the father of the woman who gave birth returned. In this story Kukki's older daughter Sinil'lymnylnakkut is called by her father Kukki "Naumat"—mother-in-law, and Miti, Kukki's wife, "Ylla"—mother.

<sup>25</sup> The Kerek rolled up little balls from small pieces of fat, inside of which they placed sharp plates of baleen. Then they froze the little balls and threw them into the path of a wolf. In this way they killed wolves.

Meanwhile, a wolf cub tells his elderly parents, “Here were many beds; they’re empty; I’ve remained alone.”

“We visit different places; we leave many beds.”

The wolf cub is called Vechovtyn. The wolf parents fell asleep; Vechovtyn went on the track of his brothers. . . .

Kukki again sits at the door weaving a net. Kukki is a great shaman-sorcerer. Auppali often goes out from the pithouse.

“Go out more often, look around,” Kukki says to him.

Another time Auppali went out and saw: “Papa, a small wolf cub is coming.”

“Yes, probably. Vechovtyn,” Kukki knows. “Take little balls and place them in his path.”

Auppali took the little balls, left them in the wolf cub’s path, and returned to the pithouse.

The wolf cub runs along the path and suddenly it saw the little balls. ‘What’s this?’ he thought and took them.

“Oh, you came!” Kukki greeted him.

“Yes! Didn’t my brothers come here?” Vechovtyn asked.

“No, they didn’t come; we’re alone,” answered Kukki.

There, Vechovtyn shows a little ball clutched in his fist and asks, “Grandfather, what’s this?”

“Oh you!” Kukki became frightened, dashed into the canopy, and crawled under the hides.

“What are you doing?!” called Miti. “You can scare me this way! Where are you going?!”

“A wolf cub came, showed a little ball, and asked, ‘What’s this?’”

“So why are you hiding?! Since you’re horsing around; go to him,” Miti scolds him.

Vechovtyn entered the pithouse.

“Oh, you came!” Kukki’s wife greeted him.

“Yes, it’s me. Grandmother, what’s this?” Vechovtyn shows the little ball.

“I don’t know; I’m not acquainted with it. Faugh!” Miti spat, and thought to herself, “You can’t fool the daughter of Akal’tchiki.”<sup>26</sup> “Kukki, go out, what are you afraid of? You’re a man. I’m a woman, and I’m not hiding.”

“No, no, I won’t go out. I want to sleep.”

“Well, just be there!” Miti became angry.

It was already becoming dark. Vechovtyn says, “It’s time to go home; I’m going.”

“Well then, go,” answered Miti.

<sup>26</sup> Akal’tchiki is Miti’s father.

“Only don’t spy on me.”

Vechovtyn went to the food cache, in which Kukki’s daughter Sinil’lymnylnakkut watches the killed wolves, and cried, “Hey, are my brothers here?”

“Yes, here.”

Vechovtyn woke his brothers up and said to them, “What will we do with this wolf? He’s without innards. We’ll leave him. And you come after us on the trail,” he said to Sinil’lymnylnakkut.

Kukki’s daughter went to the wolf people. Vechovtyn brought her and says to his parents, “There, meet her!”

The parents went out.

“Oh, you came! Quickly. Where were your brothers?”

“Well, grandfather killed them at once, and for this I took his daughter away.”

Sinil’lymnylnakkut is afraid. For the first time, she is among wolves.

“Oh, the woman arrived!”

“Yes!”

“Come in!”

“Yes, I’ll come in,” and Sinil’lymnylnakkut entered the wolves’ dwelling. And so remained there. The wolf people went to sleep. . . .

Miti went to the food cache to look. Her daughter was not there, and only one wolf with no innards lies there. “Oh, what a wretch is Kukki! He even allowed our daughter to be stolen!” Miti became outraged and returned to the pithouse. “Kukki, Kukki!” she cried.

“Ah!”

“That’s not our daughter, and also no wolves!”

“Oi, oi!” Kukki became frightened. “Probably Vechovtyn did this; he was just here.”

“Only one wolf without innards is still there.”

“I’ll go put the innards in him, revive him, and let him go home.”

Kukki sewed the wolf innards from different little pieces of meat.

“Oh!” Wolf revived. “Who did this to me?!”

“Yes, I did this,” answered Kukki. “Go home; I woke you. Our daughter has disappeared. Certainly, among you. Bring her, don’t keep her.”

“Ok, we’ll bring her.” Wolf went home. He comes home. “I’m here, mother, meet me!”

“Oh, who came? Probably ours who yesterday went away.”

“Yes, we left him there; we didn’t know what to do, because he didn’t have any innards,” said Vechovtyn.

“What have they done with you?”

“Grandfather put the innards in me and woke me. Tomorrow when we wake up, we’ll take their daughter home, but otherwise he will do something to us.”

“Yes, yes, take her home, now take her,” said the elders.

The wolves set off to raven’s house. They arrived in the evening.

“Wolves, stay here, first I’ll talk,” said Sinil’lymnylnakkut.

“Mother, I arrived, meet me!”

“Oi, oi!” cried Kukki. “As if my mother-in-law arrived!”

Miti went out.

“Oh, you came?”

“Yes, I came! The wolves brought me.”

“Where are they?”

“Outside.”

“Tell them to come in.”

“Where are you, wolves? Come in!”

“No, we won’t come in. Kukki will seek revenge. We’re in a hurry.”

“Well, can I treat you with something?”

“No, we’re happy that we brought your daughter. We were sorry for her. You didn’t know anything about her.”

Miti led her daughter into the pithouse. Kukki still trembling from fear is hiding under the bed. Miti says to him, “Look, mother has arrived.”

“Where did mother come from?”

“There, the wolves brought me.”

The wolves returned home. They call out, “Meet us! We’ve come from grandfather; we left him his daughter.”

“What did grandfather say?”

“He was afraid and didn’t show himself.”

“Well enough, calm down and don’t mess around. . . .”

Sinil’lymnylnakkut began saying to Kukki, “How did you save me?”

“Well, I revived the wolf that was without innards, and sent him to his brothers. He promised to bring my daughter. He says, ‘I feel sorry for the old lady.’ Well, it’s good you have returned.”

I end telling the story. This is all I know.

*The story was recorded in September 1970 from the Kerek M. I. Etyneku at the Kuet fish camp.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . . , inventory no. 1034, pp. 226–236.*

## **Translation 12: Kukki**

### *A Story*

Kukki went for firewood. He is coming home and suddenly wanted to crap. He crapped, went on, and suddenly hears someone angrily cry, “Why do you leave your child! Wait!”

Kukki returned and sees a woman was formed from the crap. He dragged her home.

“Miti!” he calls to his wife. “I brought a girlfriend, meet her!”

“Where were you married?”

“There, I found the woman in the tundra.”

And the woman suddenly says, “There, where Kukki crapped, was a yaranga. He took it for bathroom trash. Dig with a shovel; you will find poles for a yaranga here.”

And truly, poles for a yaranga were found, and the cover was found. The yaranga was set up. A good yaranga. Miti went home. Kukki stayed with his new wife. He married the woman of crap. They fell asleep.

The next day the yaranga got suddenly broken, and Kukki appeared all in crap. No yaranga, it was broken. Kukki calls, “Miti, Miti, where’s my girlfriend?”

“She’s not here, she is crap. She deceived you.”

“Oi oi! It turned out that crap deceived me. I’ll go home.”

Miti bathed him. Kukki became angry and threw out all the food. There was nothing to eat. They are starving. Kukki went into the woods for bark.

“Go more often for bark; the children are hungry. We’ll feed them with bark,” Miti says to him.

Kukki goes into the forest for bark. Miti mixes it with roe and feeds the children, and gives Kukki little by little.

“You threw out the food, eat an old sole from a boot,” Miti tells him.

Every day Kukki goes for bark. He returns. Miti feeds the children, and gives him only old soles to chew.

Once Kukki saw a whirlpool. From there a humpback salmon peeked out.

“Come in!” the humpback invites him. “Oh, you’ve grown thin.”

“I threw out all the food, and we’re starving.”

“Yes, you’re really wasting away!”

Kukki married the humpback salmon.

“Come, take the fish home,” the humpback says to him.

Kukki took the fish home.

“There, Miti, I brought a load of food. I brought many fish.”

“Where did you get them?”

“I took the humpback salmon woman as a wife.”

“And you will always live with her? Maybe, you bring her?”

“I’ll bring her next time.”

“Bring her now, bring her quickly.”

Kukki went to his humpback salmon wife and says, “Girlfriend of the wife. Miti says that I should bring you.”

“Well, I’ll go,” the humpback salmon woman agreed and loads Kukki with cooked fish.

Kukki led the humpback salmon to his home. “There, meet the girlfriend, Miti!”

“Oh! You already brought your girlfriend!”

“Yes, I brought her.”

“Well, as before for firewood, go into the woods for bark.”

Kukki went into the woods for bark.

Miti cut up the fish and cooked it for the hungry children. They ate it; the soul-body went home.

“Oh, you’ve come!” Miti meets Kukki.

“Yes, I’ve come, who went for firewood. Where’s my girlfriend?”

“She’s not here.”

“Where is she?”

“She probably went home.”

The next day Kukki went to his humpback salmon wife. He saw her again.

“Miti butchered and cooked me. Don’t take me home,” the humpback salmon asks Kukki.

The humpback salmon grew thin from that time, as they began to cook it, while in the beginning she was fat. Nevertheless, Kukki again took her away, and when he went into the woods, Miti then again cooked her. Kukki returned from the woods.

“Miti, take the load of bark. Where’s your girlfriend?”

“She’s not here. Again, she probably went home.”

“Why is it that she leaves all the time?”

Kukki went to her. “Where are you?!” he cries.

“I’ve stopped going to you; they won’t eat all the fish.”

“Ok, better stay home.”

And again the humpback salmon began to live in the whirlpool.

*The story was recorded on 21 April 1971 in the village of Meinypil’gino from the Kerek Kezhgynto.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . ., inventory no. 1034, pp. 247–249.*

### **Translation 13: *Kainakloul, the Bear Man***

#### *A Story*

Fox met Bear.

“Oh, nephew, I saw you!”

“Yes, you saw me.”

They went together to the edge of a steep cliff.

“Let’s take a nap in the sun,” says Fox.

“Ok,” agreed Bear.

And the cliff is high and sheer.

“Don’t lie at the edge, or you’ll roll and fall. Lie farther away.”

They lay down to sleep. Fox on the very edge of the precipice, and Bear nearby. As soon as Bear fell asleep Fox quickly moved to the other side. She says to the sleeping one, “Nephew, move over, otherwise you can push me over,” and she nudged him to the edge and suddenly she pushed him off. Bear fell from the cliff and was killed.

Fox jumped up and began to go down to the foot of the cliff. She sees that Bear is dead.

Fox has many children. They carried the bear meat home. There was a lot of food. Imynna is Fox’s older daughter. Fox says to Imynna, “Imynna, the vertebrae of bears you do not throw away, I’ll gather and bury them.

And really. Fox collected the vertebrae and strung them on a rope.

Fox once again gathered and went in the tundra, and after herself drags the vertebrae on a rope. She walks and suddenly sees in the bushes Wolf sleeps. Fox tied the vertebrae to Wolf’s tail and suddenly cried out:

Nephew, nephew! Those with big teeth are after you! Run quickly! Run through the bushes!”

Wolf jumped up and ran in fear into the thick bushes. Caught his vertebrae on the branches and they pulled off all the fluffy white wolf’s tail.

Wolf ran home.

“Grandmother, grandmother! I lost my tail somewhere!”

“Wander around who knows where! How is it possible to lose a part of your body?!” grandmother scolds him and from different shabby scraps of hide she sewed on another tail.

And Fox at this time went on the trail of Wolf. She saw: in the bushes hangs the wolf’s tail. She took it and went home.

“Imynna, here is a fluffy white wolf’s tail I brought. Sew white tips for all foxes’ tails from this tail.”

Imynna sewed pieces of the wolf’s tail to the foxes’ tails, and from that time on the tips of the tails of all foxes have been white.

*The story was recorded on 21 April 1971 in the village of Meinypil’gino from the Kerek Kezhgynto.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . . , inventory no. 1034, pp. 256–257.*

## **Translation 14: *Kukki and His Wife Miti***

### *A Myth*

Kukki married for the first time and began to live with his wife Miti.

Kukki was very afraid of the sun, and as soon as it appeared, he fell to the ground. Miti scolded the cowardly Kukki. She did everything herself—procured food. But then Miti became pregnant and bore two sons. And Kukki as before fears the sun and sits home all the time.

Miti often goes to the sea. There she has a second, sea husband. From there she brought sea food. Again, Miti became pregnant and bore two sons by the sea husband. And Kukki as before fears the sun. As it rises, he falls with fear to the ground.

The first two sons were named Sikulylan and Anantakilan. From the sea husband the same sons were born, and they were also called the same.

Miti again became pregnant and bore two daughters: Sinil’lymnylnakkut, the other Anaiuptynakkut. One daughter Miti wrapped in moss, carried into the tundra, and left her there.

The children grew up and began to catch wild reindeer.

“Where do they go?” Kukki asked his wife.

“They catch wild reindeer.”

Kukki became wiser. At that time the earth was level; there were no mountains. Kukki was not

happy that the earth was level.

“Oh, I’ll make mountains,” Kukki once said.

And really. They awoke the next day and see mountains had been formed.

“Now you will hunt reindeer in the mountains,” he says to the children.

Miti as before goes to her sea husband and brings food from there.

Meanwhile, the daughter, whom Miti had thrown out, other people took in and raised. Once the two Sikulylans came to the village and saw there the girl. She had already grown up.

“I will look after her,” said one Sikulylan.

“Well, ok,” answered the people.

Finally, Sikulylan married her. He did not know that this was his sister. . . .

*The myth was recorded on 22 April 1971 in the village of Meinypil’gino from the Kerek Kezhgynto. The myth was not finished since the narrator became ill and after some time died.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . . , inventory no. 1034, pp. 262–263.*

Kezhgynto, in Kerek Kichiiuntu, in Chukchi Kechgynto. His father was Tupyl’, mother Akana, both Kerek of the Meinypil’gino group. Kezhgynto was born in the small community of Gachgatagin in 1903. For a long time, he did not enter the kolkhoz, but rather lived alone on the Al’katvaam River occupied with fishing and trapping furs. He married the Chukchi woman Anyna. He knew his native Kerek language, remembered the stories, myths, and legends. Among the Kerek he was recognized as the most knowledgeable and experienced. Very testy and touchy, he was difficult to work with. Three texts were recorded from him, and a fourth without an end. He died in 1973.

## **[Apparently there is no Translation 15—Trans.]**

### **Translation 16: *Why the Kerek Have no Reindeer***

#### *A Legend*

The Kerek were our ancestors, were the first. However, one day there was reindeer making. But the Kerek did not want to make reindeer on this day and said, “Tomorrow we will make reindeer.” But the next day there was no reindeer making. In one day everything was finished.

*The legend was recorded in September 1970 in the village of Meinypil’gino from the Chukchi Ivan Ivtegin-Korav’e in the Chukchi language.*

*Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . . , inventory no. 1034, p. 264.*

### **Translation 17: Excerpt from the Legend “Kunlelyu—One Moustache”**

Kunlelyu and his brothers were four: Kunlelyu, Pikyttym, Petyvtychgyn, and Akovrarky; his cousins: Vychgykylty, Eviiskev, and Venkii.

Just then friendship began. The Arel’pyno people stood near Lake Emragytgyn. However, they were all killed there, and Motlynto (Koryak) became the enemy. They took away reindeer. Arel’pyno made a shelter in the cliffs. The enemy suddenly said, “We’ll leave you without water.” Arel’pyno answered, “It doesn’t matter. Kunlelyu is coming with friends.” At this time Arel’pyno’s wife peeped from behind the stones, and they hit her directly on the forehead with a stone from a sling. Then a snowstorm began. They went with the daughter from the shelter. And suddenly Arel’pyno broke his arm. He said to his daughter, “Oh, enough, leave me. And you try to get to the Kerek.” Oh, and a long time she went, she ran a whole day along the cliffs. Finally, she arrived at night. The Olyalek people came behind. They asked, “Where is the woman?” It turns out, the Kerek dug a pit under the canopy and hid her there. Then the enemy went away. And the woman married a Kerek. . . .

*The legend was recorded in September 1970 from the Chukchi Ivan Ivtegin-Korav’e in the village of Meinypil’gino. Ivan Korav’e is one of the descendants of Kunlelyu, he traces his genealogy from Eviiskev, the cousin of Kunlelyu. Science archive of SVKNII. Appendix. . ., inventory no. 1034. p. 266.*



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