

SUOMALAIS-UGRILAISEN SEURAN TOIMITUKSIA LXVI  
MÉMOIRES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ FINNO-UGRIENNE LXVI

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# ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES

ABOUT

THE YENISEY-OSTYAK

(IN THE TURUKHANSK REGION)

BY

KAI DONNER

HELSINKI 1933  
SUOMALAIS-UGRILAINEN SEURA

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*To the Memory of My Friend*

*Professor*

*U. T. Sirelius*



## Introduction.

My work «Über die Jenissei-ostjaken und ihre sprache» (in JSFOu. XLIV, 2) contains among other matters the following, which I quote here by way of introduction.

When travelling in the early spring 1912 along the Yenisey from the town of Yeniseisk to the village of Dudinka, I was in the position of acquiring some knowledge of the curious language of the YO<sup>1</sup>. As a result of my study of this complicated language, differing from all the other Siberian languages, I published in 1919 an investigation under the title «Beiträge zur frage nach dem ursprung der Jenissei-ostjaken»<sup>2</sup>, where on p. 2—3 I said a few words about the people belonging to the YO tribes, whom I had met, as well as a few words about the dialects etc. spoken by them. The main point was, however, the attempt to show that this language — like the Kott language, related to it — was of the same origin as the Si-hia language, formerly spoken in Middle Asia, and as the Tibetan; the YO consequently belonged to the great Indo-Chinese group and was not an isolated and separate Paleo-Asiatic language. — — — I mention the above in explanation of the fact, that for a long time I have been looking for an opportunity of devoting myself to a close study of the YO<sup>3</sup>. I have arrived at this opinion also by

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<sup>1</sup> = Yenisey-Ostyak.

<sup>2</sup> Journal de la Soc. Finno-ougrienne XXXVII, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Proofreading Remark.*

In connection with the discussion about the origin of the YO I desire to correct a statement in my paper *Castrén's Memory in Russia* (JSFOu. XLV, 1 p. 10). I there state that A. IVANOV's reading of the words in a Si-hia glossary, published by him, is partly incorrect. My correction is founded on a statement by P. PELLLOT in T'oung Pao, vol. XXIV 339. Meanwhile Dr. E. von Zach (in a letter dated Weltevreden 1. II. 1933) informs me, that long before that time,

understanding remembering, that only through an exact knowledge of the cultural words of the language, the origin of many Samoyed words can be explained. And an investigation into the reindeer breeding of the YO may further explain important questions regarding the origin of Siberian reindeer breeding. Consequently I was greatly pleased when, by the permission of the Institute for living eastern languages (Институт живых восточных языков) in Leningrad, and through the kind mediation of the head of the same,



1. Dibikov en face.



2. Dibikov in profile.

Professor Vorobyev, and also by the help of the Finno-Ugrian Society, a student of the said institute, Ilya Fedorovich Dibikov, was placed at my disposal for three months, (from 28. VI. to 22. IX. 1928), to assist me in my investigation into the YO.

or in 1920, he had by letter drawn the attention of B. Laufer of Chicago to the matter, and that he then published his statement in *Die Deutsche Wacht* (Batavia) in the beginning of October 1926 and still later in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1927; consequently, to judge from these facts, he is the author of this important correction, which according to my assumption was due to Pelliot. — I also desire to point out, that P. Pelliot has published a review of my above-named paper in *T'oung Pao*, vol. XXXIX 164. On another occasion I hope to revert to some of the questions treated therein.

Dibikov — born 1909 — is a native YO and belongs to the tribe living on the rivers Turukhan and Bayikha (usually written Baikha) in the region of the mouth of the rivers. His language is related to the dialect spoken by the YO, who live round Nižne-Inbatsk. The parents of Dibikov are both YO; in the summer-time they live quite close to the Yenisey opposite the village of Turukhansk (formerly Monastyrskoe) and in the winter near the winter-road, leading past the old uninhabited town of Turukhansk towards the Tas. The father, Fedor Dibikov, possesses about twenty reindeer, but goes in for fishing and hunting besides his reindeer breeding, so that his son, my Narrator, is quite familiar with these areas and also otherwise knows all concerning daily life of the YO, who are settled there. On account of his youth we can, however, understand, that he is not versed in the religious ideas, prevailing among his tribesmen. Almost all the tribesmen seem to carry on the same trade as Dibikov's father; in this respect they are obviously on the whole on the same stage and cultural level as the neighbouring OS<sup>1</sup>, I met in 1912 on the rivers Turukhan and Bayikha, and as the OS on the Tas. The connection with the OS, living within the area of the above named rivers, is intimate, and there is a lively communication with them. Almost all the YO talk OS fluently. Yet the OS know no YO, although they often marry YO girls, while the YO do not want to marry OS girls, whom they look down upon, as they do on the whole tribe. Nevertheless, as we have said above, they have adopted the OS as a kind of cultural language, owing to its being widely spread and comparatively easy, yet also partly owing to the fact, that the YO from Turukhansk have apparently culturally borrowed so much from the OS. After having quoted the above introductory remarks, I shall only refer to these two papers, which contain details concerning the origin and present state of the language and the people, and thus it will not be necessary to repeat here all that has been said there.

When working with Dibikov, we were chiefly engaged in the investigation of the YO language, so strange and interesting; con-

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<sup>1</sup> = Ostyak-Samoyed.

sequently it was not possible during the short time of three months to occupy ourselves with much else. Meanwhile Dibikov, becoming interested in drawing pictures, which work he had never done earlier, several interesting things were produced in word and picture, illustrating the daily life of the YO. In connection with the glossary work, he furnished different kinds of information concerning their religious ideas; all this material forms the marginal notes to the short glossary, which I am going to publish, and in which neither these fragmentary notes, nor the primitive drawings (not done altogether unskilfully) can be inserted. The sketches are the more welcome for the illustration of daily life among the YO, as I could not, on account of the prevailing winter darkness, take photographs, suitable for reproduction during my short stay in 1912—13 in the neighbourhood of Turukhansk, specially while residing with Dibikov's father. The photo of Dibikov was taken by me in Finland, and the sketches of the objects are drawn by Dibikov and deposited among my collections in the National Museum at Helsingfors.

The notes within [ ] refer to my short remarks and reflections about the explanations of the Narrator, written down — as we have reason further to emphasize — as literally as possible, partly to his dictation and partly founded on his tales, even these as literally as possible. Consequently there are constant repetitions, which as a rule I found it unnecessary to eliminate.

If these notes, meant to serve as marginal notes to which we can refer from the glossary, be not of special interest by themselves, they may yet serve as material for comparison in ethnographical investigation work.

We are aware that our knowledge about the YO is extremely sparse. Besides the information given in my earlier publications, and besides the statements and works referred to in the text, we gain, as far as I know, if CASTRÉN's annotations are excepted, only knowledge about them through V. V. PEREDOLSKIY's *По Енисею, бытъ енисейскихъ остяковъ* (with illustrations), St. Petersburg 1908 and in OTTO HELLER's *Sibirien ein anderes Amerika* (also with illustrations), Berlin 1930.

Concerning the transcription, I beg to point out that a somewhat less complicate one, than the one generally used by me, has been applied here; thus it can be understood and quoted by non-professionals in the linguistic field of science.

During Dibikov's stay in Finland I took some measurements of him, which are set down here in connection with the illustrations. They are perhaps of some interest, as measurements of YO are scarce. The length was 156.6 mm. The length of the head was 188 mm and the width 152 and the height from tragus 118, thus the index for length and width was 80.85, which index, according to my experience during my travels among the YO, does not represent the degree of brachycephalousness prevalent there. The length and width of the face was 139 and 122, index 87.77, that of the nose 54 and 39 mm and the index 72.22, which indicates that his nose is more «European» than is usually found among them. His teeth were excellent, his lips comparatively thick, his hair dark brown and his eyes brown and provided with the so-called Mongolenfalte. His skin was brownish and gave the impression of being thick. In November 1912 I took measurements of a YO, belonging to the Sym-tribe in Fomka. The length of the head was 180 mm and the width 165 and the index 91.6. The length and width of the nose 59 and 51, the length of the face was 71 and 128.5 mm. In Yartsevskoye the length and width of the head of a YO, Husarov by name, was 190 and 160, thus the index 84.2.

Helsingfors, in October 1932.

### **Explanations of the less detailed Transcription.**

For the more detailed transcription I refer the reader to my paper *Die Jenisei-Ostjaken und ihre Sprache* in JSFOu. XLIV, 2 from p. 16 onwards. The less detailed transcription is built up on the elimination of certain unnecessary signs, where an exact pronunciation is not aimed at. I only use signs for short and long sounds as well as the following signs for consonants: *k χ g γ h t d p b s z m n η l r y* (= *ï, j*) *v* and *sh* (= *š*) and a consonant + *y* to mark a palatalized consonant.

The vowel signs are: *a ä ε e i o u ü e ï*.



## Contents.

	P.
Introduction .....	5
Explanations of the Transcription .....	10
List of Illustrations .....	12
Notes about the Narrator, the Tribe he belongs to and the Places where he has lived .....	13
Daily Life among the YO, settled opposite Turukhansk .....	17
Dwellings .....	19
Clothing .....	29
Food .....	34
Hunting .....	41
Fishing .....	47
Means of Communication .....	55
Signs for the Numerals .....	59
Games and Toys and Musical Instruments .....	60
Reindeer-Breeding .....	61
Marriage and Child-Birth .....	71
The Months of the Year .....	74
About Shamans I—II .....	75
Religious Ideas .....	85
A Bear Festival .....	96
About Animals .....	99
A List containing the YO and OS Words of the Book .....	101

## List of Illustrations.

1. Dibikov en face.
2. Dibikov in profile.
3. Map of Turukhansk with surroundings and Dibikov's father's waterregion.
4. The building of a YO tent.
5. The outside and the inside of the tent.
6. Tent covered with wadmal, containing an iron stove and a tent seen from above.
7. Subterranean winter-dwelling.
8. Summer-tent without covering.
9. Storehouse.
10. Temporary winter-dwelling.
11. Coat and different kinds of boots.
12. Combs for combing the foothay.
13. Tanning implements.
14. Ladles made of wood.
15. Birchbark boxes with carvings.
16. Iron scoop and birchbark vessels.
17. Digging up of the Lilium Martagon bulbs.
18. Different kinds of arrows and bow and quiver.
19. Skis, guns with accessories and different kinds of arms and implements.
20. Hunting of ducks during moulting time.
- 21—23. Traps for catching ermines.
24. Fishweirs seen from above.
25. Fishweir, net etc.
26. YO dwellings, boats, weir etc.
27. Net, fish- and ice-landingnets and objects needed for fishing.
28. Sledge drawn by a dog and a man on skis.
29. Onelog boat and paddling-oar.
30. Large YO boat.
31. Reindeer shed.
32. Piece of wood fastened to the foot of a reindeer to prevent it from running away.
33. Reindeer-sledge with steering-pole.
34. Reindeer-sledge for women, for children.
35. Reindeer-sledge for the supporters of the tent, for victuals.
36. Shaman with drum; the reverse of a drum and spoon for beating the drum with and for fortune-telling.
37. Copy of a coal-sketch on a piece of birchbark, representing the bear.
38. JO leaving the summer place for the winter-dwelling.

## **Notes about the Narrator. The Tribe he belongs to and the Places where he lived.**

[The Narrator has given a description of his life in the following way and in the following words. The translation is made in conformity with the YO dictation.]

«Three years ago, three years ago I lived in Turukhansk. We lived together with father and caught squirrels. And I wandered together with people. Then the sky changes into summer. Then people begin to catch ducks and fish and then they begin to kill for the winter. People then dried pors [a kind of dried fish] and dried fish. Then winter came, and people then began to look for [their] reindeer, and reindeer they found, and then they went off in order to catch squirrels. Well, also I wandered thus ever since my birth [until] till [I] three years ago I went to the Russians to learn. I live with the Russians, and I learn a little to write and learn to read the letters of another country. Two years ago I went there and back, forwards and backwards. The third year I went to a strange country [Finland] and lived [there] the whole summer, but then I went back to Leningrad, then all my ways are finished.»

The YO tribe of the Narrator is settled along the Yenisey on the western shore of the river from opposite the new town of Turukhansk, and southwards towards N. Inbatsk; and also along the river Turukhan itself, which is a tributary of the Yenisey. This area borders on the old town of Turukhansk, which is now said to be almost deserted and uninhabited.

At the present moment there is a general tendency among the YO to leave the area near Turukhansk. Their desire to leave this neighbourhood is said to be due to the supply of squirrels having diminished to such a degree, that a family cannot collect more than

400 skins a year at most. They object to settling on the Tas or in the forest regions proper, not being accustomed to live within the forests and not sympathising with the so-called Surgut (= OS). «Who would care to live in the woods», is the answer to the question, why the YO did not settle on the eastern bank of the Yenisey. «Moreover it is Tungus ground.» But numbers of YO have lately moved to N. Inbatsk, where they are more numerous.

The YO inform us, that their present area opposite Turukhansk was conquered by the Yurak, then living much higher up [southwards] on the banks of the Yenisey. This was thought to have happened during the times of the hero *balni*. [Cf. the notes about the said hero on p. 88].

The Tungus living east of the Yenisey are not in favour with the YO, they are often even hated by them, as well as by the OS. The Tungus are also considered to be ferocious by nature. If a Tungus enters the YO region, i. e. west of the Yenisey «he always dies». He is found shot in the forest with his gun placed against a tree. The other members of the family are often subjected to the same treatment. Or they fall ill and die. [It happens, however, that some Tungus families nomadize round the Tas].

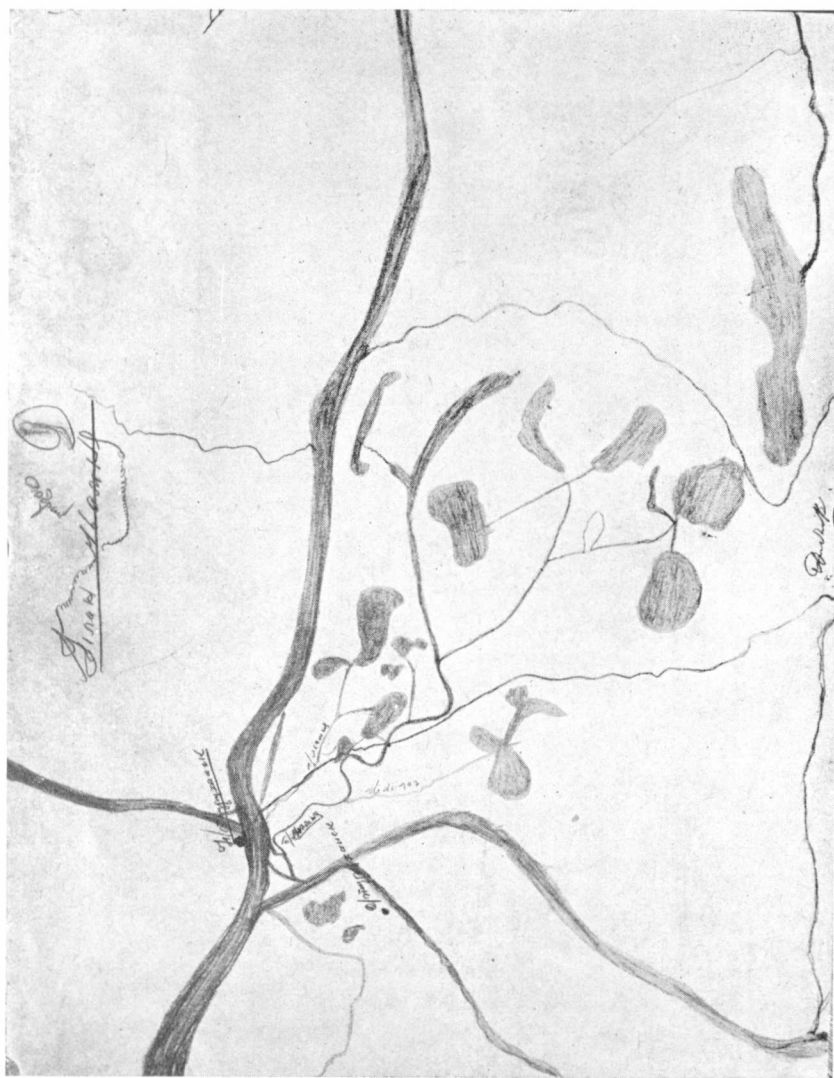
In 1923 the Yurak, living north of Turukhansk, ordered their neighbours, the YO, to give up their forests in favour of the Yurak. Otherwise the Yurak would attack the YO. These latter, however, found out that the Yurak lacked firearms, which the YO possessed. When the Yurak were informed of this state of things, they had not the courage to make the attack.

Southwards, towards Yeniseisk, there lives a people, *yoye·n* (*ĩðʷγð·n*), about whose nationality the YO know nothing.

Almost all the YO in the Turukhansk region know and speak OS. [This confirms my observation from 1912 that the OS language constitutes the lingua franca of the tundra and the forest tundra between the Yenisey and the Ob.]

*kēsses* (*kʷēššēs*) is a river, which lies opposite Turukhansk west of the Yenisey. The house of the Narrator Dibikov's father is situated on the bank of the river. The straight road from there to the bank

of the Yenisey is about one and a half versts, but along the river it takes a day and a night to travel by boat. Near the house of Dibikov there is a fish-weir, and the winter-road to the Tas passes his laptent. — In the summer the whole area, with the exception of a small piece of land on the bank of the Yenisey, is under water. At times there is so much water, that people are obliged to take refuge on the opposite bank.



3. Map of Turukhansk with surroundings and Dibikov's father's waterregion.

The picture shows the Yenisey in the foreground and the tributaries Tunguska and Turukhan as well as the river *kĕsses* with its water-region. To the right there is a lake and a river running out of it, which do not belong to anybody. The line from Turukhansk downwards along the picture shows the winter-road to the Tas.

[Recently H. FINDEISEN, in his paper *Landkarten der Jenissejer*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1930, p. 215—226, published two YO maps, also drawn by natives. They are more primitive than the one inserted here, which proves that the resp. persons were not influenced by Russians.]

About 1923 the father of the Narrator moved back to this region, lying opposite Turukhansk. He then drove away an OS, who had moved there in the meantime and «illegally» settled there. The removal from the place was perhaps due to the fact, that the YO had not come into any contact to speak of with the Russians in Turukhansk during the most unsettled time of the revolution. Some of them had retired to the Tas, and for more than a whole year they dared not even cross the river to the eastern bank. In the same way all communication between the Tas and Turukhansk was broken off during more than a year. So-called white Russians in comparatively great numbers had during this time taken refuge from the red Russians near the river Tas and the surrounding desert regions.

In the spring, after the revolution had spread to Turukhansk, a number of Russians, the prince of the OS and others, fled to the Tas, where some of them remained as long as two years. During the winter 1918—19 no single person went to the Tas and there was no communication with the river. «The Tas was like Finland to Lenin» [that is, a refuge before the Bolshevik revolution]. During the whole summer 1919 no single native from the western bank of the river [Yenisey] went to the town [Turukhansk], and nobody knew anything at all. Finally one autumn evening the OS and the YO ventured to go into the town by several one-log-boats, and armed to their teeth.

## **Daily Life among the YO settled opposite Turukhansk.**

In the autumn, when the first cold weather sets in, the reindeer are fetched from the forest. They are kept close to the winter dwelling, because people then live a comparatively quiet life and do not stray far away from their homes. The husband — sometimes accompanied by his wife — now and then, however, starts on distant hunting expeditions, chiefly to shoot squirrels (with blunt arrows supplied with wooden points). At present the booty seldom amounts to more than about 400 squirrels per family. Formerly it amounted even up to 1,000 or more. During these hunting expeditions people generally live in a so-called hunter's pit, resembling those of the OS. During the extreme cold period people remain quietly at home and not until the cold is over — generally in February — do they start on their great and distant hunting expeditions. They take their winter lap-tent with them, and all the members of the family join in the expedition. The journey is performed by means of reindeer, and the reindeer-herd follows. Hunting is the chief object and squirrels are chiefly caught, occasionally other animals as well. From these journeys they do not return until spring has set in. These expeditions often meet, both in the spring and in the autumn, and when several families assemble the shaman appears and there are great rejoicings.

When the Yenisey sheds its ice, it is impossible to live near it. And, besides, fishing is out of the question during the time of the spring flood. — We must also mention that the reindeer are turned out into the woods after the calving. Such reindeer as are hard to recognize, have bits of yarn tied to their ears or are supplied with some kind of mark cut into the ears. — While the spring flood

prevails, most families catch fish near the part of the forest edge, which is under water. It is called *ū*. Those, who have the proprietary right of the small rivers, begin to put their fish-weir in order, and the rest start fishing on the banks of the Yenisey. When summer really sets in, people move almost without exception to the dry sandbanks (*песок*) of the Yenisey, where the birchbark tents are put up. During the spring the fishing is limited to the supplying of the daily food. At present nearly all the YO (*Туроханскаро пода*) live in the summer on the western bank of the Yenisey. The Turukhan river is almost entirely deserted, on account of the mosquitoes, and OS occupy nearly the whole of the river.

When the cold sets in, people generally move to their fish-weirs, where the fish is taken out of the water; it is frozen, so-called *pors* (dried and chopped fish) is prepared and other occupations, like those of the summer, are engaged in. Sea-fowl is also hunted and frozen in the cold weather, whereupon they are added to the winter store. For the same purpose, fat is collected during the summer. It is procured by boiling the skin of the ducks, caught during hunting time, and by boiling the intestines of fish.

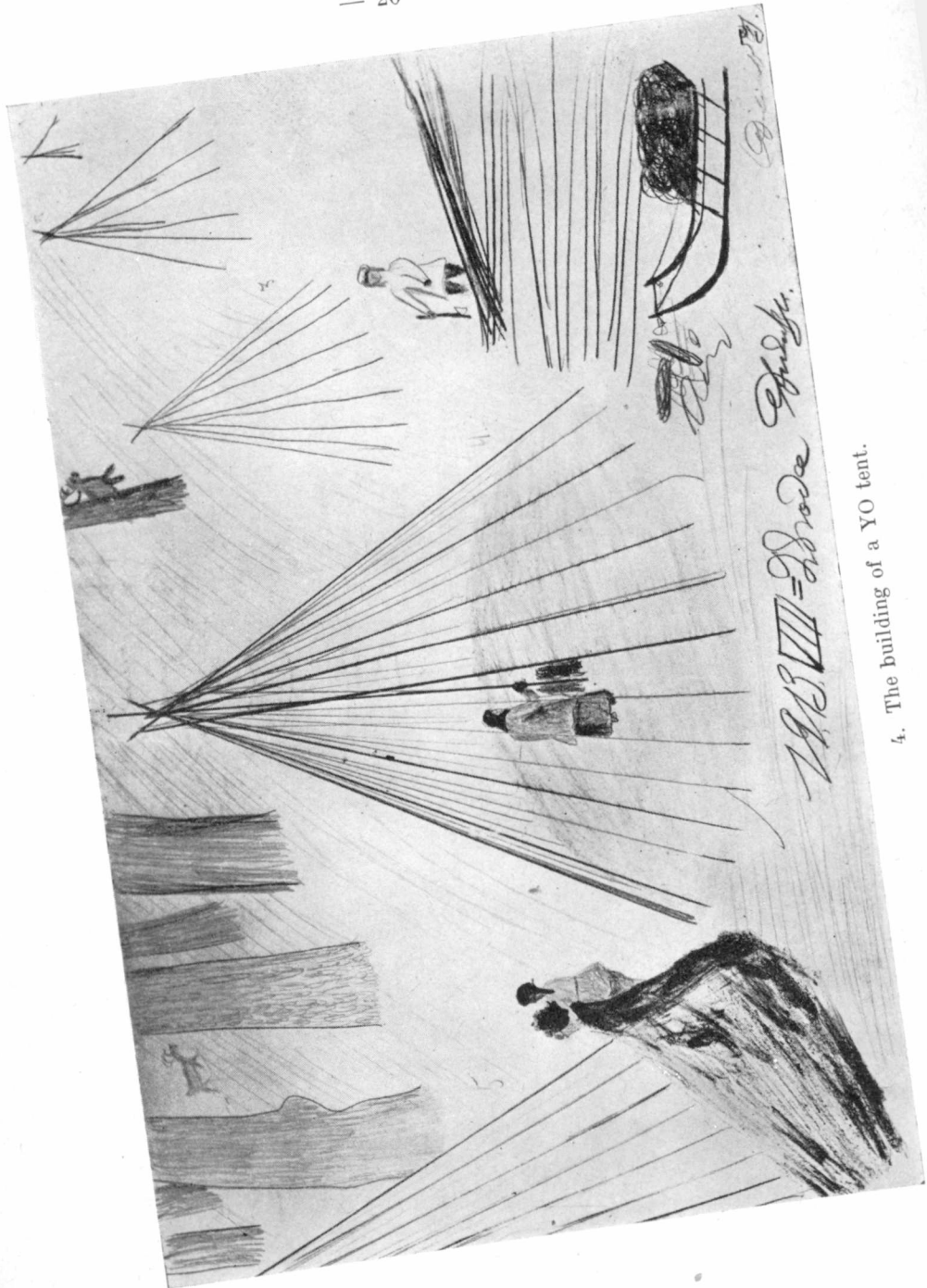
At the time of the spring flood the YO move to the banks of the Yenisey, as mentioned above. Their chief property is stored in the woods out of reach of the rising water. Most of their possessions are kept in buildings, resembling booths.

About four years ago, however, a part of the forest, an area of about 40 versts, was burned down, and almost all the possessions of the Narrator's family, which were then deposited there, were destroyed by the fire. During summer, and especially during the spring flood, people go by boat to inspect their stores.

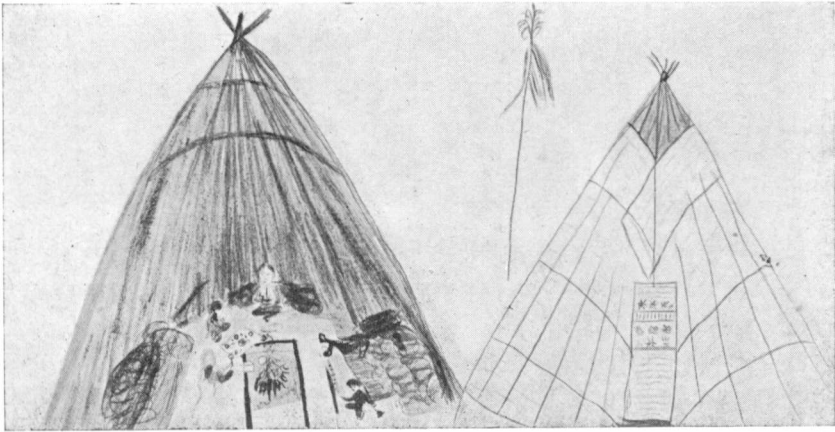


## The Dwellings.

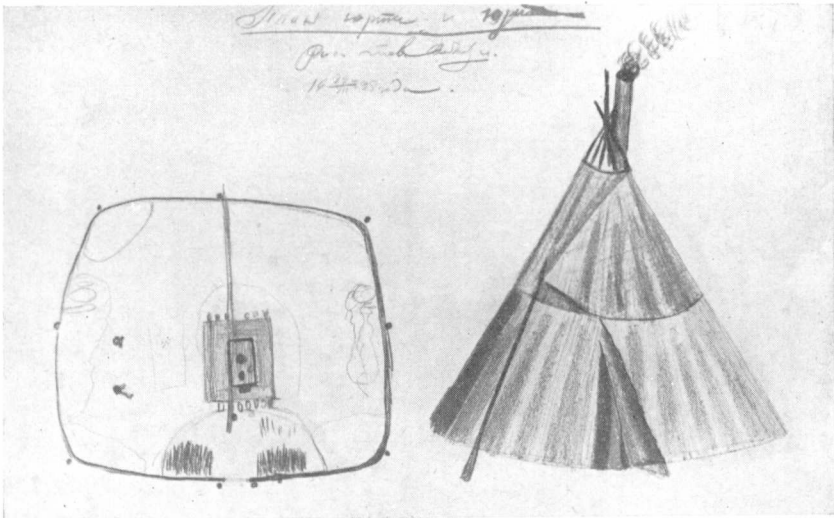
The usual type of the dwelling is the lap-tent made of birchbark, reindeer skin or nowadays even of felting; [it is built according to the sketch adjoined hereto]. The supporting poles, generally made of fir, are raised against each other, at first the two, standing most to the right and the left, and then, supporting these two, one close to the door, the other furthest away in the tent. After this the other supporting poles, ten in number, are placed two on either side of the door, and one pole close to the fire-place, for the purpose of supporting a piece of wood, which is attached to the supporting pole in the background of the tent. To this horizontal beam are attached the kettles, in which the food is prepared and where the snow is melted into water. A further number of poles, necessary according to the size of the tent, are raised more for the purpose of supporting the covering of the tent than to give solidity and strength to the building itself. The YO mostly use birch bark for covering the tent. Three or four large oblong pieces are sewn together, which have been made soft by being boiled, and which can be rolled up. Four of these rolls are used for covering a tent, in the manner picture 5 displays. On top of the birchbark covering a piece of wood is placed, called *ин* (*i<sup>e</sup>ny*) by which the birch bark is kept fixed to the poles. When the covering consists of reindeer hide or felting, a slip of the same material forms the door. When the covering consists of birchbark, however, a separate piece, made of double pieces of birchbark, and adorned with ornaments, serves as the door-piece (see pict. 5). This piece of Birch bark is attached with a rope to the place, where all the supporting poles meet at the opening, which forms the hole for the smoke. Often there is a ring, made of



4. The building of a YO tent.



5. The outside and the inside of the tent.



6. Tent covered with wadmal, containing an iron stove, and a tent seen from above.

wood, for the purpose of keeping together the supporting poles, in case hard weather or snowstorms should occur. It is called *kosset\_tep* (*kʷòssət\_tèp*).

[About these dwellings the appropriate material for comparison is to be found in U. T. SIRELIUS, *Über die primitiven wohnungen*

der finnischen und ob-ugrischen völker in the chapter Die zelte mit spitzem dach in Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen VI p. 76 and the following pages.]

When the supporting poles, which are transported on a special sledge, are removed from the sledge, or the reindeer have been let loose, the man goes to look for a dead tree, while the woman begins to build up the tent. It often happens, however, that the man has previously helped to fix the place, where the tent is to be put up, and in the winter has aided in clearing away most of the snow. Then he generally, after having let loose the reindeer, looks for a dead tree in order to procure fuel for immediate use. Especially in very cold weather people are anxious to light a fire in the tent as soon as the supporting poles are erected, even before the covering has been fixed, that is before the tent is finished. Firwood was, and is, hardly ever used as fuel by the YO, on account of the great quantity of black smoke it produces. Neither is firwood hardly ever used for other purposes. Since the introduction of iron stoves, firwood can, however, again be used for fuel.

[The northern Samoyed often use moss and the excrement of reindeer for fuel, M. A. CZAPLICKA says in My Siberian Year, London. It is not used by YO or OS].

As mentioned above, there is a fireplace or a stove in the centre of the tent.

To the left of the door, when entering, there is first a heap of fire-wood and next the place for the food, the cooking utensils and other things, [thus the kitchen side]. Then follows the sitting- and sleeping accomodation of husband and wife, and then that of the little children (under 10) as well as the place for the boys, which is almost opposite the door. *or̄no·s* is the name of the reindeer skin, used as bedding, at night in the tent to sleep on and in the daytime to cover the sledge with. [The OS in the Tas regions have similar »beds»]. Then follows the place for eventual guests and then the place for the daughters, who may »live» there eventually with their husbands. Then there is a place for miscellaneous things and at last, also on

this side of the door, a heap of fire-wood. [The arrangements are on the whole similar among the OS on the Ta<sup>1</sup>.]

In smaller families husband and wife often sleep on the left side of the door, while the children's place is on the right. Opposite the door there is the place for eventual guests. Sleeping-sacks are not used. The fire only burns while people are awake. «The fire must not be alight, while people are asleep». [Among the OS on the Tas the same customs prevail. They do not use sleeping-sacks; only the OS, who live more to the south, as for instance along the river Ket, use them.]

The «bed» mostly consists of a «sheet» made of birchbark, called *kaja·tl* (*kʷə̌ja·tl*). The birchbark is taken in the spring, when it is soft. The white and very thin outside layer is scratched off, then the bark is boiled and rolled until it is soft, and then sewn into large pieces with thread made of sinews or with white linen thread. — Owing to a decree, a family is now allowed only three such sheets a year, because the birch must be protected; consequently there is a scarcity of these sheets.

*holi·k* (*hʷə̌li·k*) OS Tu<sup>2</sup> *kām* is the name of the net, protecting people against mosquitoes, which is spread over the bed or the resting place. This net is chiefly used in the summer-tents, when the mosquitoes are most aggressive, and when, as a rule, there is no fire, which produces smoke. These protections are mostly made of stuff, bought from the Russians. [I on my part have never come across nets made of other material].

A reindeer skin, which is chiefly used for lying on, is called *syek-su·k* (*ʃə̌jəkʷu·k*). This reindeer skin is also often used in the following manner: it is filled with different implements, and both ends are tied up with ropes. Such a «sledge» with its contents, is in the winter time pulled by handpower, where reindeer are lacking, over the soft snow [which mostly prevails, as mild weather hardly ever occurs in North Siberia in the winter]. Sometimes this kind of «sledge» is pulled by dogs.

<sup>1</sup> Ta = on the river Tas.

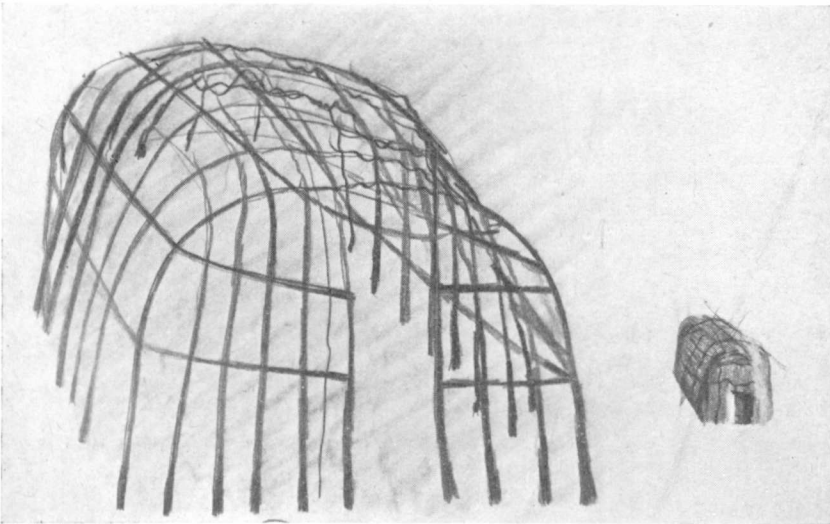
<sup>2</sup> Tu = on the river Turukhan.



7 Subterranean winter-dwelling.

There are also rugs of reindeer skin, lined with hareskin, called *usĩnsĩ* (*ùsĩnsĩ*). They are rarely seen now, chiefly because the Russians pay very little for the skins. The YO generally manage with reindeer skins without a lining.

*bāṅge's* (*bāṅgâ's*) is the name of a so-called *землянка*, a subterranean winter dwelling, divided into two parts (picture 7). The room with the entrance door is uninhabited and only covered with fir branches, supported by low frame-work. [Generally the roof is not made of wood, while it among the OS is]. The entrance is used for

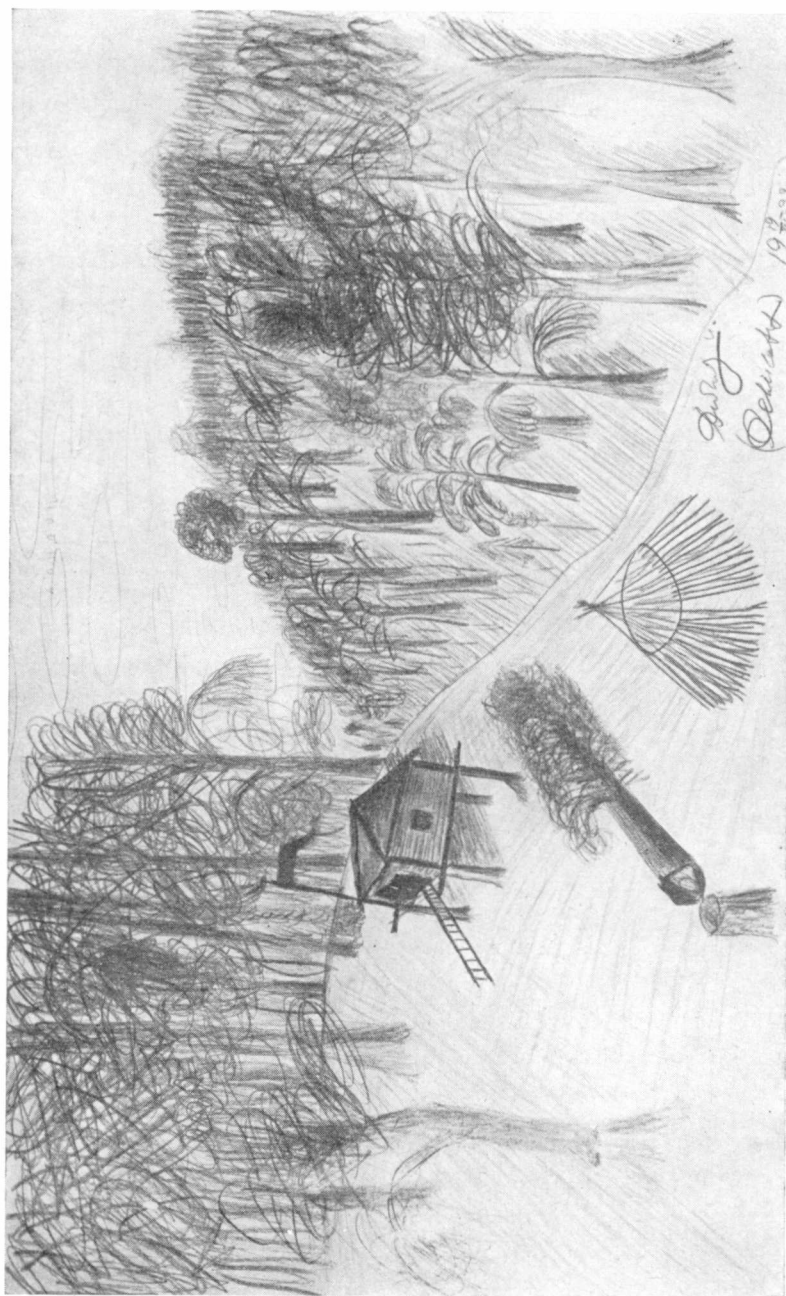


8. Summer-tent without covering.

storing the wood and different implements. The soviet emblem, which appears in the picture, is made of wood by the Narrator, who has been at a Soviet school in Leningrad. This part of the dwelling is called *bāṅgest\_konu's* (*bāṅgâst\_kʷonu's*).

The inner room to the left of the picture has a window, generally made of ice, and called *kopku-l* (*kʷopkʷu-l*). When made of glass, which is often the case at present, it is called *oko-ska* (*òko-ska*). In this room there is the so-called *chuval*, an open fireplace of long wooden laths covered with clay, and like those made by other Siberian tribes. The chimney of the *chuval* sticks out above the



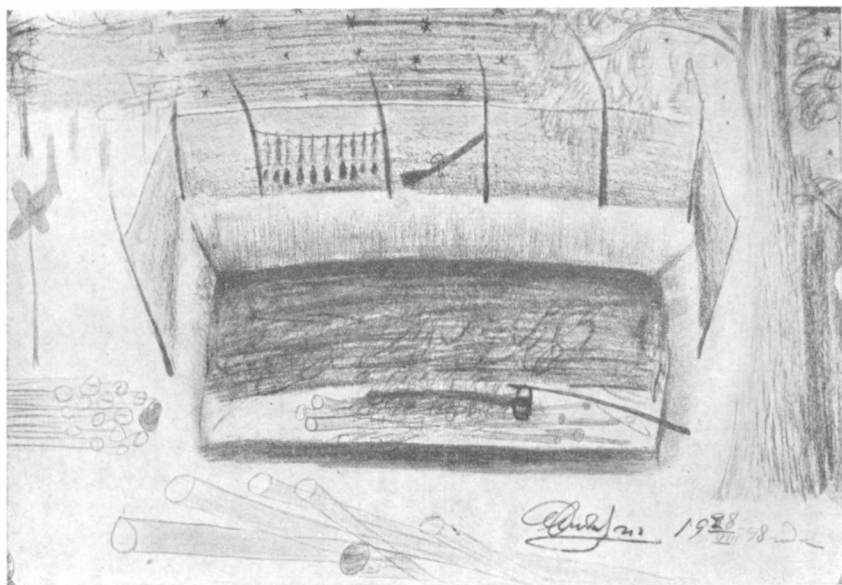


9. Storehouse.



roof and so do the supporting poles of the roof and the flue of the iron stove. The walls and the roof are covered with snow. — The dwelling is little used nowadays and, if used, it is only for a year at most.

Close to this dwelling (see pict. 7) is a tent, called *konu's* (*k<sup>u</sup>onu's*), used for a store-room and completely covered with branches. Different kinds of provisions, like fish etc. and all that is preserved hanging, are stored here.



10. Temporary winter-dwelling.

*ĩnus* is the name of a summer dwelling, or tent, with wooden supports (see pict. 8). It is covered either with birchbark rolls, made in the same manner, as those that cover the ordinary lap-tent, or with a layer of fir bark. It is mostly erected on a sand-bank close to the river. The framework remains standing during the winter. The fire is not lighted within, but outside the dwelling on the bank.

*kolir̥y* (*k<sup>u</sup>olir̥j*) is the name of a square store-room on four supports, where winter implements and other things, needed during the

winter are kept. Mostly the store-house (see pict. 9) is erected in the forest on elevated ground, out of reach of the spring-flood.

*Lesnyitsa* (*lesnitsa*) is a ladder leading to the store-house, which is generally made of one log with steps cut into it, [the same kind occur in Finland and Scandinavia].

On hunting expeditions, in which the other members of the family do not join, the huntsman lives in hollows *kuotē* (*k'uòtā*) made in the snow. The snow is removed by digging down to the frozen earth, and the hollow is covered with spruce, or, for want of better material, with fir branches. The branches of the *pikhta* fir are not serviceable for the purpose, as they become wet very quickly. In front of the dwelling a fire is lighted, not very big, however, [not so big as for instance the wood fire, which the Ostyak in a temporary winter dwelling make between two long parallel rows of wooden shelters]. The fire is generally protected by a piece of stuff or birch bark, fixed to poles behind the edge of the hollow. In the absence of such a kind of protection, small fir trees are placed in a row, which afford only scanty protection against the wind, yet cause the warmth to accumulate in the hollow as long as the fire is burning.

The food is prepared in a kettle hanging on a pole, which is stuck into the ground. The pole is called *tent\_òks*.

The objects seen on pict. 10 are: to the left a pair of wide skis on a pole, inside the shelter, skins of newly killed squirrels and a gun.

The hut is used for two nights at most; otherwise a dwelling of greater durability is built.

## Clothing.

As a rule the men have short hair; only the shaman allows it to grow. The YO who live higher up on the Yenisey also have long hair. The women always have long hair, which is done up into two braids. Those of the men, who have long hair, also braid it, but only into one single braid *dum\_syu·t* (*dum\_śy·t*) = braid.

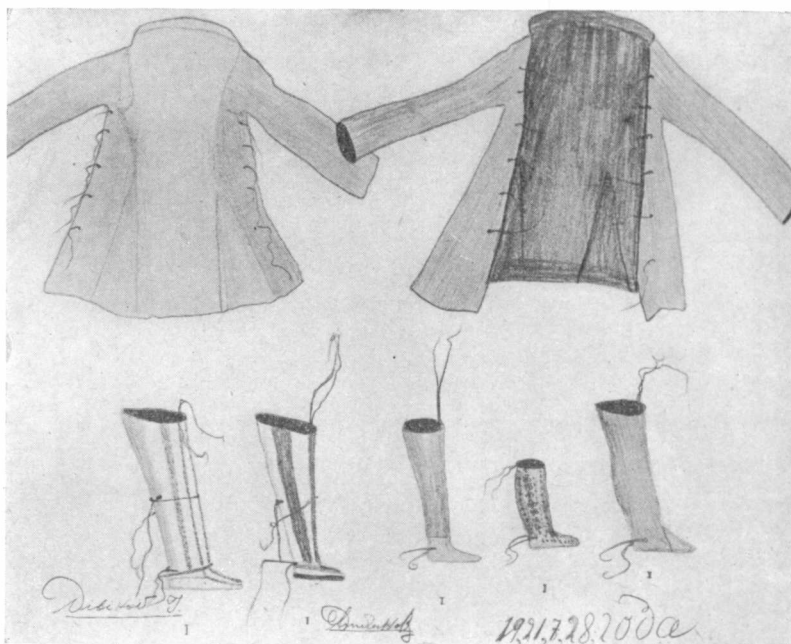
At present the women not only wear short separate trousers, generally of stuff, but also a skirt, which is now a detached piece of apparel, while it was formerly joined to the coat into a complete dress.

Like the OS the YO wear special summer-topboots, *tes* (= *tēs*), mostly made of hairless reindeer skin. They have generally been used before as winter boots, which are made in the usual way of reindeer leg skin (pict. 11). Among the OS Tu some young men still use wide straps *nōter* (*nōlār*), generally made of stuff, which are fastened under the knee over the boots. The YO do not use them any longer. [A picture of one pair is to be found in ANUCHIN p. 38<sup>1</sup>]. Formerly they were made only of iron-rings or of brass. Even now the topboots are kept straight by leather straps, fastened to the upper edge of the leg, tied to a special belt round the waist. These straps = *tun* (*tūn*) keep up the legs of the boots, of which the upper part is sometimes of thick wadmal, like those of the OS. The belt is mostly of stuff and is called *älä·mti* (*älä·mti*). On many of the summer boots made of shamois leather, reddish brown figures are painted. The thick and sticky colour, needed for this purpose, is obtained by boiling tannin, procured from osierbark, together with fish-glue.

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<sup>1</sup> Очеркъ шаманства у енисейскихъ остяковъ, St. Petersburg 1914.

In the boots everybody wears foot hay, which by the help of a special comb (pict. 12) is made soft and fine. Contrary to the OS, however, the YO only put in one layer of hay, always on the foot itself. [The OS use an additional layer of coarse hay, and put it between the inner and the outer boot. For further information concerning the use of foot hay we refer to GUDMUND HATT, *Arktiske Skinddragter i Eurasien og Amerika* p. 46—48 and specially to the



11. Coat and different kinds of boots.

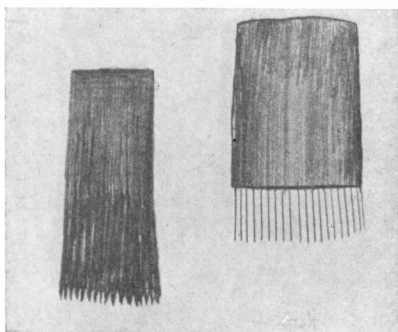
customs among the YO neighbours, the Samoyed, p. 47 according to information supplied by Kai Donner.

[CZAPLICKA mentions in *My Siberian Year* p. 21, that among the Karass Samoyed «additional warmth is secured by putting two or three handfuls of long hair, cut from the throat of a reindeer, in the foot of the outer boot». This apparently corresponds to the coarse hay that others insert between the inner and outer boots].

A short reindeer coat, open in front, is often worn in the tent and when chopping wood and doing other work. The fur is outside

and the coat resembles the short Samoyed furcoat, which sometimes is provided with a breast-piece. It is called *kat* (*k'ăt*) (pict. 11).

The usual winter apparel consists of a *malitsa*, *mältsye* (= *mältsä*), which is worn underneath, reaches to the knees and is pulled on over the head. The cap is fastened to it. The *malitsa* is mostly provided with a many-coloured covering of wadmal which has a fur-border with the fur outside, while the fur of the coat itself is turned inwards. On top of the *malitsa* the YO wear a big furcoat, a little longer than the *malitsa*, with the fur outside. This kind of coat is also used by the Yurak and the OS. It is the so-called *sakui-furcoat* = *sōyiy* (*s<sup>u</sup>ō<sup>ri</sup>ij*), which has only a narrow opening for the face; the gloves



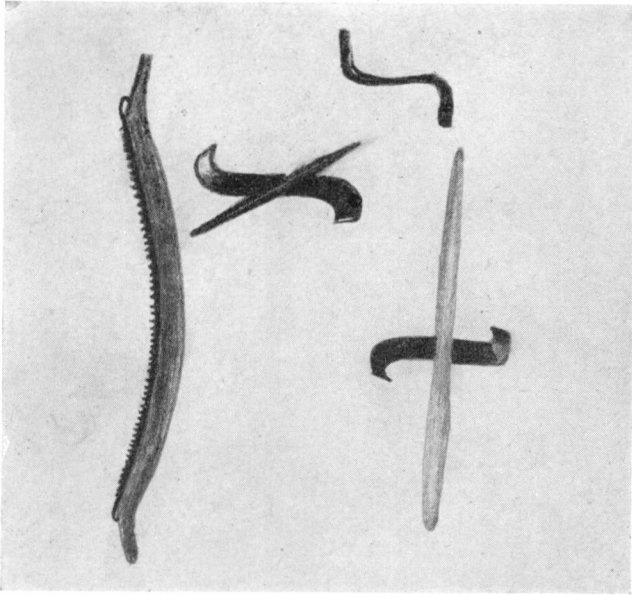
12. Combs for combing the foothay.

are fastened to the sleeves and only a little slit is open at the wrist, so that the hands can be put through, when necessary.

[Like their neighbours the YO have furcoats of two types, the one of so-called *kaftan*-type and the other of *sakui*-type. Probably the latter model was borrowed from the YO when they moved northwards, which only took place at a comparatively late period. Concerning these occurrences we have a detailed account of their neighbours in HATT op. cit. p. 70. — The same work contains p. 18 —, a chapter with particulars of the curing of skins, where an account is given of the Samoyed method of smoking them in the tents and tanning them by the help of the soaked bark of certain trees and shrubs. My information regarding these Samoyed methods is to be found on p. 37 and 31 of the said work. It must be added

that the tanning water made of a certain kind of osier, is also used for dyeing. On pict. 13 are reproduced the implements, with which the pieces of flesh are removed from the skin and the skin made soft].

Women wear ear-rings *oytēn* (= *ortā·n*) to this day. The boys have the lobe of the right ear pierced and an ear-ring fastened to it, when the boy has lost his mother. — Tattooing does not occur



13. Tanning implements.

and is said never to have occurred among them. They do not even know the word for it.

At the monthly menstruation [the word unknown to the Narrator] the women use belts in which they have thin birch shavings (OS *šūr*) from growing trees, which are always to be had. Such shavings are used every day [for the same purpose as towels in civilized countries]. After washing, face and hands are dried with these shavings; so are cups etc. after having been used. — The belt itself is mostly made of birchbark. [Cf. PALLAS. *Voyages en différentes provinces de l'empire de Russie, et dans l'Asie septentrionale*, IV,

Paris 1793, p. 56-7. There is a probability of a mistake having been made by him].

In this connection we want to mention that the YO, [like the OS on the Tas] after having made their daily wants, clean the rectal opening with a small chip of wood, called *hotel\_oks* (*hotâl\_òks*). When wishing to make people understand that one goes out to relieve nature, one generally says: «I go by myself into the forest.» [The same bashfulness also prevails among many of the OS].

## Food.

Nowadays the use of flour and bread is general only in the neighbourhood of Turukhansk and Yenisey. During and after the Great War, however, flour could not be got in some places for a whole year, chiefly owing to the fact, that for a long time there had not been any contact with the Russians east of the river.

The YO, like the OS round the Tas, often mix fresh raw fish into the dough, partly to make it last longer and partly to give the bread a better taste. Often the bread is toasted over the fire or baked under the ashes. Yeast is not to be had; the flour is mixed with water only. The bread is called *omnē·η-nä'n* (*omnê·η-nä'n*). The so-called fish-bread *ise-nä'n* (= *isə-nä'n*) is made by mixing small pieces of raw fish into the dough. A kind of pastry made of dough and fish is called by the same name.

Porridge *kāse* (= *kāsə*) is seldom eaten. It is made by stirring the flour with boiling water into a kind of flour-soup *ok* (= *òk*). Sometimes it is made of pors and boiled together with a little flour until it becomes thick; it is called *koy·dē·lēη* (*kʷoŋ·dê·lêη*).

The OS on the Tas and Turukhan rivers hardly ever eat bread or salt. They are of opinion that bread and salt make people weak, they do not remain as light and supple as when they abstain from eating it. The YO hero *balnī* (*ba·nī*) also preached the same doctrine.

Quite lately the OS Tu did not use salt, and owing to this fact they called the YO *sāgel-pärg* = salt stomach. Neither is the use of bread very old and on the Tas there is very little of it. [On the Tas there was in 1912 only nominally bread or flour. Cf. KAI DON-



NER, Bei den Samojeden in Sibirien, Stuttgart 1926, p. 149 and the following pages, where detailed particulars regarding the food of the OS and the preparing of the same are given.]

The YO never taste beef, nor do they eat horseflesh. They like all other kinds of meat as well as fish. Soup made of fish or meat *āl* is consumed in great quantities; meat and fish, when they are not eaten raw, are boiled in water, usually without salt, and the broth is used as a beverage.

Raw fish is skinned and chopped into small pieces, of which cutlets are prepared by being fried in the bottom of the iron kettle or on the plate of an iron stove. The cutlet is called *telne* (*telnâ*).

There is a special stand (see pict. 26) for the fish, of which so-called *pors* is made. The fish is dried and smoked over a fire, lighted under the stand. The fish is not hung up, as is usually the case, but is supported by small sticks of wood. Generally this procedure takes three days. The fish is mostly dried during the hot and windless days of July. — When the fish is ready, it is spread over birch-bark sewn together into a sheet, specially made for this purpose. On this sheet the fish is made into *pors* by being chopped with a big piece of larch-wood of the shape of a big knife and of the length of about a fathom. This piece of wood is called *deltēd oks* (*dēltâ·d\_ō<sup>u</sup>ks*).

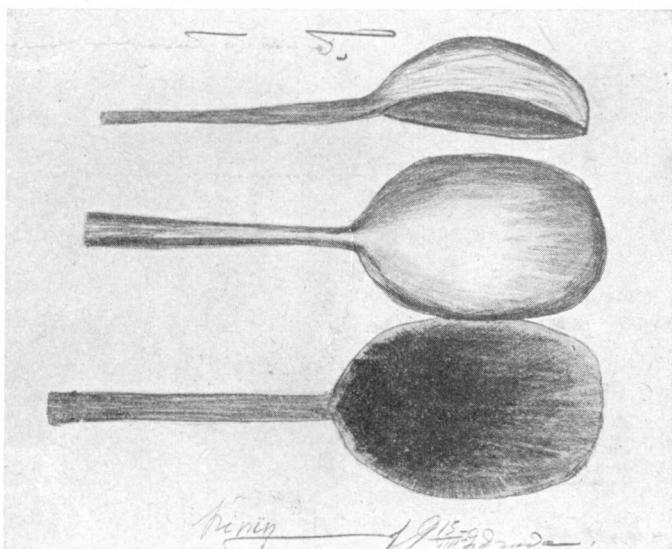
Another kind of stand, on which to hang the fish, called *itten änge-ti-yi'e* (*iitt<sup>on</sup> ängä-ti-ï<sup>so</sup>*), is used for drying and sun-drying the fish, which is cut into halves and eaten in this state, both in the winter and in the summer. [This fish, called *pik* by the OS, is ready after three weeks of drying. It is also consumed in great quantities by the OS and by the Ostyak on the river Vakh.]

Small fish, often as many as twenty in number, is threaded on a stick and placed near the fire, where the fish is toasted and eaten on the spot. On the Tas the procedure is the same. Larger fish is often threaded on two or more sticks and toasted.

In earlier days the mole = *ote* (*otâ*) was used for food by the YO as well as by the OS. At present the animal is seldom caught and never eaten. The skin is sold to the Russians. The *burunduk*

animal (*Tamias striatus*) is decoyed in the spring during pairing-time by whistling or blowing like the cuckoo or the bear. Then it comes running with great speed and is killed without difficulty. It is chopped up, bones and all, and fried in the same way as the OS prepare the *tama* «a kind of rat». The whole animal, when ready for being eaten, reminds one of some kind of cutlet. The *burunduk* is also eaten by the bear.

From the guts of the fish a kind of fat is prepared; it is used for instance in tea. This fat *so* (*s<sup>u</sup>ð*) is in use almost everywhere. The



14. Ladles made of wood.

guts are afterwards given to the dogs. Another kind of fat *benne k<sup>i</sup>t* (*b<sup>u</sup>ðnnð k<sup>i</sup>t*) is obtained by boiling thick and oily duck-skins. It is generally prepared during the moulting season, when ducks are killed in great quantities by the help of sticks.

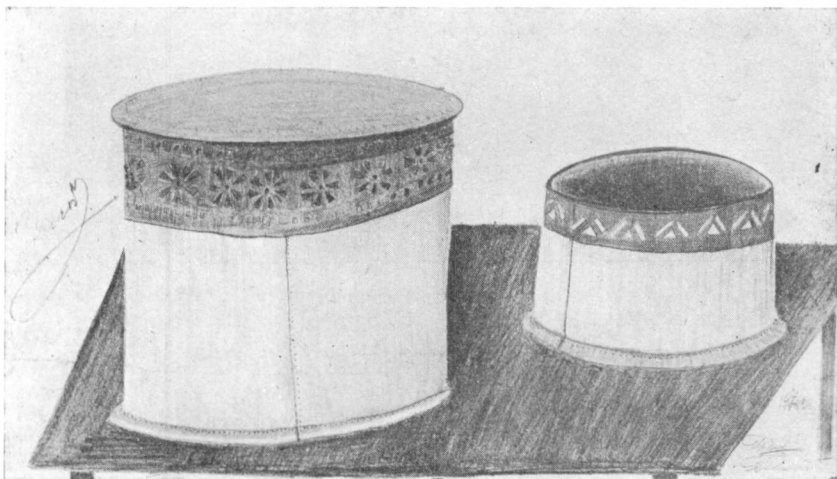
During the summer fish and birds are obtainable in great numbers; but as there is no salt, people are obliged to store their supplies in the following manner, either for their own wants or for the purpose of selling them to the Russians later on. A pit, about one metre in depth, is dug into the earth and the fish or fowl is placed there in rows. The intestines are, however, first removed, and, in case

of great supplies, grass is placed crosswise to separate one layer from the other.

On top of the stored supplies a covering of birchbark is placed and then the pit *heχto·l* (*həχto·l*) is filled with earth up to the surface. The supplies can be preserved in such a pit as long as a week.

*tolol* (*tòʒlol*) is the name of the hole at the edge of the snowdrift, from which snow is taken to be melted into water for cooking purposes.

Besides the great birchbark baskets, where berries and other eatables are kept, there are also vessels made of birchbark (see



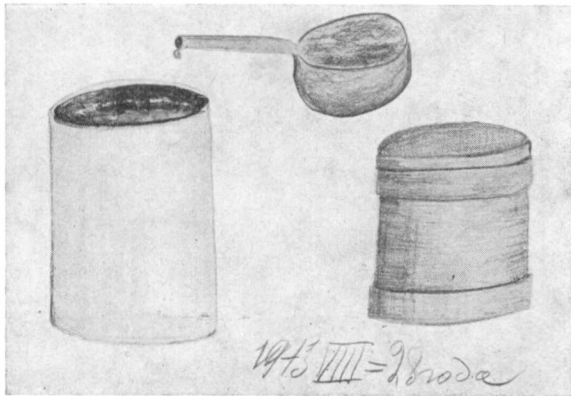
15. Birchbark boxes with carvings.

pict. 15) with a separate lid made of wood. It is called *tuye·s* (*tùʹjə·s*) and in OS Tu *tùjas* id. [The scoop on the same picture is used for the scooping of water; it is made of metal and is of Russian origin]. On pict. 14 we see a concave ladle or spoon made of wood, which is used for ladling up the boiled beef or fish out of the broth, as well as the broth itself, which latter is mostly consumed instead of tea, [tea is the prevailing drink]. From hard wood, spotted wood, basins are made for the purpose of scooping up water. They are called *henoks* (*hì·énoʹks*) and in OS Tu *kala*.

Pict. 15 shows a birchbark vessel of the common type with a lid of the same material. In these birchbark boxes, which are light

in weight and also comparatively water-tight, a number of household articles are kept: thread [made from sinews] and needles, also dried victuals, such as dried fish, smoked meat, onions etc.

For the preserving of victuals, such as pors, are used small bags made of pike-skin or of the skin of the nalim fish = *keltem̄y* (*k<sup>ə</sup>elt̄m̄j*). The YO, like the OS, use bags made from the skin of birds, often from that of the black-throated diver, with the feathers on. Bags of skins, larger than those of the OS, and decorated with tassels and provided with ribbons are also used by the YO. They are called *assiy äy* (*assij äj<sup>a</sup>*) and many of them are embroidered.



16. Iron scoop and birchbark vessels.

The long hairs taken from the breast of the reindeer are used for the embroidering of different kinds of ornaments on the bags. One or two hairs are fastened by means of the sinew-thread to the leather or stuff to form an ornament.

The bulb of the *Lilium Martagon* *kō* (*k<sup>ʷ</sup>uq̄* also = star) is gathered in the spring, when a green shoot appears above the ground, showing where it grows (pict. 17). It is often eaten raw, but mostly boiled. Both the bulbs and the soup are consumed. Earlier the bulbs were dried and stored, but now they are not in such great demand and they are no longer found in great quantities. Along the *shūrta*, a tributary of the Tas, the plant grows plentifully and is commonly used by the OS Ta.

*kōn ugdiyoks* (*kʷŋ ūgdī·oʷks*) is called the piece of wood of a length of 75 cm. made specially for the purpose of digging up the said bulbs in the spring.

*kutä·t* (*kütä·t*) is the name of a black growth on the birch-tree, of which tea is prepared in the same way as among the OS Ta. [The



17. Digging up of the *Lilium martagon* bulbs.

statement in the PAASONEN-DONNER Ostj. Whuch p. 280—281 is apparently incorrect.] — According to another statement the YO women only use it for making tea, which they drink, believing that it will help them to give birth to a living child. They say that the tea keeps the woman thin, which is essential during pregnancy. For the same purpose they also chew the resin of the larch-tree. [The custom of chewing the resin of certain trees also

prevails among the OS. Among certain other Siberian and also among Finno-ugrian tribes the same custom prevails. The latest literature on the subject is to be found in SAKARI PÄLSI, *Steinzeitliches Kauharz*, Suomen Museo 38—39, Helsingfors 1932 p. 64, where the author proves by finds that the custom existed already among the stoneage people in Finland].

From the OS Ta the YO profess to have learned how to make tea of the berries and the leaves of the wortleberry.

From white lichen, growing on birch-trees, and reminding one of the so-called Iceland-lichen, a decoction is made to be taken against coughs.

In general the YO seldom eat berries. Sometimes roebuck-berries are eaten, yet only in small quantities. They are supposed to cause headaches and besides they are considered to taste of tobacco. They eat few berries themselves, believing that they produce large quantities of excrements; they often call the OS, who eat lots of berries, *töttäl-хуп*, which is OS and means dirty man = fi. «paskainen ihminen». Sometimes, however, they pick berries for the purpose of selling them to the Russians.

Now and then berries are cooked together with fish-fat into a kind of porridge, which is never mixed with flour. Cloudbberries especially are mixed with fish-fat, procured by boiling the intestines of fish. The mixture can be stored for a long time before it need be eaten.

The chief berries, collected by them are the whortleberries, which keep a long time.

The YO do not collect cedar nuts and consequently they have no special implements for this work. When they collect nuts for their own use or for other purposes, they often cut down the whole cedar tree and then gather the nuts.

The women are great smokers of the pipe, like the men. It is usually Russian makhorka that they smoke.

The pipes used by them are made of hard birch-wood with black spots, called *idenoks dapyol* (*idenò"ks daprol*), which, however, is softer than spotted wood, in OS Tu *nakarəlpō*.

## Hunting.

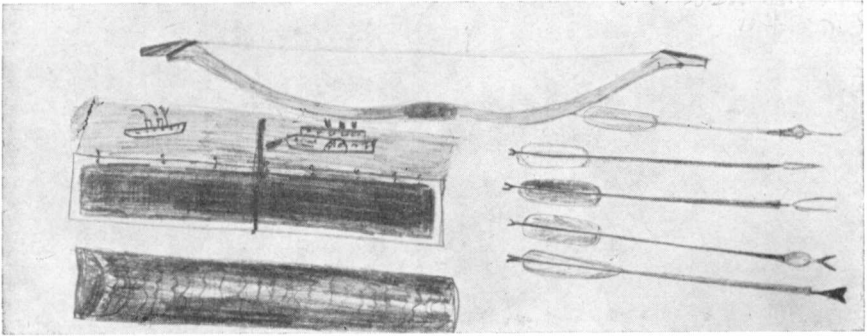
Formerly the bow and arrow were the chief weapons in war and in hunting. The outer part of the bow, *ke't* (*kʷɛ't*) (pict. 18) is made of thin birch. For the inner part the larch or the *Pinus Cembra* is used; it is given a coating of resin, which in great heat is, as it were, burnt into the wood. The different parts are then glued together with glue, made of sterlet or sturgeon. While drying, these parts are kept together by bands made of the hag-berry tree. Over this wood a very thin birchbark layer is applied, made of the white and thin part of the birchbark. — Glue made of sterlet is considered the best, and consequently glue is seldom made of pike. The outermost point of the two ends of the bow is made of hag-berry wood. Its name is *kongurp* (*kʷuŋgurp*).

The length of the bow is calculated according to the measurement of the archer himself, that is, according to the length of his arms from the extreme point of one middle finger to the extreme point of the middle finger of the other hand when the arms are extended to their full length.

The bow-string is made of flax, soaked in glue. The white outer layer of the birch-bark, thin as tissuepaper, is placed over the glue. It protects the string against water and damp. Nowadays the string is also made of thin copper- or iron wire, which is also covered with glue and birchbark.

When shooting with a bow the YO hold the bow almost vertically. [In CZAPLICKA, *My Siberian Year* p. 155 a YO with bow and arrow is reproduced]. The archer holds the bow in his left hand, the wrist of which is supplied with a cover, *kapke-lles* (*kʷăp-kʷâ-lâs*), made of birchbark and leather. [The OS often manufacture it of bone]. The arrow is held in the right hand.

Picture 18 shows to the left a quiver, made of wood, and close to it, to the right, different kinds of arrows. They are all hollowed out at the back end *kām\_dēmle:s* (*kʷām\_dâmlâ:s*), on which the arrow rests on the bow-string and are provided with feathers. [The arrows of the OS, with which for instance fish and ducks are killed, are not provided with feathers]. *kām* (*kʷām*) is the name of an arrow, provided with an iron tip, with which bears and human beings are shot; for the latter purpose they were used for instance during the time of the revolution after the war in Siberia. The YO have not any arrow-heads of bone or of stone; neither have the Tungus round Turukhansk any.



18. Different kinds of arrows and bow and quiver.

Formerly pointed and barbed arrow-heads were used in the war. Near the tip the arrow was so fragile, that it broke without fail when it hit a human being, and the head then stuck in the wound.

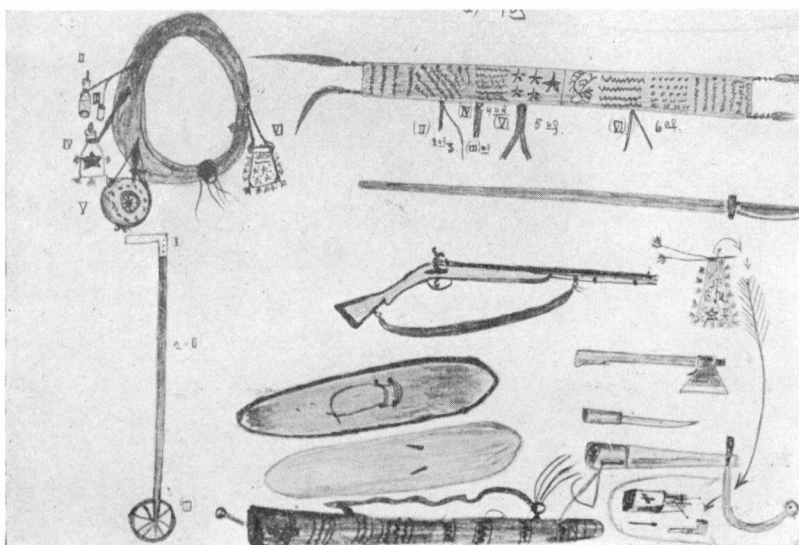
Formerly the arrows were poisoned for the hunting of wild reindeer; bullets are also poisoned now in order to kill the animal, independently of the nature of the wound. The poison is made of putrid fish-trane-oil, animal fat etc. The Narrator does not remember how it is prepared. [The OS poison the arrows, with which wild reindeer are to be hunted, in almost the same way].

Pict. 19 shows different objects used on hunting expeditions during the winter. Below to the left we have a ski-staff, provided with a hook, made of bone, and a pair of skis as well as a gun-case.



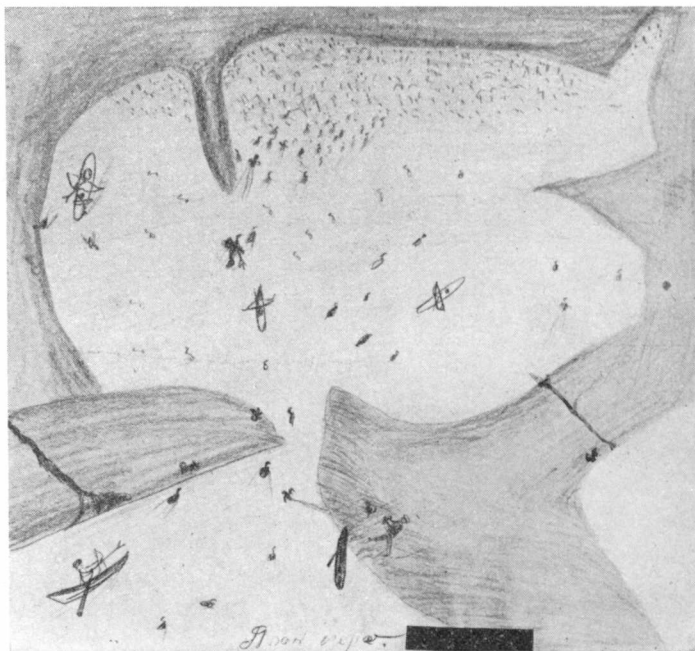
To the right below we have a tobacco pouch, an axe, a knife, pipes and matches [which are hardly ever used]. At the top of the picture we have to the left a belt, which can also be hung over the shoulder. To it are attached the tobacco pouch and pouches of leather and boxes of wood, containing powder, percussion caps, shot and bullets. On the right there is a hunting-spear, mostly used for bear hunting. Above the spear we see a belt, made of stuff, as described above.

At the end of June at moulting time, *bənnə kəṇabrēmā* (*b<sup>u</sup>ənnə kəṇabrēm*), ducks are caught in great quantities, mostly with the

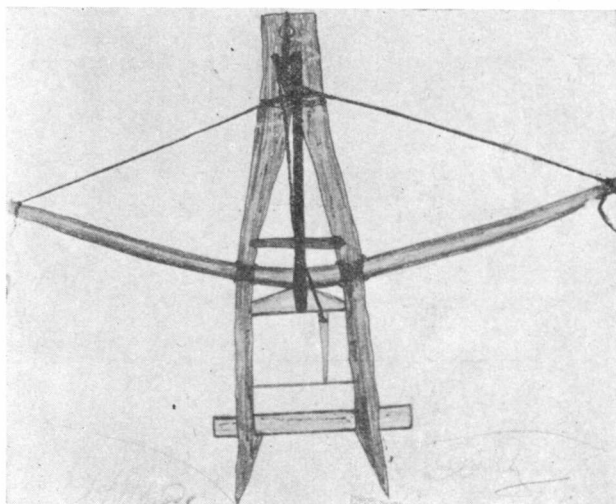


19. Skis, guns with accessories and different kinds of arms and implements.

hands only, or with sticks. But they are also shot with bow and arrow. The ducks are chased by dogs. Some of the huntsmen move on land and others in their one-log boats, which are dragged to the lake or the water-course, where the hunt is going on along narrow fords, resembling ditches, which have been gradually formed through having been used from time immemorial. The ducks are chased from the water, mostly the lakes, where they are caught. The flesh is consumed — at that time there are as many as six or seven meals every day — or it is sold. The thick skin is boiled and yields an excellent fat. (See pict. 20).

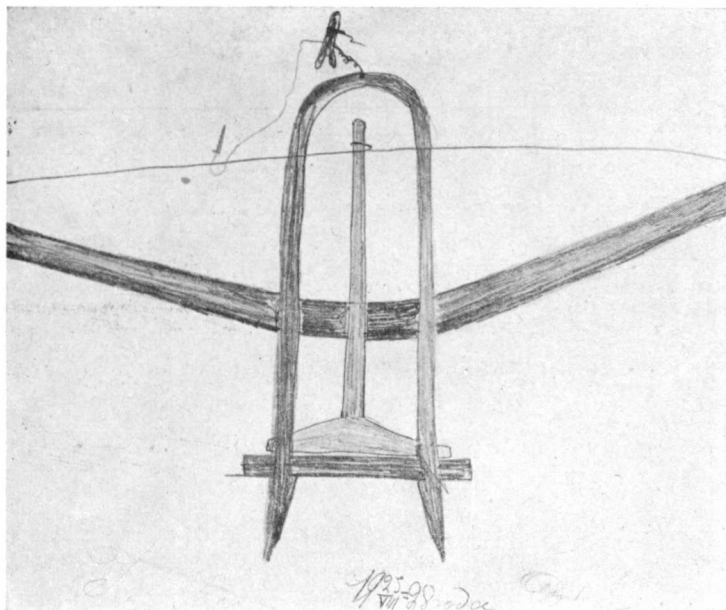


20. Hunting of ducks during moulting time.

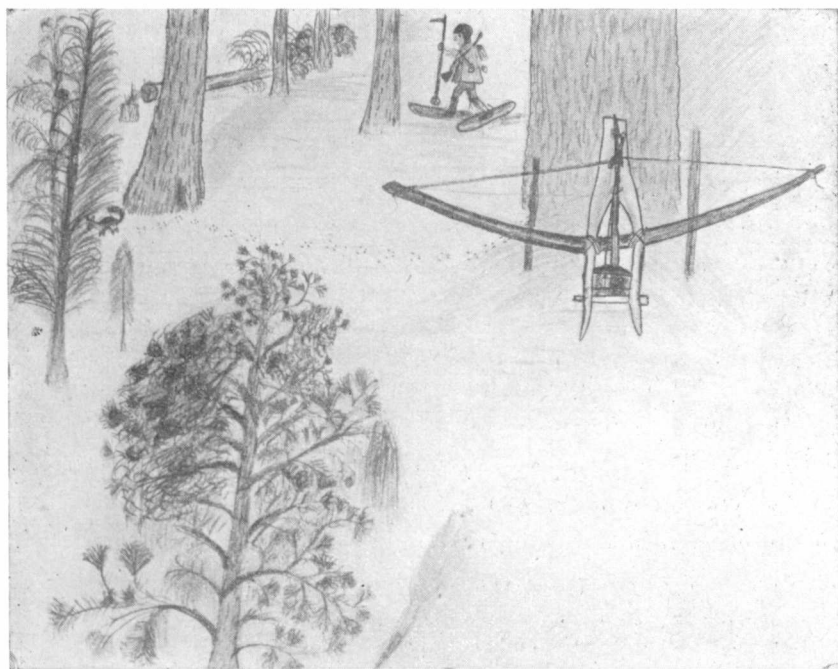


21. Trap for catching ermines.

In spring and autumn time the ducks are hunted with bow and arrow as well as with guns, the hunting mostly taking place during moulting time.



22. Trap for catching ermines.



23. Trap for catching ermines.

During the spring and the summer the YO only kill the cocks. The OS on the Turukhan river do the same. But the Russians indiscriminately kill both cocks and hens, with the result that they are now forbidden to hunt ducks during the spring and the autumn.

On pictures 21—23 two different kinds of ermine traps are shown, as well as one trap ready set in the forest. The frames of the traps are made of a wood called *enēn* (<sup>u</sup>*enēn*), OS Tu *nīt*, that is, of the roots of the cembra fir or also of thread (wire). The supports are of birch or hag-berry or osier. The piece of wood, which forms the bottom, and against which the ermine is pressed to death, is made of spruce. — The ermine is much sought after by the YO.

Formerly a trap [Torsionsfalle] *kentoks* (<sup>k</sup>*entò<sup>g</sup>ks*), OS Tu *tyapko's*, provided with iron spikes, was used for foxes and hares. It is no longer in use among the YO on the Turukhan, while a trap, called *kapka'n* (*kapkà'n*) < Russian капкан, usually made of iron, is now much in use for the purpose of catching hare. *kyī* (*kī*) is a trap, made of poles, for woodcock and capercaillie. As said above, it is made of poles [of the same type as that of the OS], where it is called OS Tu *tyäño* (*täño*). Further, snares *ēgdīn* (<sup>u</sup>*ēgdīn*) are used to catch ptarmigan.

Foxes are very often killed with strychnine. The poison is hid in a fish or in a piece of meat, tied to a string. The string is fastened to a stick, which is stuck in the ground, so that the bait is about 30—40 cm above the ground, which allows the fox to reach it easily, while rats and mice etc. cannot get at it. — At present the selling of strychnine is prohibited.

The otter, *tāl*, does not occur in great numbers. At an earlier time otterskin was often fastened under the skis. It was well suited for the purpose, and a skirunner, provided with such skis, could not be overtaken. At present such skis are not to be found anywhere.

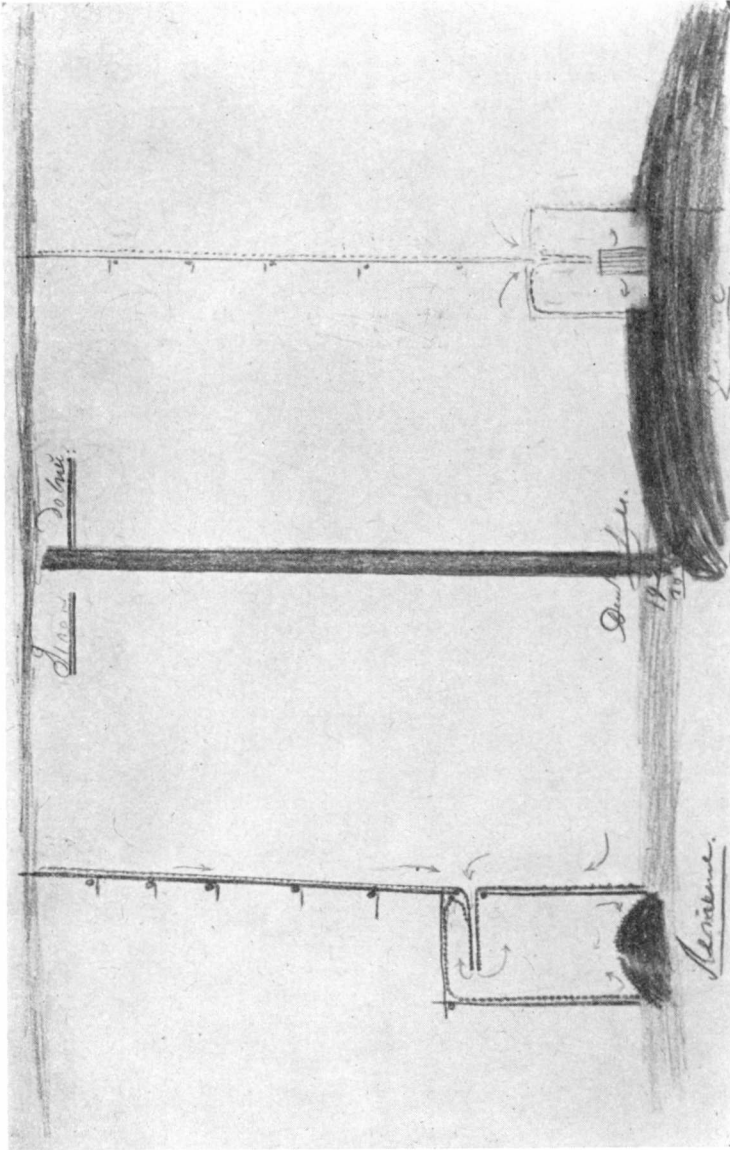
The elk is nowadays so rare, that the Narrator has never seen the animal and does not even know its name.

The bear is comparatively numerous. When he approaches a fire, people must immediately hide themselves in the shade. The bear cannot see anything in the fire-light. And it is easy to shoot him from a shady place.

## Fishing.

Fishing in small rivers and brooks is generally performed by the help of fish-weirs. Accordingly it is of great importance that every family on their area should have water-courses, where it is possible to carry on fishing through stemming off the river. People have to wait until the fish have risen and the water has sunk low enough, to allow them to build a fish-weir.

The fish-weir is built out from one bank (pict. 24) to the other bank, where the enclosure, into which the fish enters, shuts off the way to the opposite bank. The weir, which is even as much as three fathoms deep, is chiefly supported by a few thick beams standing upright and stuck into the bottom at a suitable distance from each other. They are called *tän*. To these are fastened at the bottom in a slanting position buttresses *sòxten* (*sòx'tän*), which down the stream support the above named thick beams. Along the weir a number of thick beams *kēdī* (*k'ēdī*) are placed on the side, which is below the current. They are fastened to the chief supports by means of roots. The part of the weir, which stems off the water, consists of narrow staves of larchwood, which are placed on the upper side in such a way, that they are pressed against the said beams by the water. They are called *te* (*tē*). A bundle of about a hundred or more of these staves are called *tol* (*t'òl*); by means of cedar roots they are joined together. Such a bundle can at any time be sunk into the stream, leaning against the supports, where this barricade for stemming off the water is kept steadily in its place. *bāñe·l* (*bāñə·l*) is the name of the earth, which is placed in the bottom under the weir and which consists of the hard earth of the bank. Its purpose is to prevent the fish, especially the gardon, from digging passages under the weir. In order to find out whether



24. Fishweirs seen from above.

the fish have succeeded in digging a passage, people dive to the bottom of the weir. Should repairs be necessary, they are made at once, otherwise much fish may slip through.

The weir remains standing in the river until the end of October. Before it is taken to pieces, all the fish is caught. It is chiefly gardon,



25. Fishweir, net etc.

pike and small fry which is in great demand. The fish is put into the snow and mixed with it, which prevents its freezing into clumps. When it is frozen it is placed in the store-house, from where it can be fetched when needed.

Sometimes the fish-weir is taken to pieces in the autumn and put up a little lower down the river. The fish then believe that it has disappeared. The tent is also moved to the new fishing-place. The weir is removed altogether for the winter.

[Regarding this kind of fishing which is customary in Siberia, cf. U. T. SIRELIUS Über die sperrfischerei bei den finnisch-ugrischen völkern, Eine vergleichende ethnographische untersuchung in Travaux ethnographiques III of the Finno-Ugrian Society].

In the autumn fish-weirs are put up in the small rivers and brooks, in order to catch the fish, which leave these places, when the water turns to ice or becomes foul. Such fish is caught without difficulty and frozen for consumption during the winter. The supply is generally so great, that some of it, which has melted and become putrid, is left in the spring for the wild-fowl. Pike is seldom eaten frozen, and gardon (*Cyprinus idus*) is not eaten at all.

In the winter a wall of earth and grass etc., called *bāṇbē* (*bāṇbâ*) is put up in small brooks, in order to catch fish, such as pike, gardon, etc., which during the winter try to reach lakes and rivers containing fresh water. When the water stops running in the brook, the fish come to the mouth, where they are easily caught through holes in the ice by means of landing-nets (pict. 27). In the same way the fish crowd together in well-springs, where they can also be caught.

The nets *heṇ* (*hâṇ*) mostly used have a height of between one and one and a half fathoms. Their length varies, but is sometimes as much as 35 fathoms. They are made of linen yarn and not of horse hair, as those of the Tungus east of the Yenisey [and on the Ket]. Pict. 27 shows a net hanging on a stand called *heṇ-āṇgeti·i·e* (*hâṇ-āṇgâtî·i·ə*). The same picture shows a sinker *tāt* (*tât*). Inside a wooden ring the «net-stone» *heṇ-tis* (*hâṇ<sup>t</sup>-tîs*) is fastened to one side of it. Usually the stone is tied to the ring by means of pieces



of cembra roots or by a rope made of the outermost layer of the hag-berry tree. The float *lūm* (*lùm*) of the net is usually made of spruce wood. *heṇeyoks* is a float consisting of a large piece of wood placed in the hole in the ice; it is attached to the net in such a manner as to move instantly when a big fish is caught in the net. Another kind of float is called by the same name. It consists of a thickish piece of wood, to which is attached a connecting piece of wood, provided with a wooden hook and small fry as bait. This net is sunk into small protected bays or lakes, and the fish caught therewith is usually pike. By means of the float the fisherman can see, in what direction the fish, if there are any, have turned. [OS on the Ket have borrowed the word > *lūm*, denoting the same thing].

*mätneṛ* (*mätñâ*) is the name given to the part of the net, which, when stretched across the whole river, (pict. 25) is arranged in the middle of the stream to form a kind of pouch, in which the catching of big fish, usually pike, is made easier. *mätneṛ d oks* (*mätñâ d ò<sup>ks</sup>*) is the name of a pole, stuck into the bottom of the river, whereto the said netbag is attached in order to support it.

As a rule the net is only sunk into the river in such places, where the current of the water is slow. The net is sunk into the water at any time of the day, yet it is not kept there longer than three days running at most; in the summer it cannot remain there long, because both the net and the fish decay quickly in the warm water.

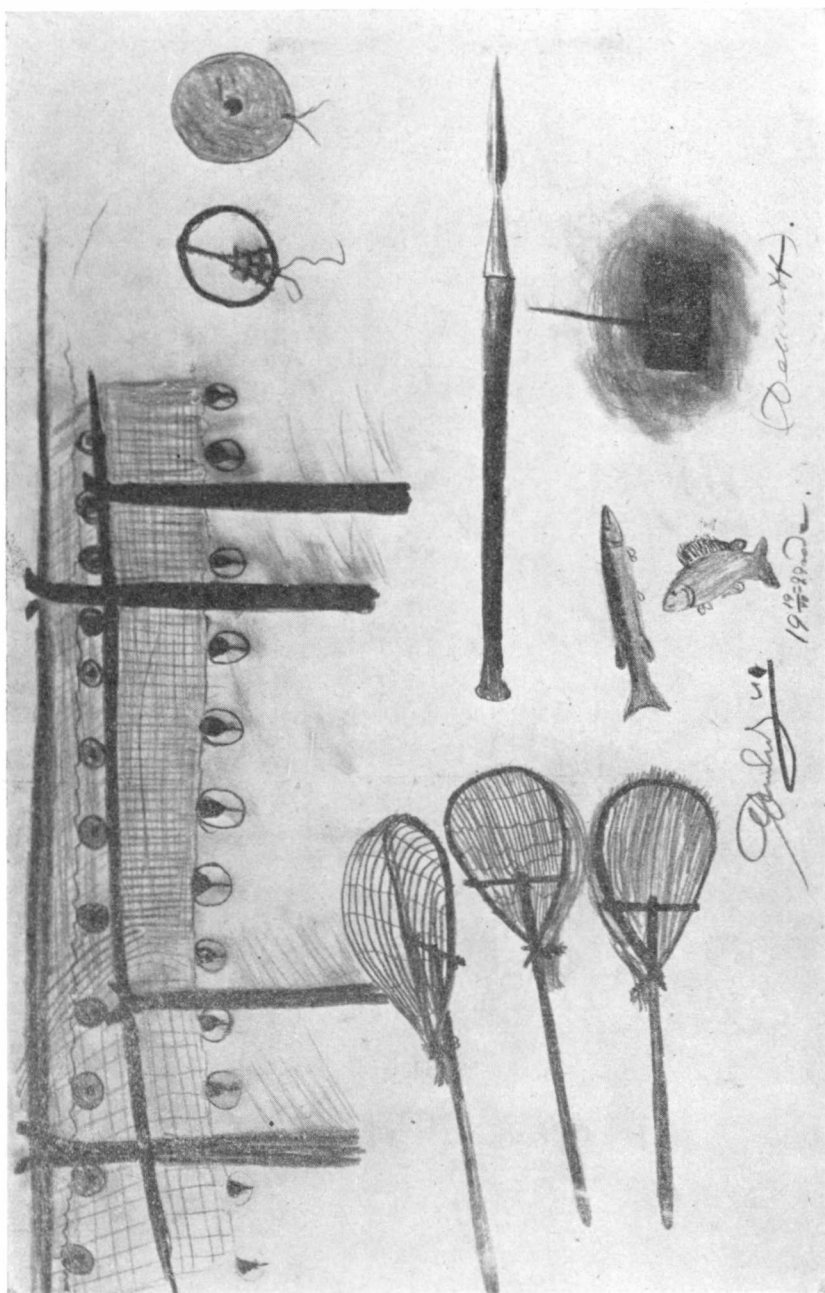
In big rivers, chiefly the river Yenisey, seine-fishing is practised *heṇtīṇheṇ* (*hâṇtīṇhâṇ* = seine) chiefly in the wintertime. The seine is of the same model as that of the Russians along the Ob and the Yenisey.

*dupte* (*du<sup>o</sup>ptâ*) is the name of a longline, provided with baits, used by the YO and the Russians in Yenisey, but not by the OS.

*sämoaoṛp* is the name of a fishing-gear, closely resembling a longline, which name is borrowed from the Russians. It is provided with a great number of sharp, barbless hooks, which, without baits, lie trailing along the bed of the river. Among other fish the sterlet is caught by means of these hooks.



26. YO dwellings, boats, weir etc.



27. Net, fish- and ice-landingnets and objects needed for fishing.

Angling is very seldom practised. Formerly, when the YO were clever smiths, they made hooks of iron themselves and used them for fishing. The hook was called *duṣp* (*duṣṣp*).

A kind of fishing-gear, which has disappeared altogether is the *bok* (*b<sup>u</sup>gk<sup>c</sup>*), OS *kaṇar* = eeltrap, which, however, was in use not very long ago.

## Means of Communication etc.

The YO use skis of wood, *logta:k* (*ʌogta:k̚*), during the time when the snow is hard or covered with a crust. During the rest of the year, nearly all the winter, when the snow is soft, broad and thin skis are used, covered underneath with reindeer skin, that is with the skin of the feet of the reindeer. Some seven years ago (about 1921) the skin of horses' feet began to be used under the skis, which has proved very practical. It is considered to be better and stronger than that of other animals, and the skin of two horses' feet is sufficient for one ski. The skins are provided by the Russians, who keep horses or import the skins from the South.

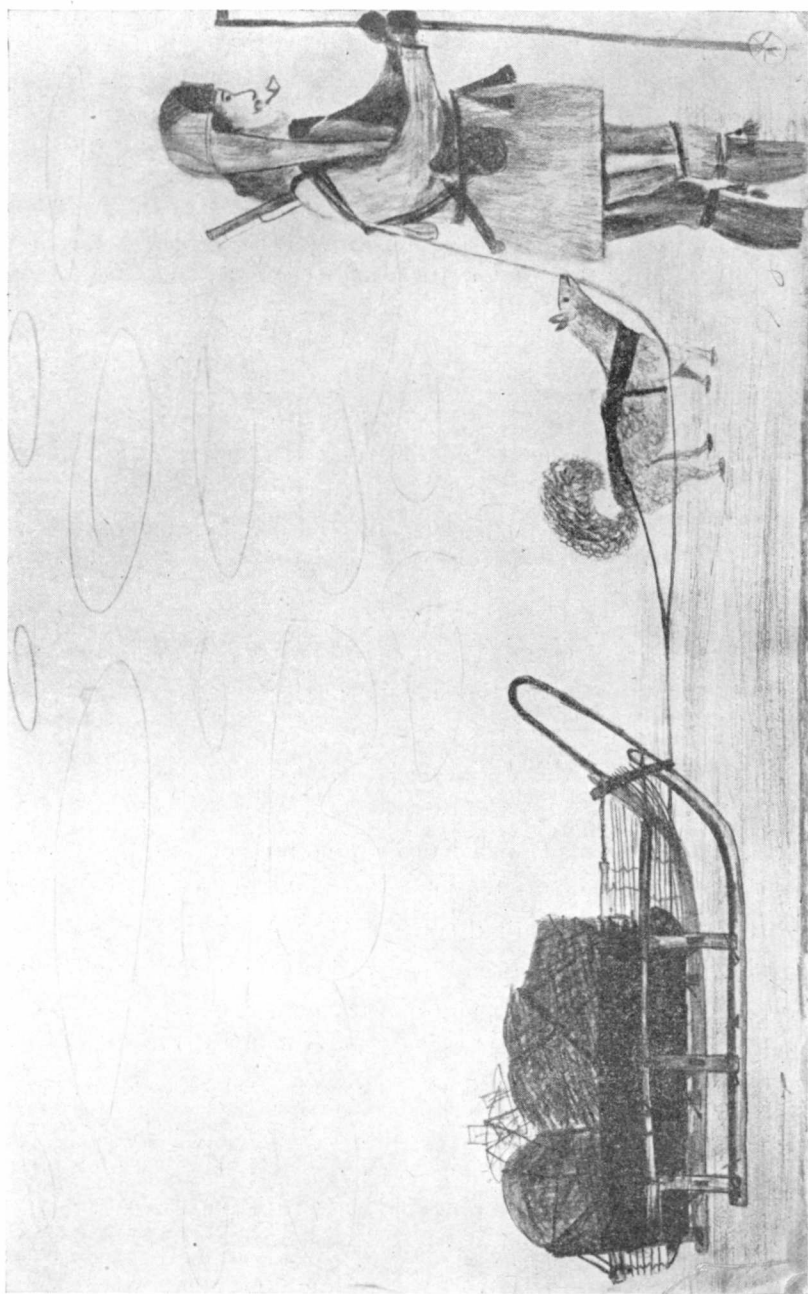
Both the YO and the OS use a skistaff, *tä\_oks* (*tä\_ð<sup>u</sup>ks*), at the upper end furnished with a kind of hook, *kogsye·ly* (*ko<sup>u</sup>g<sup>ʷ</sup>śə·l*), called *nāḡa* in the OS. It is used for the purpose of pulling oneself up a hill etc. Often it is made of bone, yet sometimes of iron. (Pict. 28).

[Concerning sledges and draught animals and harness, cf. p. 61 concerning reindeer breeding].

Boats made of one log and from aspen are used by all (pict. 29). As appears from the picture, the oar is a paddling oar, not meant for rowing. These boats are also made from cembra fir; they last a comparatively short time, only about one year. The habit of using cembra fir is borrowed from the OS on the Tas.

The seat, *tät\_oks* (*tät\_ð<sup>u</sup>ks*), is not a board, but a thin round pole, as appears from the picture. [The word is borrowed from the yurak or OS Ta language].

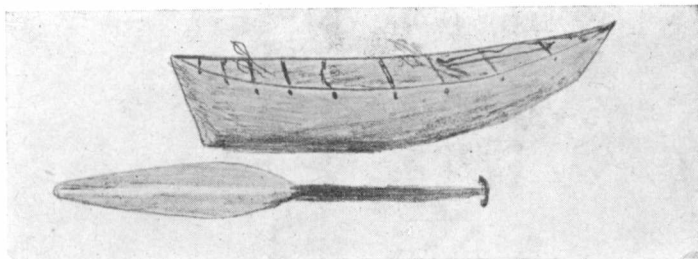
When the YO travels with his whole family, often carrying with him his household goods, or when he goes to the market at Turukhansk etc., he makes use of boats, in the centre provided



28. Sledge drawn by a dog and a man on skis.

with a cabin, covered with birchbark or boards (pict. 30). The boat is furnished with a mast, which carries a streamer of stuff or of wood.

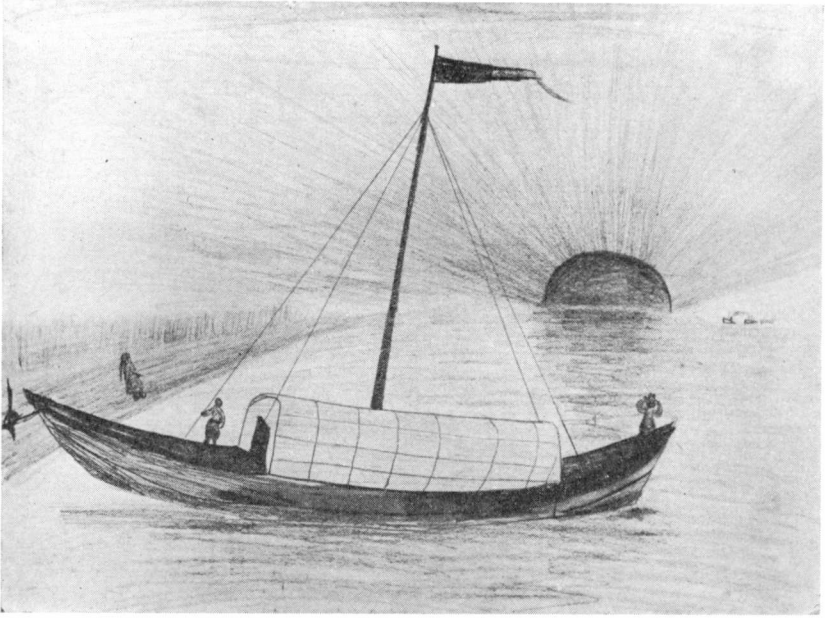
*kapke't* (*k'apke'â-t*) is the name of a road, like a shallow ditch between two rivers, lakes, or watercourses in general, along which boats are hauled over the dry land. They are ancient roads, usually built on ground called *û*, lying close to the watercourses, when seen from the forest or tundra, and mostly under water during the spring. There is usually a mark cut into a tree, to indicate the place on the bank where these roads begin. These haulage tracks across the land are in certain places only some hundreds of metres in length, while there are others of as much as 4 or 5 versts. In OS Tu they are called *ûtorma*.



29. Onelog boat and paddling-oar.

*ded\_dioyle* (*dîed\_dîortâ*), is the name of a channel or river between two large lakes. The water forms a means of communication and runs forwards and backwards, altogether depending on the direction of the wind. The river itself runs in another direction.

*âsul* (*âšut*) is the name of a bog. When they travel in the forests and on the tundras, it often happens that the YO fall into a bog, most frequently when driving a reindeer. In order to help themselves in these emergencies, they have recourse to the pole they use when driving, and which is very long. In case of need they try, with the pole lying horizontally across the bog, to hold out until help arrives. If a pole is not at hand they can also hold out a long time by keeping their arms extended. It often happens that the rescuers have to throw out a snare to the person in danger.



30. Large YO boat.

When the YO move about in the forests they never make use of any signs [as do the Tungus] to find their way. The YO, who travel through unknown regions only try to make out the direction by following the sun.



### Signs for the Numerals.

The YO frequently use signs for numerals, which are mostly cut into wood, yet are sometimes drawn on paper, if pen and paper are at hand. The signs are  $| = 1$ ,  $|| = 2$ ,  $||| = 3$ ,  $|||| = 4$ ,  $||||| = 5$ ,  $|||||| = 6$  and so on, as well as  $+$  = 10,  $\oplus = 100$  and  $\otimes = 1000$ . [As pointed out by me the sign for ten has evidently been obtained from the East, as well as  $\oplus$  and all the signs, where an erect cross occurs, while  $|$ ,  $||$  etc. are evidently borrowed from western sources, originating in Rome. Along very ancient trade routes the signs entered North Siberia a very long time ago].

## Games and Toys and Musical Instruments.

The game of draughts is very common among the YO [as well as everywhere among the OS, where it is customary, for instance on the tundras, to play at draughts immediately after the evening meal; the game is often continued late into the night].

*bu\_dyelot* (*bù<sup>d</sup>\_ďielot*) «he has hid himself». This expression is used for the game of hide and seek, which is quite common among both grownups and children. One of the partakers in the game has got the task of finding his fellow-players, who have hid themselves in the grass, in the forest or, among the Russians, round the house. He is obliged to continue until he has found all, and then during the rest of the game he need not undertake this task again.

Children are in the habit of sewing together the skins of the nalim-fish. These skins they use for making drumlike objects, with which they play, imitating the grownups and the shamans in their way of using the drums.

*h̄l̄e·m* (*h̄l̄â·m*) is the name of a top or a distaff, which has a singing sound when in motion. The top spins round with great speed, because it is set in motion by means of a long string. The children are very fond of playing with it.

Formerly the YO used one-tongued Jew's harps of bone, similar to those of the OS [in the Narym region]. They were borrowed from the OS. Musical instruments of the same kind are also in use among the Tungus. The YO manufactured them also of mammoth bone.

The YO have no longer any knowledge of the violin. Yet the instrument is mentioned in certain legends about the ancient hero *īte* told by the OS. [Cf. KAI DONNER, A Samoyede epic in JSFOu. XXX, 26].

## Reindeer Breeding.

[By way of introduction I beg to state that the YO reindeer herds are small — usually between 10—20 reindeer — and that the YO have no large herds at all, as the Yurak have. Further facts, which are not stated here, as well as my opinions about the origin of YO reindeer breeding, are to be found on pages 7—14 in my paper «Über die Jenissei-ostjaken und ihre sprache», published in the JSFOu. XLIV, 2. Besides, there are a few pictures, among others, one on p. 11, where the reindeer harness is accurately reproduced by the person, to whom I owe all the information published here].

In the autumn, when the first snow has fallen, all the reindeer owners go into the forests to look for and catch their reindeer. They travel on foot and without dogs, as the dogs frighten the reindeer. Consequently dogs are never used for guarding the animals. Often the owners have to travel for a whole week. When they find their reindeer, they catch some of them by the help of urine etc. Then they return home with these reindeer and, provided with sledges, go back again to catch the rest. In the spring, before the reindeer are sent out, the ears of the calves are marked; otherwise it is hard for the owners to recognize their animals. The marks consist of small notches in the ears, or — and mostly — tied to the ears small pieces of stuff, which usually fall off.

The reindeer of the YO is mostly bigger than that of the Yurak; it is similar to those of the Tungus on the opposite bank of the Yenisey. The OS on the Tas have reindeer of the same kind as the YO, but also reindeer of a smaller race, which remind one of the Yurak reindeer.

The wild reindeer have much longer legs than the tame ones and they are brown, which is the usual colour of the wild reindeer. If there are white or black ones in the herd, they are tame reindeer, which earlier have fled to the herd of the wild reindeer.

The wild reindeer, which is now comparatively scarce, is allowed to mix with the tame herd in the autumn at pairing time, which is also the time for hunting the animals.

The connected tundra region itself, of which the width along the Yenisey forest region is about 7 verst, is an excellent place for the hunting of wild reindeer. There the wild reindeer, though at present very few in number, always roam about. When the reindeer are being frightened, they run away, independent of the season, along the open tundra northwards, where they occur in great numbers.

«The Surgut» (= OS) at present catch the calves of the wild reindeer during the time of the deep snow. «When a man has succeeded in placing his hand on the neck of the wild reindeer, the animal does not run away, but submits to his fate», according to the Narrator. If the calf is a male, it is castrated and it soon gets accustomed to its new companions.

At an earlier period — about 25 years ago — the YO and OS went out many together in the deep snow to hunt wild reindeer. From the tundra the reindeer were driven into the forest by the men forming a chain. They were usually driven into a place, where the open tundra formed a kind of curve like a bay in the forest. From this corner it was easy to drive the animals into the forest, where the hunters on skis caught them without difficulty in the deep soft snow. In the forest the animals were easily killed with knives or poles (OS *tāga*). At times when the state of the snow was specially favourable for the reindeer, the men had to pursue them even for as many as three days.

The YO near Turukhansk have nowadays only about 15—20 tame reindeer.

The government has recently sent Tungus reindeer to the YO families on the Turukhansk side. Accordingly, those who did not

possess any reindeer earlier, have now had the opportunity of buying them. There has been no demand for the small Yurak reindeer.

The YO sometimes cut notches into the ears of the reindeer calves. This is done only to such calves, as cannot otherwise be recognized, as they change quickly on the pasture lands. The mark is not large and is quite simple. According to the Narrator, the Turukhan OS cut with their knives almost invisible notches in the ears of these reindeer and sometimes attach pieces of stuff to their ears.

The reindeer is castrated either the first or the second year in the cold wintertime. The testicles are not removed by biting. The legs of the reindeer are bound together, the animal is turned on its back and the pouch is cut open with a knife. After that the testicles are torn out with the fingers. Then the wound is rubbed with snow and the reindeer is set free. [Thus the reindeer are not castrated by biting off the testicles, as is the case among the OS on the Tas].

During pairing time the antlers of the reindeer are often removed by sawing them off. Then he can only defend himself with his forefeet and soon runs away. Sometimes he is tethered and beaten hard with a rod, if he is too wild and attacks people.

In the autumn at pairing time the OS are in the habit of making two bucks fight in an open place. It is a grand combat, which often ends in one reindeer breaking the neck of the other with his antlers.

If the buck (at pairing time) attacks a man, the best way is to jump up on the horns of the animal, and if the buck then rushes against a tree in order to kill his enemy, the man has only to thrust the knife into his neck.

The YO reindeer feed in the summer on fresh grass. Some of them like to eat fish also. But the food they mostly live on is of course reindeer-moss and moss growing on the trees.

When travelling by reindeer to Turukhansk, moss is collected from the trees to feed the animals with. Other moss and reindeer-moss are not used for that purpose.

The reindeer are killed in the following manner: a knife is inserted into the neck right down into the marrow, in consequence whereof the animal is either killed or falls to the ground, and a

knife is then thrust into the heart; the blood is instantly poured into a vessel and boiled. The YO do not like to eat blood and meat in a raw state. The OS do, and the YO consequently abuse them and other tribes with similar habits by calling them dogs. The skin is removed and the flesh is cut into pieces without damaging the bones. The animals are slaughtered in autumn and winter when the skin is in the best condition and the flesh is needed for food.

[The OS on the Tas kill their reindeer by throwing a loop round the neck of the animal. In many cases the rope is fastened to a branch, if possible, and the reindeer is strangled by the rope being pulled. Then the blood is tapped, collected and eaten, often without being boiled].

The common reindeer are not killed at any given time of their lives. Good draught animals are not killed at all. They usually live from about 12 to 15 years.

The flesh of a reindeer, that has died a natural death, is not eaten by the YO.

The flesh and blood of the reindeer are boiled. Even frozen flesh of the reindeer is not eaten raw. The head is also boiled and even the eyes are eaten, as well as the heart, the kidneys, the liver and the gristle. (The squirrel is eaten, but the fox, the ermine, and other animals are not used for food).

The milk of the reindeer is never consumed by the YO.

The reindeer tongue is not appreciated and is only eaten by the women, because it is not considered good. The skin is always removed before the tongue is eaten. [This is probably due to the same belief, which prevails among the OS on the Tas, where the tongue is considered polluted, owing to the habit of the reindeer of licking up human urine with great relish].

From the antlers of the bucks different objects are made, among other things all the pieces of bone, needed for the harness of the reindeer; where there is mammoth, it is used for this purpose. The bone is white and hard.

The hair of the animals is not used (except for embroideries).

From wornout furcoats summer-shoes are made, after the hair has been scraped off.

Where reindeer are scarce, the Yurak living on the mouth of the Yenisey, take the pelts by boat to Turukhansk, where both YO and OS and even the Tungus buy them. The price is about 5—6 roubles each.

It is only the master of the house himself, who drives the best reindeer and even he does it very seldom. He never allows anybody else to touch them.

The weight of the load, carried by a reindeer belonging to the YO [as well as among the OS] is generally about 4—5 poods, sometimes even more (8 p.).

In May the reindeer are sent out into the forests, into which they penetrate as far as 20—30 kilom. To begin with they keep near the shelter where they are protected by (see below) the smoke, until they go further in Sept.—Oct., usually as far as in the spring. They do not cross the Turukhan river, but keep on the south side of it.

The Narrator has never heard of reindeer having been killed by wolves.

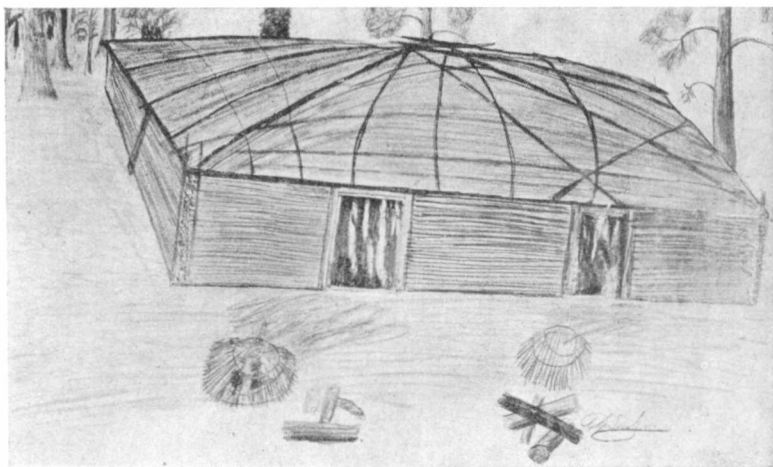
*pasturk* is a herdsman, a reindeer herdsman, whose duty it is, chiefly in the summer, to keep up the smoke-producing fire for the reindeer of the whole tribe within as well as in front of a shelter, built of logs. It is situated in the vicinity of the Yenisey on the edge of the forest border, and has long been used for this purpose. The male members of the tribe do duty as herdsmen, each man in his turn.

*syēnus* (*śēnus*). The building (pict. 31) is made of spruce-logs. Only the upper side of the log is hollowed out; the next log rests on the one below. The ends of the logs protrude a bit, and in the angle between these logs — on the outside — a supporting beam is placed in an erect position, the name of which is unknown. In OS Tu the name of the building is *ētäly mōt* (*ētpʹ-mōt*). The reindeer is called *ētä*.

The shelter is owned by the whole tribe. The Narrator says that

there is room for about 300 reindeer and the tribe does not possess more than that. The Turukhan OS have no shelters for their reindeer. (At the present moment there are only 10—15 reindeer per family, but in 1918 there were no less than a couple of hundred reindeer per family. They have been greatly decimated by diseases). The walls of the building are, as said above, made of whitewood, and the roof of sprucebark. The roof is supported by pillars. On the ground there is hay, which is collected for the purpose.

*doyet* (*d<sup>u</sup>òγôl*) a frame, made of laths, within which decayed wood is burned for the purpose of producing smoke to protect the



31. Reindeer shed.

reindeer against mosquitoes. The frame is necessary for preventing the reindeer from stepping into the fire. There is a fire outside the doors of the shelter and also inside the same. (Cf. pict. 31).

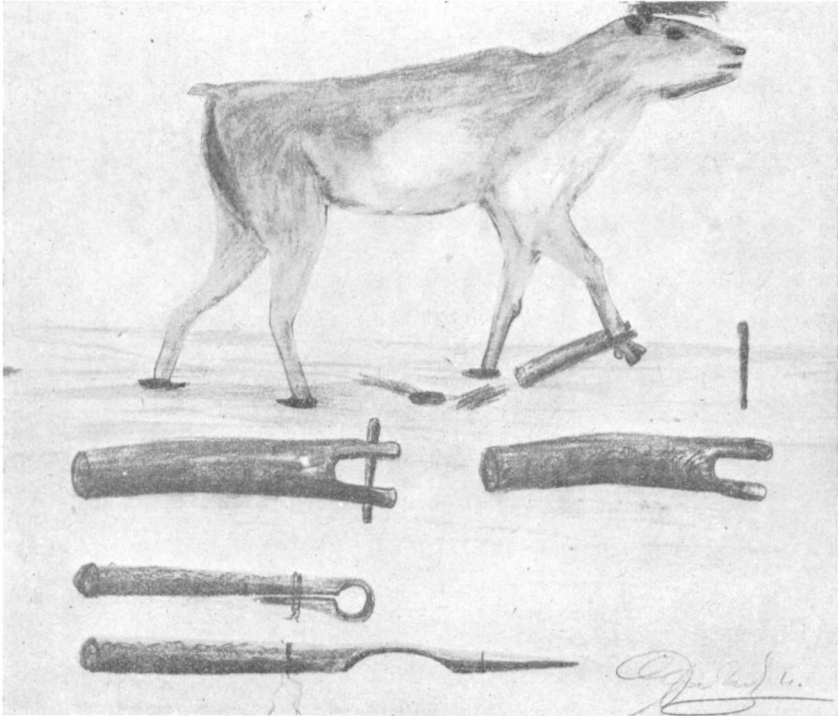
[Sheds in which the reindeer can take shelter against mosquitoes and gadflies in the summertime have also been found in other parts of Siberia. Cf. KAI DONNER in *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society* 1932, p. 124 and KARL NICKUL in *Terra* 1933 p. 76].

*moyte* (*mòγtô*) (pict. 32) is a piece of wood attached to the foot of the reindeer, to prevent it from straying too far away when at liberty. Such pieces of wood are only attached to reindeer (the forefoot), who are in the habit of running away. The piece of wood



provided with a cross-piece, is made of birch, the other one of spruce. They are fastened on in the winter, when the reindeer live close to the tent, in places, *ūp*, where the reindeer have their sleeping hollows in the snow. OS Tu *εtān ūp id*.

In order to keep together the whole herd the following method is applied. *ē* is the name of a big bell made of brass, which is hung



32. Piece of wood fastened to the foot of a reindeer to prevent it from running away.

round the neck of a castrated reindeer or of the oldest cow of the herd. The whole herd follows the animal which carries the bell.

Argish, a row of sledges in the caravan of sledges drawn by reindeer, is called *kān*.

The argish order is the following: at the head and divided from all the rest drives the head of the family, who, like the OS, never transports goods nor anything else. He only opens the way and thus indicates the direction. After him — the distance depends on

the weather etc. — comes the argish itself (pict. 33). The wife leads the way in her sledge, then come the children, then the loaded sledges and last those reindeer, which are not used as draught animals. From the sledge of the woman — mother — two straps lead and are fastened to the head of the following reindeer and so on. The dogs run along, following their owners without being tethered.

*hīyēn bontshyo·l* (*hīyân b<sup>u</sup>ontšo·L*) is the name of the husband's sledge, which is characteristic in this respect that there is room for six pair of feet on the runners.



33. Reindeer-sledge with steering-pole.

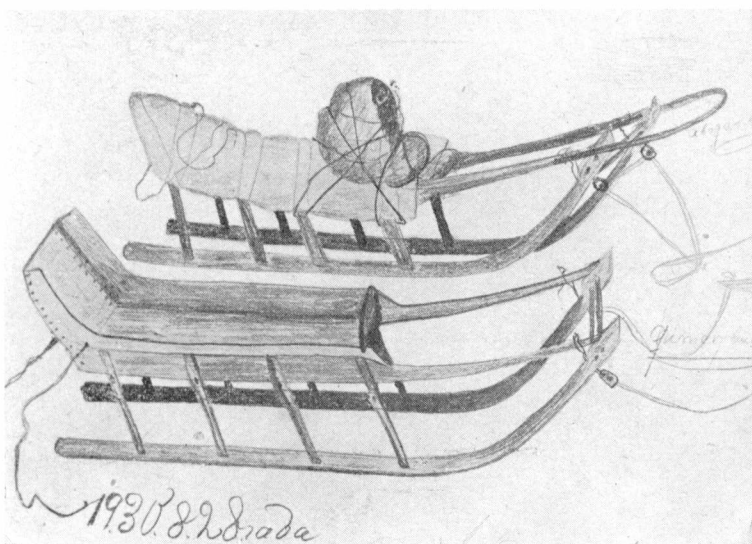
*kīmen b.* (*k<sup>y</sup>īmān b<sup>u</sup>ontšo·L*), the woman's sledge, differs from the others by having a board attached to the back of the sledge; the support is made of wood and fastened to the sledge by means of ropes, made of bark. It is supplied with two straps, to which the reindeer, drawing the next sledge, is fastened.

The straps at the back of the woman's sledge, needed for the purpose of tying the reindeer of the following sledge to it, are put round the neck of the animals (pictures 34—35).

The inner part of the wood of a bent birch is called *usl* (*ù<sup>o</sup>sl<sub>o</sub>*) and is used for different purposes, chiefly for the runners of a sledge but also for the different parts of a bow.

A road intended only for reindeer driving, has two deep ruts for the runners. The winter road between Turukhansk and Tas is now marked with small fir trees, which makes travelling easier. It is furnished with provisional protections and here and there tents for the post etc.

The steering-pole, made of birch and about six fathoms in length, is as a rule provided with a head of iron. The pole is placed in a position slanting forwards towards the ground and to the left, when



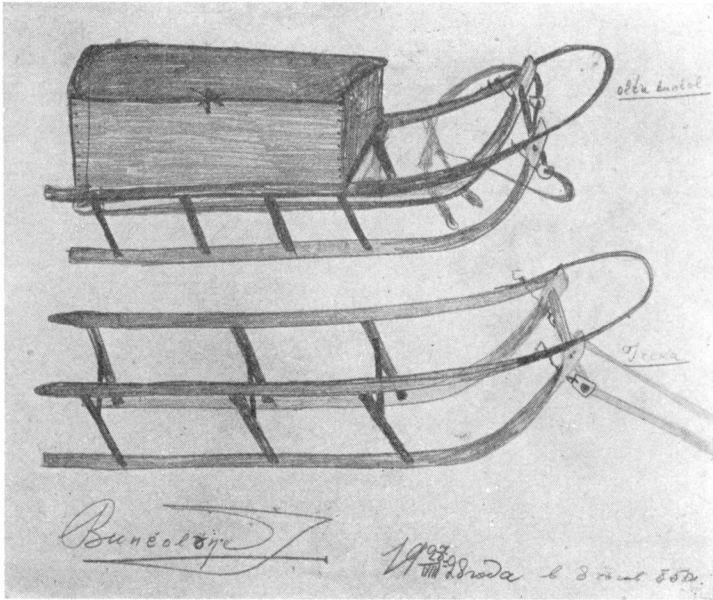
34. Reindeer-sledge for women, for children.

the driver wants to make a good draught animal stop immediately. The reindeer obeys almost instantly.

*īdot* (*īd'ōt*) «like a buck» the YO often calls out to those, who chase reindeer in order to catch them. By this expression the pursuers are exhorted to run quickly «like the reindeer».

The YO make use of dogs only for the catching of ducks at moulting time and for the catching of squirrels and capercailzie. People who do not possess reindeer themselves use the dogs to draw their sledges in the forest. Yet the people themselves are never drawn by dogs. Dog's poles (made of wood, *жезло*) are no longer in use; they are replaced by iron chains.

Formerly hollow wooden poles were used, through which there ran a rope, with which the dog was tethered. They prevented the dog from tearing off the rope with his teeth. Iron chains are now in use. [Similar wooden poles are still in use among the OS along the river Tym].



35. Reindeer-sledge for the supporters of the tent, for victuals.

As a rule dogs are not killed; they are left to die a natural death. The cubs are mostly given away, for one is unwilling to kill even them. But there are not many cubs, as it is mostly male dogs which are kept. The dogs are never castrated.

Formerly the dogs were used as draught-animals, until the OS learnt reindeer breeding. It is possible that before that time horses were kept in the South, for in old sagas the horse is mentioned.

## Marriage and Childbirth.

OS Tu and Ta at present marry at an early age. Young people of 14—15 frequently have children. This occurs only rarely among the YO. [It may be due to the neighbourhood of the Russians. In any case, the prohibition for cousins to intermarry is probably due to Russian influence].

Proposals among the OS, and «at an earlier period» among the YO, are made by the young man sending from his tent to the girl's tent somebody, who carries a kettle containing various objects and money. In the first place, the representative, the spokesman, places this offering before the father, who receives the kettle, or throws it out of the door of the tent. The throwing out means no, the receiving of it yes. When the father has received the kettle, it is placed before the girl's mother and in turn before all the other relatives in the tent; last of all before the girl. The placing of the kettle before the different persons is performed by the spokesman in this way: he takes the kettle to the young man's tent, returns from there to the girl's tent and places the kettle before another person.

At the present time there is said to be a prohibition against placing money in the kettle, and if it becomes known, that kalym has been accepted, the punishment consists in a fine. The OS «are said» still secretly to pay for the girl, yet the Narrator says that the YO do not do so any longer.

If a girl has accepted the proposal in the manner here described, the young man comes and sits down beside her, a handkerchief is spread over them and the shaman takes a few turns round them. Then the handkerchief is hung up behind them on the wall of the tent. The OS observe the same ceremonies.

[Concerning marriage there is a comparative survey in M. A. CZAPLICKA, *Aboriginal Siberia, a study in social Anthropology*, Oxford 1914, chap. IV, p. 70 and the following pages].

*äp kīm* (*äp k'īm*) «my wife, my woman» is the word for the wife. The same word is also used for the engaged girl, because there is no special word for it.

*syēlī* (*s'ēlī*) «whole» [a word borrowed from the Russian] is together with *dēy* (*dēi*) used to indicate a virgin. *hēnē lōs* (*hāñδ·lōs*) «little pudenda» is an expression indicating that the respective person has not had any sexual intercourse with men.

The phallus legends [ANUCHIN p. 9] do not, according to the Narrator, occur among the YO. He considers them to be Russian and only jokingly told to interested Russians. YO do not care for them and know only those, that the Russians have told them.

Child-birth generally takes place without difficulties. [Yet the Narrator cannot give much information in the matter, owing to his youth]. Meanwhile, he has heard, that the woman giving birth to a child tells her assistants, whether she has had sexual intercourse with other men than her own. Thereby the pains of child-birth are apparently alleviated.

[Cf. PALLAS op. cit. IV 95, GMELIN<sup>1</sup> III 14].

The YO are of opinion that the unborn child, the fetus, has a given «place» in the human body and in the animal. [Like many people among the peasantry also in Finland] they believe that this «place» in the inside of the mother is only separated from the bowels by the cauls, which come out with the after-birth. Others believe that the «place» consists of some kind of skin.

*dild ōl* (*dīld' ōl*) = the child's case or knapsack = after-birth, OS Tu *īāt\_korē*. The after-birth is usually placed in a birchbark basket, — knapsack, which is hung up in a tree. [Into a birchbark basket the after-birth is also placed by some Ostyak and it is also hung up in a tree in the same manner. Cf. PAASONEN-DONNER Wörterb. p. 192—3]. Into the after-birth of a boy-child a bow and arrow are placed. [Cf. PALLAS IV 72 n. 1].

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<sup>1</sup> Voyage en Sibérie, traduction par M. DE KERALIO, Paris 1767.

*ūl-häyīy-d<sup>(u)</sup>on*, the part of the navel-string detached from the child called «the navel-cutting knife», OS Tu *sündetə mattərbəl paŋ*, is preserved and always kept near the child. This stump is afterwards sewn into a strong skin, which is embroidered with pearls. The skin with its contents is fastened by means of ribbons etc. to the back of the child's furcoat. If the stump disappears the child dies. The Narrator still keeps his. Even old people keep theirs carefully.

Dead new-born babies are generally buried in large cedartrees. An opening is made in the side of the tree by loosening the bark and cutting out a piece of wood from the trunk. In the hole the child's corpse is placed. Then the opening is covered with the piece of wood over which the bark is placed.

Grown up YO are mostly and even usually buried in the earth. [Cf. the custom of burying children, the custom of placing an image of the bear into the trunks of trees, which image has been used at the bear-festival after the killing of the bears. Cf. also for instance J. G. GEORGI, *Description de toutes les nations de l'empire de Russie*, traduction, St. Petersburg 1776, I 107 and the statement that the bear after his death is like a human being].

[Concerning customs and beliefs connected with birth some notes are collected in M. A. CZAPLICKA, *Aboriginal Siberia* p. 129 and the following pages].

## The Months of the Year.

The YO divide the year into thirteen months, moon-months, which contain only four weeks each. A new month begins at the time when the new moon appears, as soon as it is seen. Of the names of the months the Narrator remembers only the following:

*de-rip* (*d̥iè-q̥ip*) the eaglemoth, March.

*konep-γip* (*kʷõnəp*)-(γip) April.

*kodebəl-* (*kʷodəbəl*) (γip) May.

*ult hate:t* (*ùlʔt hàt̚t*)-(γip) spring-month.

*ede-γip* (*ièd̥ə-γip*) spring-month.

*kubənyi-γip* (*kʷùb̚n̥i-q̥ip*) July.

*obənyi-rip* (*ʷòb̚n̥i-q̥ip*) August.

*ēndo·k* (*ēndo·k̚*) the month of the fading leaves.

*bāŋ-teŋel* (*bāŋ-t̚əŋelʔ*) the month of the freezing earth.

[The Samoyed names of the months can appropriately be compared with those enumerated here. They are to be found in M. A. CASTRÉN, *Wörterverzeichnisse aus den Samojedischen Sprachen*, St. Petersburg 1855, p. 252—253. They are often moon-months and the names are partly identical with those of the YO. Cf. a paper by A. SCHIEFNER, *Das dreizehnmonatliche Jahr und die Monatsnamen der sibirischen Völker* in *Bulletin de la classe historico-philologique de l'académie imp. des sciences de Saint-Petérbourg* XIV 188—204, 209—218, 1857.]



## About Shamans.

### I.

Of YO shamans [N. Inbatsk] there exist no more than 2—3, but the number of OS Tu and Ta shamans has greatly increased. Even quite young persons are shamans. At earlier times the eldest son of a YO family became a shaman like his father.

[As the Greek-Catholic church has no longer the power of persecuting the natives, the old belief with its rites again begins to spread and prosper].

A very clever old Tungus-shaman, who resided with a YO couple, travelled last year [1927] in the vicinity of Turukhansk. Suddenly one of his reindeer fell down, blood ran out of his nostrils and he died. The Tungus stepped out of his sledge and went to examine the reindeer; then he also fell down and blood flowed out of his mouth and nose. He «died», according to the tale of the Narrator. He was at once carried to another great shaman, seemingly lifeless. The shaman nursed him a couple of days, using «witchcraft» (ворожил). The shaman drew out of the side of the lifeless man an iron arrow, a couple of inches long, whereby it became clear to him, that it had been shot off by a great OS shaman, living near Dudinka (about 600 versts from Turukhansk). The same shaman had also shot the reindeer, although the arrow had not been found. The Dudinka shaman was angry with the Tungus and wanted to kill him. The tribe council, родового совет, was asked to write to Dudinka, in order to find out, whether the said shaman lived there. They received an affirmative answer. To be sure, however, that the Tungus-shaman in his turn should not «kill» him with his own hands, he went far away into the desert regions. All this happened during last year.

Often it happens that people travelling in the forest, on the water or elsewhere, hear whistling, whistling sounds in the air and all kinds of sounds. This denotes that the shaman on his way passes the respective person. The Narrator says that he has also often heard such voices. [Cf. earlier notes].

A man, who tries to become a shaman, takes a flying squirrel and boils it. He divides it into eight pieces, eats seven of them and throws away the eighth piece. Then he returns to that distant place seven days running, and every day he walks once round the spot, where the cooking has taken place. After this it becomes clear to him if he has attained, and can attain, the power to become a shaman. He may even get the question solved by eating the heart of a cuckoo and then acting in the same manner as during the seven days.

A certain YO shaman, the Narrator says, wounds himself, without blood flowing out of the wound. The same man is also invulnerable when shot.

Another shaman takes a piece of bearskin, places it on a board, a table, the fur outside, and cuts it with a knife; the skin moves and blood flows out of it. When the ceremony is over, the skin is quite whole. The Narrator has also seen a shaman act in this manner.

In the tent, where the conjurer works, dogs are usually not tolerated; yet quiet dogs may be kept in the tent.

Usually the shaman performance lasts about three hours at a time. He sometimes interrupts it because he wants to smoke. Yet when treating a sick person he may even devote a whole day to it.

The Narrator's «father's grandmother's daughter» was a so-called little shaman, who could for instance give information about lost objects, predict certain occurrences etc. She got knowledge of objects and occurrences by means of an empty kettle. Several spirits spoke into the kettle and through listening to them she acquired the needful information. In the same way other similar small shamans performed their work.

The OS Tu people *kōzəl peləl-γumât* are known to the YO shaman; by these are apparently meant people living along the river Tym.

About them the shaman sings his songs and along the above mentioned road he also travels to the higher regions.

The shamans (their spirits, souls) live in the hair (= rays) of the sun, «as lice live in the head of man». They live each apart and hidden from each other. Their way to that place is always secret, for if one shaman knew the way of the other, he would kill him.

About the object of the shaman's visits to *tomam* (*tòmâm*) nothing is known.

*hūēntshy* (*hūânťš*) is the name of a devil, who does not possess a heart. There exists a great number of such devils, just as there are evil spirits without a liver, and others lacking other organs. They generally act as assistants to the shamans.

The shaman has also a spirit *dūnēt kīntshy* (*dūnât kīntťš*) identical with the OS Tu *kāmāl-lōs*. He also has another, called *ulbyi·y* (*ùlbì·j*), denoting spirit, and identical with the OS *ill*<sup>o</sup> denoting woman, wife.

[Cf. *dōγ*].

## The Equipment of the Shaman.

### II.

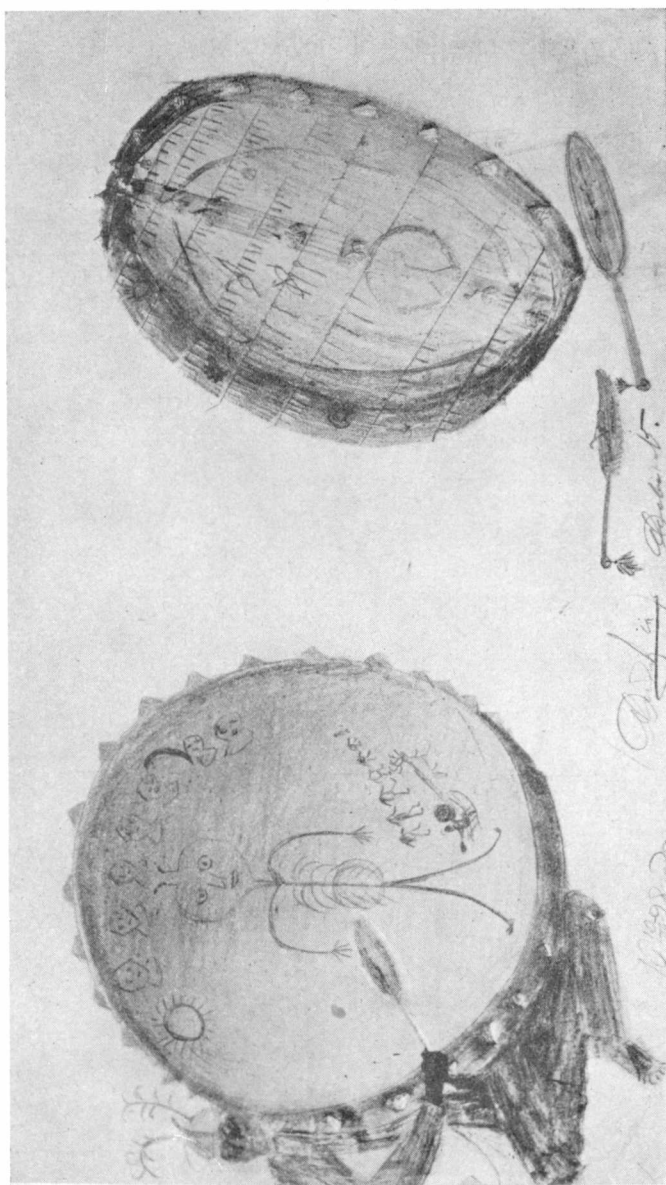
The shaman manufactures his equipment in the following order: first the spoon, then the cap, the breast-piece, the boots, the drum, the gloves, the coat. After this he manufactures and adds the irons.

The great shamans, but very seldom the others, always have a staff, usually made of iron.

*hå's* (*hå's*), the conjuring drum. The frame is made of birch. The drum-skin is made of the skin of the wild reindeer [in the same way as that made by the OS on the Tas]. When they appear before foreigners and Russians, the shamans do not use the ordinary drums, [which was often observed by me concerning the OS shamans]. *hås selidūbet* (*hås selidūβæt*) is the name of the feast, where the conjuring drum is received by the shaman. It is usually a great feast, where all those present are allowed to hammer iron into the drum and take part in sewing the skin to it.

The drum is often provided with some figures and drawings on the outside of the skin. Above on the picture, drawn by the Narrator, appear the sun and the moon as well as seven heads. Below in the underworld seven headless figures wander about. Below these a shaman, standing on his drum, is being drawn along, by reindeer. In the centre appears a big figure with a face and the head open at the skull. The figure is quite thin with distinctly marked ribs. Frequently the drums are supplied inside with numbers of rattling pieces of iron of different kinds, and also with bells and bows and arrows, and along the handle with swans and divers, also made of iron, [which animals are preferred by all northern shamans].

The spoon of the conjuring-drum, *hådbel* (*hådbæl*), is mostly made of wood. The backside is usually covered with the forehead- and skullskin of the wild reindeer [which, as it were, forms a whole



36. Shaman with drum; the reverse of a drum and spoon for beating the drum with and for fortune-telling.

with the skin of the drum]. The front side, which is bare, often has an iron figure attached to it, representing a lizard [also belonging to the animals common among the shamans, and which is often found fastened to the dress itself].

*uyye* (*u'ïïâ*), the mole, is used by the shamans, but also by ordinary people, in the way that the spoon of the conjuring drum is used, i.e. for the purpose of fortune telling. The animal is caught, killed and dried, skin and flesh and all, and is then hung up in the tent. The dried animal is thrown up into the air like the shaman spoon. It is «right» when the animal falls down and remains lying on its back, and «wrong» when it falls on its belly.

*tä-oks* (*tâ-ò<sup>ks</sup>* = OS Tu *tūr*) is the name of the shaman staff made of iron. When he shamanizes, he uses the staff to indicate the different points of the sky etc.

*syeneŋdēdi* (*š<sup>i</sup>enēŋdâdi*) is the name of his hat, made of iron. [The OS on the river Ket formerly used quite similar hats, provided with reindeer antlers of iron and, at the back, with long streamers and cloths of sacrifice]. The knife at the front of the hat is meant for cutting away all obstacles and other things, that the shaman meets on his way. The horns, representing reindeer antlers, are there to make it possible for him to butt his enemies and push them aside.

The clothes of the shaman, his costume, are sewn in a way, differing from that of other people's clothing. Consequently the seams are also different.

The shaman is provided with all the different bones of a human being, that is, he has them on his costume, for he himself, his flesh, does not fly up to the spirits, when he performs the shaman rites, while the iron, he has about him, does; and so he must be complete and look like a man.

[Meanwhile it is to be observed, in spite of the Narrator's opinion, that the iron pieces represent all the bones of the human body] yet the iron objects on the feet of the shaman represent the hind legs of the bear, which the Narrator specially points out. [POTANIN mentions, that the shaman's ancestor resides in a symbolic form in the shaman's coat (CZAPLICKA, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 217). Cf. a paper by UNO HOLMBERG-HARVA in *Annales Univ. Fennicae Aboensis*, Ser. B T I, n:o 2, p. 33—6 and KAI DONNER in *JSFOu*. XLIV,2 15].

The different figures represent different spirits, like the iron images of lizards, swans, divers, etc.; they belong to the assistant animals of the shaman, which help him in performing the shaman rites.  $\wedge$ , +, and other similar symbols, sewn on the costume, are intended to indicate the footprints of human beings, traces of birds' feet and other things of the same kind.

*donde hīs* (*dʷõndâ hīs*) is the name of the hind part of the dragonfly; and the string with the bell fastened to it, which the YO shaman fastens to the hind part of his costume, has the same name. The name of the dragonfly often occurs in the shaman songs.

Among the shaman objects made of iron is the *day*, the great bird of ancient times, which in case of need could cover the whole sun.

*ilbä'ŋ* «простая земля», or the ordinary world = the whole world, is the name of the shaman, the sun and the moon, depicted for instance on the drum of the shaman. *il-kyet* (*il-k'î èt*) also means the whole world. Cf. ANUCHIN op. cit. p. 50.

*teye byeslän kāk* (*tä'ie b'ieslän k'ā'k'*) is the name of a small fish with silver fins. It is frequently represented on the shaman drum, yet, according to shaman opinion, it dwells in the clouds. It is only the shaman who can get this fish to come down by the help of his drum. But he never allows human beings to eat any of it.

A shaman never eats a black-throated diver; the bird is looked upon by him as a kind of comrade or ally.

*esente masa*, are words used by YO shamans, who however, neither understand or can explain them. They only know that they are borrowed from the OS. [At their rites the OS shamans also frequently use Tungus and other incomprehensible words and phrases, probably in order to make an impression on their hearers and because they have a better effect].

*hango* is a mushroom, the flybane, eaten by the shamans. Seven such mushrooms are eaten, whereupon human beings become «mad». Those, who are not, or are not going to be, shamans die from eating these mushrooms. [The shamans, specially those of the OS in the Naryn district, were known for consuming flybanes as a means

of intoxication before starting the shamanizing. At present (1912—14) it is not so much practised].

Killed enemies were not eaten, as a rule, yet the heart of the prince of an enemy — even while he was alive — was cut out of his body and eaten. Then the stomach of the dead prince was [for safety's sake] filled with sand. After the death of the prince the hostile tribe usually surrendered. In this way the YO formerly killed the princes of the Yurak and the Tungus. Once the Yurak also killed a YO prince.

[Cf. concerning similar customs among the Finno-Ugrian tribes H. PAASONEN JSFOu. XXVI, 4 27 and B. MUNKÁCSI, Keleti Szemle VI. See also Y. H. TOIVONEN, Virittäjä 36: 372].

Formerly the prince of the tribe, if he had succeeded in killing the hostile chief or prince, cut out with his knife the skin of the face of his enemy *bātet dye ŋo·ltē* (*bātat d̄iē\_ŋo·ltā*), carried it with him and showed it to the wife of the deceased, and then he, according to custom, took her for his wife.

When the dogs bury fish or other things in the earth, they are beaten, in order to prevent their doing it again. People believe that the dog buries in the earth the soul of a human being.

*boŋl̄i·s\_dyēlenbāŋ* (*boŋl̄i·s\_d̄iēlenbāŋ*) is originally the name of the feeding place of the shrew-mouse; a big wart- or mole-like place on the body is indicated by this name, as it is supposed that the shrew-mouse enters into the body through this mark. A person, who has a mark of this kind, *h̄i·n* (*h̄i̇n*), wart, is believed to have the power of witchcraft.

The pike, in whose bowels a frog is found, is not eaten. Yet in the spring everybody eats pike, pretending not to notice the frog.

The stars of the pleiades indicate, [as among the OS] or rather show, the four legs of the elk, and close to them a Tungus, who has not succeeded in killing the elk by means of his staff, and further a YO, who killed him, and finally the Yurak, who missed the mark.

The girdle of Orion is called «the fox». The YO have no knowledge of the reason, why it is called so.



The fire caused by lightning is said to burn and singe more strongly, than a fire arising in the usual way.

*akkot* (*ak<sup>k</sup>kuot*) = the rainbow also means the road of thunder, as it is believed that thunder travels along the rainbow. The northern light *es<sub>-</sub>bo<sub>-</sub>k* (*es<sub>-</sub>bo<sup>u</sup>o<sub>-</sub>k*), called god's fire, *akkäm* (*ak<sup>k</sup>ä<sup>m</sup>*), means flash of lightning, stone-axe; the axe is thought to have come down to the earth in the form of a flash of lightning, which has struck a tree. This kind of axe first strikes a tree and then buries itself in the ground. Only a few of these axes have been found among the YO. The axe is thought to return to the surface of the earth after a certain number of years, and then finds its way back to heaven. OS Tu *nältisse* «god's arrow».

[Concerning the rainbow and the flashes of lightning Cf. U. HOLMBERG, FINNO-UGRIC, Siberian in *The Mythology of all Races* IV, Boston 1927, p. 443—5].

[These flashes of lightning = stone-age objects, are also carefully preserved by the YO, who believe them to be useful on various occasions and think that the holder of these objects receives strength from them.]

From some reason or other the aspen was not in former times permitted to be called by its name *il* (*il*); instead one spoke of *bog oks* (*bog<sub>-</sub>o<sup>u</sup>ks*) «the fire tree». In this connection it may be mentioned that for instance the name of a man's new wife was not allowed to be pronounced. At present, however, «when people are not afraid to mention names», it may be pronounced. This name is *koy* (*k<sup>o</sup>q<sup>i</sup>j*).

[Cf. the name of the wolf, which is dreaded to such a degree, that the Narrator does not know it. If anybody pronounces it by mistake, the wolf comes and devours him and his family. In the drum of the shaman there is often a picture of the wolf.]

On returning from a place, where somebody is ill, a small fire is lighted on the way. By stepping over this fire on one's way home, one is purified. [Among the Tungus on the river Ket the same custom prevails.]

*koks<sub>-</sub>oks* (*k<sup>o</sup>o<sup>u</sup>ks<sub>-</sub>o<sup>u</sup>ks*) is the name of the tree of sacrifice, a

birch cut off and placed near the tent. Pieces of cloth, arrows and other sacrificial objects are hung up in the tree.

*tālāka ales* (*tālṣkă alṣs*) is the name of an elevated place on the tundra. There stands an old decayed wooden house. In memory of the deceased, a great many wooden images are erected there. During the night all manner of devils hold their sway there. Near it there is a long lake (three days long). OS Tu *tōlāka* [комок].

*etl ul* (*etL yL*) is a «living water», by which man is given life; a new leg etc. may be given to him.

## Religious Ideas.

They have only a vague conception of a supreme god, *ēs*, [as have for instance the OS, their closest neighbours in the West]. The Narrator could only tell that a YO, living near Verkhne Inbatsk, had told him that he had two years earlier, that is, in 1926, seen god in the forest, clad in a white shroud or dress. The rumour of this incident had quickly spread to the regions round Turukhansk, Yeniseisk, Tas and other places. People had asked each other whether they had heard about the incident and what it meant etc. Further information the Narrator could not give about the matter. [That he himself was fully convinced, that god had manifested himself, was quite evident. Cf. what ANUCHIN p. 3 has to tell about *ēs*].

[Then follows a list of the different figures occurring in YO Mythology, with such descriptive notes, as have been given in connection with the names.]

*tomām* (*tòmām*) is a spirit which feeds on and eats swans. He lives in the place where earth and heaven meet. In this place called *est diōχt* (*ēs<sup>st</sup> diōχt<sup>st</sup>*), there is a hole through which all birds of passage, swans, ducks and others, one at a time, when winter approaches or during winter-time, fly or wander to the sunny side, to the warm side, which is identical with the South. The place is also called *utl* (*ūt<sub>L</sub>*) «the South», where the birds of passage disappear for the winter. Another name is *bāṇē kok* (*bāṇē k<sup>u</sup>òk*) *земленная дыра* «the hole in the earth». Should the birds happen to fly the least little bit too high, they are burnt by the heavenly fire, which resembles the aurora borealis. The spirit residing in this place guards the hole, through which the birds of passage pass. He belongs to the

benevolent spirits, yet he always chooses the best ducks and other birds and eats them himself. [Cf. ANUCHIN p. 7].

*hozē·dām* (*hozâ·dām*, *hosâ·dām*), is a spirit, man-eater and infernal god, also called *tīlam* (*tīlām*), *Fi pohjan äiti*, and by the OS *Tutakkâlam*. Originally she was not a malevolent spirit, but became so afterwards. Like the *tomām* (*tômâm*) she seizes upon the souls of people, especially those of sick persons, and devours men, when ducks and other birds are no longer to be had. When a soul has been seized, the shaman goes to the infernal world to try and recover it from her. If the shaman succeeds in his endeavour, the person's health is restored. If not, the sick person dies.

According to the YO opinion the *h.* dug out the whole of the Yenisey. She herself dwells under the earth, under the mouth of the river, in a place, where, near the mouth of the river, there are seven islands, corresponding to the seven souls of man, which she possesses.

To her now and then a reindeer is sacrificed, which is always killed [this is not always the case with many other sacrificed reindeer]. The flesh of the reindeer is not consumed; its body is left at the place of sacrifice and its head is hung up in a tree.

The *h.* is universally feared, as she takes people's lives through depriving them of their souls. But nobody has succeeded in taking her life, on account of its being protected by god. She enjoys the protection of god, because people would not die without her help. But she must not kill the shamans without god's permission. For if she could kill them it would lead to god himself being in danger. God himself provides the shaman with one or several souls, and when necessary, god takes them away, to prevent the shaman from becoming more powerful than himself.

*hozēdā·mdē hī·p* (*hozâdâ·mdâ hī·p*) is the name of a man who is the son of *h.* About him the Narrator does not know anything worth mentioning. [According to AN. p. 3, *h.* was married to god].

*lī'ēs* (*lītās*, pl. *autâ·sn*) is the name of an evil spirit living in the forests, a devil who screams during the night and specially cries out for human beings. Nowadays this spirit usually frightens people by

his cries, and after having heard them, people soon die. Formerly the spirit used to kill people immediately in the forest. These evil spirits often live in high trees or in so-called balagans or tents, of which there is nothing left, except the supporting logs or frames. They are also sometimes found in hillocks on the tundra, called *parempas* < OS. Nowadays there are only a few left, as the Narrator has not seen any of them more than once.

When «Thunder» is hunting for *l̥t̥es* (*l̥t̥âs*) = forest-devils, it is perfectly silent, but when it has found a devil sitting in a tree, it begins to growl. If it strikes the devil in a tree and succeeds in killing him, there are traces of it in the tree and on the ground, which is quite rooted up. Then the stone-axe penetrates into the ground. Those who look for such thunder-bolts — mostly black, and found only rarely — should come to the place seven years after the thunder has struck, for then the axe rises out of the ground and is visible before it flies up to heaven again.

[Cf. among other things a note about thunder-bolts and their return to the earth in GMELIN II 118 and others].

Human beings can also, it is believed, be changed into evil spirits, forest-spirits. This happens if they make dolls of paper or of similar material.

*bāṇdl* (*bāṇḍa*) is the name of an evil spirit which in OS Tu is called *tōttal lōs*. Another evil spirit is *uldel* (*uldə*). The spirit of the water = OS *ūtχəl lōs*. [Cf. ANUCHIN p. 6].

*holl̥ij* (*holl̥ij̃*) is the name of the forest-spirit, which is identical with the OS forest-god, by name of Tu *pārke*. These spirits are sculptured out of wood [and resemble those of which reproductions are found in GEORG NIORADZE, *Der Schamanismus bei den sibirischen Völkern*, Stuttgart 1925, p. 36. But they are not supplied with long poles]. They often have bear-spears. The shamans could make human beings out of these spirits, when curing people.

*k̥elm̥esm* (*k̥əlm̥əs̃m*) was a four-fingered devil, who lived with the OS during the time of the OS legendary hero *īle*. The YO call the OS girls nowadays by that name, when they want to make fun of them, as these girls are not liked by them and nobody wants to

marry them. The Narrator only knows one single YO man, who has married an OS girl from the Turukhan river. The OS, however, often marry YO girls [= *kəlmisim*].

*siktî·ŋ kaigan kaigu·sen* (s. *kôigan k'aigû·sən*) is the name of a four-headed devil «the devil being one, though the heads are many».

*hun* (*hu<sup>o</sup>n*) is another devil, of whom nothing is known, except that he lived at the same time as the four-fingered devil.

*allel* (*аллêл*) is the name of a house-god. He is kept in a birch-bark knapsack, just as among the OS, and the owner always carries the god with him. He is mostly made of wood and clothed or covered with bits of the fur of forest animals.

*albê* (*albê·*) is the name of the first human being from olden times, who is no hero, however. Yet sometimes he is called the first shaman. [Cf. ANUCHIN p. 7].

*kût* (*k'ût*) is the name of a great «first man» [cf. *albê·*] who acts as a serving spirit to the shaman. He is the chief assistant spirit of the wizard and his most important adviser. Being without a navel he never dies and can therefore move about wherever he pleases.

*kût* (*k'ût*), a spirit, which, as mentioned earlier, guides the assistant spirit of the shaman, precedes him in the air and so on, and protects the shaman, who cannot start without him. He is like a man and was formerly a man, as mentioned earlier. When the shaman shows himself, he precedes him, and in case of danger he takes hold of a fish for instance, devours its liver and heart and then turns it into a fresh fish. Then the evil spirits seize the fish, find out the deception and attack *kût*, who disappears when he has done his duty, that is, given the shaman the opportunity of wandering onwards in peace.

*bâlnî·* (*bâlnî·*) is the name of an ancient great khan or czar of YO origin. The name is derived by the YO from *bâlŋ* «hagberry», because this hero is said to have been in the habit of beating people with a big hagberry tree. He had two brothers *toytä* (*tô<sup>g</sup>·tä*), the elder, and *byele·yen* (*bî·êlê·yən*), the younger, who were YO princes.

The following story is told about *bâlnî·*:

The hero once lived quite alone on the bank of a small river, where he had a fish-weir. It was already winter and the river was covered with ice. He found out that the Yurak with their army-leader, (*kĩntshy*) accompanied by 500 archers, were marching against him. *b.* put on his iron armour and covered his head with iron, put on his torn *sok*-furcoat, which hid the iron and began (on the river) to cut small holes in the ice with a pole. The first who arrived was the chief of the Yurak with four reindeer; he asked for *b.*, and when he heard that the man in rags was *b.*, he did not believe it, but began to threaten him, upon which *b.* uncovered his ironcap. The Yurak then tried to kill *b.* with his spear; *b.*, however, succeeded in killing the chief with his pole, upon which he placed him in the hole in the ice with his head downwards, so that the legs stuck out of the hole. Before doing this *b.* had driven the reindeer into the forest. The rest of the Yurak arrived, but *b.* took hold of a big hagberry tree and killed the archers with it. They were all placed in the holes [in the same manner].

While *b.*, together with two younger brothers, was living still further to the south on the Yenisey, and the Tungus were settled in the Turukhansk region, three Tungus brothers sent word that they were going to conquer *b.* and take his lands and fight with the Ostyak. These Tungus brothers were very strong and nobody could kill them; they could with their bare hands catch the arrows aimed at them. *b.* replied that they might come and fight with him. When he had despatched this message, *b.* and his two brothers moved to an island, situated in the centre of the river Yenisey, on which they built a tent out of bear-spears. The walls were built only of the spear-shafts, of which the iron points were turned upwards. In consequence hereof, the tent was very low, its height being only half of the usual height. When the tent was finished, the brothers entered it and sat down there. Suddenly an arrow flew through the tent. *b.* rushed out, saw the Tungus and said that it was not good manners to begin to fight without declaring war; before fighting they ought to have a meal together. The Tungus, who on their way had killed many people, approached and consented to

join in the meal. So they all sat down in the tent and began to prepare the food. Suddenly *b.* pretended to observe, that there were no spoons. They had to be made, but *b.* found that there were no knives — he had earlier agreed with his brothers about it — nor did the brothers find any. Accordingly they asked the Tungus for knives, who gave them their own knives. After having given his brothers a sign by blinking with his eyes *b.* thrust the knife he had received into the heart of one of the Tungus and killed him. One of his brothers did the same to another, but the third did not succeed. The Tungus jumped out of the tent (the smoke-hole) and took with him one of the bear-spears. The little brother then went out to pursue him. The Tungus made an attempt to kill him with a spear, but *b.*'s little brother took hold of the spear-point with his hands, and stuck to it, while the Tungus swung the spear in vain. «What are you swinging the spear for?» cried *b.*, who emerged from the tent. *b.* and his brother then hurried out and attempted to help their little brother, and thus the third Tungus was also killed. His heart was cut out from his body and was eaten raw, while the stomach was filled with sand. Then a message was sent to the mother of the Tungus, to tell her, that her sons were killed. She did not believe it, until seven years had elapsed, for the Tungus had told her that if they did not return earlier [i.e. within seven years] they had been killed. The mother, who had nursed them at her breast, believed in them and not in others.

*bälñi*, the hero, who still lived before the Russians arrived in the country, once went into the forest to make ready a piece of wood, needed for the bow, out of a hagberry [tree]. While walking home-wards — unarmed and without his iron shirt and cap — he heard and saw that fighting was going on close to his tents. The Tungus had attacked the tents and killed all the men (of course the women were not killed). *b.* did not dare to hasten to the rescue; he remained in the forest. At last he began to follow [the Tungus]. He made a great number of these [hagberry] trees, and scratched his face and his hands, so that he was quite streaked with blood. Then he returned to his camp, where he pretended to be *b.*'s servant. He was



seized, but he stuck to what he had said, even pointing out among the fallen men a well dressed man, who, he insisted, was *b.* The Tungus [now] believed this time, tore the heart out of the corpse, pointed out by him, and devoured it. Then the Tungus went away, travelling along the river. The [Tungus] prince took *b.*'s wife for himself; she had also said that *b.* was only a servant. These two stepped into the first boat, of which *b.* was appointed the oar's-man. While *b.* was plying his paddling-oar, the Tungus prince took off his iron armour and laid aside bow and arrows; then he put his head into *b.*'s wife's lap [that she might begin to pick the lice from his head]. When they had got behind a curve of the river and *b.* had paddled the boat with an immense speed far away from the other boats — he had done so already earlier, and had been asked why he did so, whereupon he had answered that *b.* used to beat him, if he did not succeed in making the boat go along at a sufficient speed — which did not attract attention of the others nor could be noticed by them —, *b.* jumped on land and ran into the forest. The Tungus prince was not able to shoot him, as all the weapons were in the boat. *b.* hurried into the forest, where he had stored his iron-shirt and other things. He quickly put on his iron equipment and seized his arms. After this he hastened to a place, higher up on the bank of the river, and sat down there, waiting for the arrival of the Tungus prince. But nobody came. Now *b.* ran lower down the river, where he discovered foam on the water; from this he concluded that the boat had recently passed there. He hurried along past the next curve of the river and sat without moving on the sand-bank. When the Tungus prince came in sight on the river, he ordered him immediately to let his wife step ashore. The Tungus, very much frightened, acted according to his order. *b.* provided his wife with iron armour and weapons. Thereupon with his bow he aimed an arrow with such great force at the Tungus prince, that it went through the body of the Tungus and entered almost an arm's length into the frozen ground. Then he made a pole of the same form, as the one, with which fish is broiled before the fire, thrust the pole

through the prince's body and placed the pole with the body upright on the bank. Then he departed homewards with his wife.

*kazęę-t* (*kàzâęâ-t*) is the name of a person, often spoken of in the legends. He was a hero, who lived at a time, when there were not yet any YO. He is identical with the OS *ile*. The tale about him runs as follows:

«He once toasted perch-roe. One half was consumed, but the other half, round in shape, was just being toasted on a stick, when there was a knock at the door. *k.* asked: is it a hare? No. Is it a squirrel? no, and so on. Is it a bear? Yes, yes. Come in! The bear asked what *k.* was toasting. It is my eggs [testicles] and I have eaten one. They are excellent. Try the other! Yes, excellent, said the bear. Does it hurt to tear them off, I have also two? No, not at all, but you have to be bound. Bind me! said the bear. *k.* bound him with ropes of haggerberry bark. Can you move? No, said the bear. Then *k.* took his knife, cut open the eggs and after that the belly of the bear. In this way he caught the bear.»

*kalmisim* (*kolmisim*) is a legendary figure, who is said to have destroyed the pith of the trees. People used it for food, as it was soft and of the same good consistence, as the marrow in the bones of the reindeer. But *k.* was of opinion that people were too prosperous, so he changed it and made it hard. And at present there is only a little vestige of this marrow left. [= *kâlmâsâ'm*]

*nyūnyū kop* (*nyūn'ū kop*) is a boy, the son of a hero. According to the statement of the Narrator, he is the sire, the ancestor, of the Dibikov family [but probably OS].

His father was YO and a hero (богатырь) and was killed by another hero (? Yurak). A Tungus took to wife his mother, who was with child and soon gave birth to a boy, that is *ń*. The boy grew up and became strong. He found that his adopted father, whom he took for his own father, did not resemble him. He asked if he was his real father, but nobody gave him any information about it.

Once he went out hunting with his adopted father; he had only a wooden bow. But while they were on their way, he noticed

that he, only 15 years old, had already become his adopted father's superior. He suspected, that he would be slain by him some day, and he thought of killing him. But he knew nothing. He came home, he sat and meditated in the tent, he said nothing to his mother and only sat there with his hand under his chin, when his adopted father came in, although he used always to go outside the tent to welcome him. When questioned, he replied, that he thought of and longed for a bow made of iron. But people only laughed at him.

When he was 16 years old and very strong, he wanted to have an answer to his questions. And so he took hold of his eldest sister, bound her hands together, wrapped them in birchbark and set fire to them. Not until the fire threatened to burn her hands did she answer his question, whether his adopted father was his real father. By acting in the same manner towards his mother, he got to know that a ? Yurak- (ev. Tatar from the South) prince, living in a stonehouse with his seven daughters, had done the deed (that is, killed his father). He thought of nothing but revenge. Yet only after having said, that he could break into pieces his adopted father's iron-bow, and after having with his wooden bow shot straight into a needle's eye, was he given an iron-bow. It was big and strong and made by his brother-in-law *byep* (*b̆ièp̆*). Provided with it, he set off in order to take his revenge; his own people distrusted him, not one believed in his power. He shot with an arrow a channel through the forest, in such a manner, that a big river arose. Then he came to the house of the prince. He shot the whole stonehouse into pieces, so that the prince and his seven daughters perished in the fire. Out of the fire emerged small miserable people, of whom he did not take any notice. Finally there appeared an exquisitely beautiful girl, whom he took to wife. Singing: *ńũńũ kop òyâ-tân, ń ò. (ń. walks)* he paddled along the river homewards so mightily [powerfully], that sandbanks arose every time he pulled his paddling-oar.

*dõγ* is the name of an old hero, who is also called the first YO shaman. *dõʔâdâ kʷuŋt* is the name of the Galaxy, called after him, because he once fled to the sun along it, whereupon it became visible.

According to another version *d.* always made use of this road, when he travelled to the sun. When he fled to the sun, the legend says, that the devil or the evil one got hold of one part of *d.*, while the sun got hold of the greatest part. The devil got hold of his heart, but the sun, who moreover was married to *d.*, got hold of almost all the rest. But as the heart was lacking *d.* could only live during the night. Out of *d.* the moon was also created, by the devil and the sun tearing him into pieces.

*dōγ* married *hozē-dām*, who was the daughter of a woman from the infernal regions. For one reason or another, the couple were obliged to try and enter heaven. On the way, the woman bore a boy = *dōʹdē-hīp*. On the way they met two monsters = thunder and seven other monsters, who were killed with a bear-spear. The last one, who was the mother of thunder and the smallest in appearance, was the worst adversary. The tent of the couple was burnt down and at the same time they also perished. The boy flew, fell down, descended (by descending) (OS Tu *ḡuptisn*) *kʷuṇ ninnāñə* to *bāngōon* [= a tribe called *kʷ*.], and when doing so, was turned into a blackthroated diver.

*hībo!* *kādu!* boy! look! *biʹngə kʷokʷ sɿəs kʷokʷ*-river [= look for my river] the father (*dōγ*) said, shouted before dying [meaning that the boy was to look for and adopt as his own property his father's river]. All this happened of course before he fell down. *kikʷ*-river was the same as the river *kijos sɿəs* of the present time, where people sacrifice and where the greatest shaman dwells.

After coming down, the boy cried: *diʹāñē! biʹsāñ obdə kʷokʷ sɿəs* people! where is my father's river *kʷ*? The people: *lḡs!* devil! Although *dōdā-hīp* urged them to explain the matter [etc.], the strange people killed him like a common black-throated diver, and devoured him. After this, all of them, men and women, became with child. All the men of the tribe died from it. But the women gave birth to children, who all became shamans. Thus the shamans were brought into the world. From the spirit of the black-throated diver all the rest were born. That is the reason why the shaman never eats the black-throated diver.

[ANUCHIN, p. 7—8 also mentions *d*.]

*ēster ēn* (*ēstā<sup>i</sup> ēn*) is the name of a being resembling *dōγ*. *ēs*, god promised him his daughter, in case he succeeded in filling a big kettle with food. *ē*. collected animals he had hunted, hares etc., but one place in the kettle he was never able to fill. At last he had resource to the expedient of seating himself in that place, and the kettle at once flew up into the air, whereupon the daughter of the god came to him and became his wife. [Cf. the notes about *dōγ* and his marriage to *h*'s daughter. *h* was herself married to *ēs*.]

[ANUCHIN p. 5 and the following pages mentions *кынѣ* «spirit». I have the word *kintš* in the same meaning as well as *kintš* «Russian». I have identified them and am of opinion, that they are derived from the Russian князь «prince», perhaps through the mediation of the Yurak. Cf. KAI DONNER, Russische Lehnwörter im Jenissei-ostjakschen, Annales Acad. Scient. Fennicae T. BXXVII,<sub>1</sub> p. 1.]

[Concerning shamanism, especially in Siberia, and ideas regarding it as well as concerning mythological tales and descriptions, we refer the readers again to CZAPLICKA, Aboriginal Siberia, Oxford 1914, p. 169 and the following pages, which contains clear surveys and references to the respective literature, also Russian and Polish].

## **A Bear Festival.**

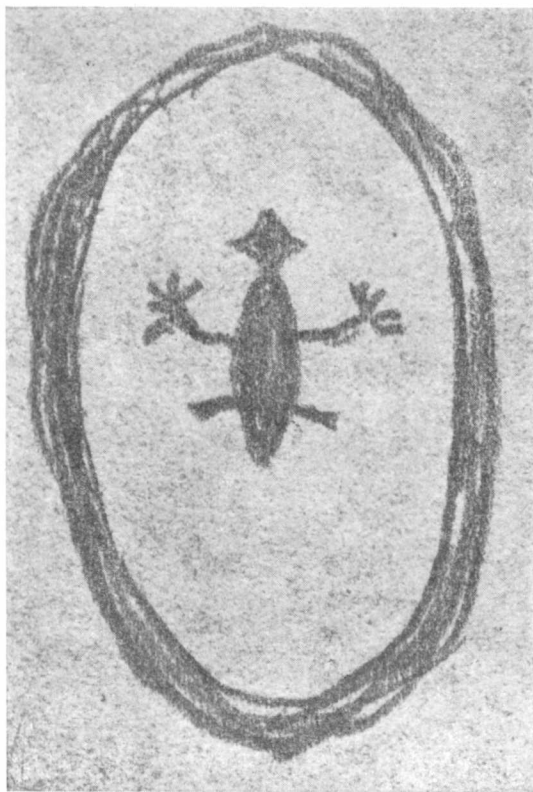
On the 17. XI., old style, 1912, I visited the Yenisey-Ostyak about two kilom. from the village Podkammennaya Tunguska on the bank of the Yenisey. They lived in round birchbark huts near the river on a sandbank.

They had killed a bear, and I had the opportunity of attending part of the festival, by which the event was celebrated. I could not, however understand all that was said and sung. Most of the YO, living on this bank were present. The celebration took place in one of the birchbark tents.

When all those, who took part in the festival, had assembled, the grown-up men washed their hands, and the women cleaned low tables as well as the seat of honour, which was covered with fresh branches of spruce. Then the oldest of the men present took birchbark and prepared and cleaned it very carefully, after which he cut out two oblong round pieces of the size of about 15 cm. On one of the pieces he drew with damp powder the following figure, meant to represent the bear:

The other piece of birchbark had only a black edge. Round the paws of the bear image as well as round the neck were fastened brass bands. On the seat of honour a little house, with walls on three sides, was then built up of fresh cedar wood. The bear's eyes, the muzzle with a strip of the scalp attached to it, as well as the (?) penis had been put aside earlier. Now they were placed in the small house and in front of them was the image of the bear, sketched in a recumbent position. On top of the figure was placed a little wooden ring with two small sticks on either side of it and over all this was placed the other piece of birchbark as a kind of lid.

Hereupon one of the men took the muzzle of the bear and put it with the attached scalp on his head. His head and body wagged to and fro, he roared and growled, trying to imitate the sound and language of the bear. Now he threw the muzzle into the fire in the centre of the tent, from where the next man took it up, placed it



37. Copy of a coal-sketch on a piece of birchbark representing the bear.

on his head and tried like the first man to imitate the bear. This ceremony was performed by all the men and boys in turn. The women were only onlookers. When the ceremony was over, the muzzle was again put in its place in the house and a board placed in front of the house. On this board were put tea, bread, bear-fat etc. During about 15 minutes the food was left to stand before the

structure in the seat of honour. All waited, while the bear or his spirit ate its fill of the offerings. It was only when this time had elapsed, that everybody in the tent began to eat.

I was told that the structure — the altar — usually remained standing in the tent until the third day, or as long as the feasting was going on. It was not until then, that the piece of birchbark with the picture of the bear was taken away and carried into the forest, where it was fastened to a birch in such a manner as to allow it to grow into the tree. [Concerning the Bear-cult and the literature dealing with this subject, we refer the readers to R. STÜBE among others: *The Bear-cult and the dramatic Plays of the Maniza in North-Western-Siberia*, Hirth Anniversary Volume, Leipzig 1923, especially p. 378, 399 and to W. KOPPERS *Der Bärenkult in ethnologischer und prähistorischer Beleuchtung in Palaeobiologica V*, Wien 1933, p. 47, especially p. 54].

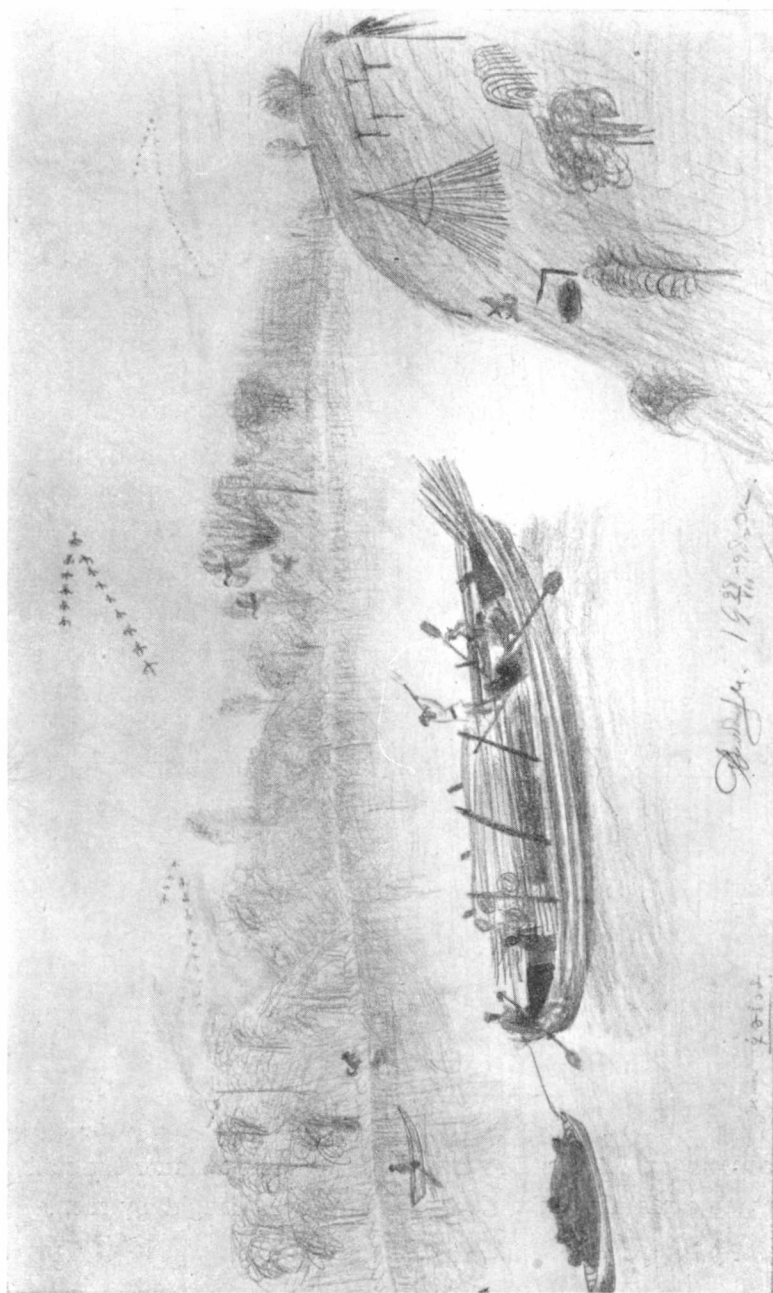


### About Animals.

*teldogs* (*t'eldogs*), «the ear of the mammoth», is the name of the part of a forest, in a place, where a river, called *boyno-yda*, forms a curve. The water is very deep in this place, and a mammoth is believed to have lived there in ancient times. [It is generally believed, that the mammoth lives under the ground and in the water].

«The birth of the cuckoo. Once upon a time there was a man and his wife, who had a boy and a girl. They asked their children to fetch water to the tent. The children did not obey. Now the mother took the irons, with which hides are scraped. One of the irons turned into wings, and the other into the breastbone of a bird. In this way the mother was transformed into a cuckoo and flew away. The father was transformed in the same way. The children were left alone and died. The marks left by their climbing in the trees to look for their parents, are like roots, which are their bowels. — After all this had happened, the cuckoo calls: *koḱ hūn*, *koḱ hīp* etc. = a girl, a boy.»

«In the beginning the nalim and the pike argued as to which of them could provide food for men in the most satisfactory way. Each of them declared his plan to be the best. Out of this quarrel arose the rivalry, which still exists between them. Instantly when spring has arrived, the pike rushes to the small rivers, to be eaten by man as quickly as possible. In the same manner the nalim rushes upwards along the river Yenisey to be caught by men.»



38. YO leaving the summer place for the winter-dwelling.

## I. The YO Words.

*albē* 88  
*allel* 88  
*akkām* 83  
*akkot* 83  
*assiy äy* 38  
*āsut* 57

*balnī* 34, 88, 90  
*bēnnē kāṇēbrēmā* 43  
*bēnnē kī't* 36  
*bog-oks* 83  
*bok* 54  
*boṇli's-dyēlenbāṇ* 82  
*boṇnoryde* 99  
*bu dyelot* 60  
*byele-yen* 88  
*byep* 93  
*bägdī* 87  
*bäln* 88  
*bāṇbē* 50  
*bāṇē-l* 47  
*bāṇē kok* 85  
*bāṇgēs* 25  
*bāṇgest konur's* 25  
*bāṇ-teyēl* 74  
*bātet dye ṇo-ltē* 82

*dāy* 81  
*ded dīoytē* 57  
*de-rip* 74  
*dēy* 72  
*dēltē-d oks* 35  
*dīld ol* 72

*dōy* 77, 93, 94, 95  
*dōyēde kot* 93  
*dōde-hīp* 94  
*doyēt* 66  
*donde hīs* 81  
*dum syw't* 29  
*dūnēt kīntshy* 77  
*du'p* 54  
*dupte* 51

*ē* 67  
*edē-yīp* 74  
*ēs* 85, 95  
*es bo'k* 83  
*esente-masa* 81  
*est dīōxt* 85  
*ēster ēn* 95  
*etl ul* 84  
*ēgdīṇ* 46  
*ēndo'k* 74  
*eneṇ* 46

*hangō* 81  
*hen oks* 37  
*he'xtol* 37  
*heṇē lōs* 72  
*heṇ* 50  
*heṇey-oks* 50  
*heṇtīṇheṇt* 51  
*heṇ-tīs* 50  
*heṇ āṇgetī-i'e* 50  
*hīyēn bontshyo-l* 68  
*hīlē-m* 60

*hī'n* 82  
*hīp* 99  
*holīk* 23  
*hollīy* 87  
*hoze·dām* 86, 94  
*hozedārmdē hī·p* 86  
*hotel\_oks* 33  
*hūentshy* 77  
*hun* 88  
*hūn* 99  
*hädbel* 78  
*hä's* 78  
*häs selidübet* 78

*ibbä·ŋ* 81  
*īdenoks dapyol* 40  
*il-kyet* 81  
*iŋn* 19  
*īse-nä'n* 34  
*itten änge·ti\_yi'e* 35  
*īdot* 69  
*īl* 83  
*īnus* 27

*yoye·n* 14

*kaya·tl* 23  
*kalmışım* 88, 92  
*kapka·n* 46  
*kapke·lteş* 41  
*kapke·t* 57  
*kāse* 34  
*kaze·ye·t* 92  
*kat* 31  
*kelmeşm* 87, 92  
*keltemī·y* 38  
*ķentoks* 46  
*ķe't* 41  
*kēdī* 47  
*kēsses* 14  
*kīmen* 68

*kyī* 46  
*kīntshy* 89, 95  
*kō* 38  
*kodebel·γip* 74  
*kogsye·ly* 55  
*koy* 83  
*koy\_de·leŋ* 34  
*kok* 99  
*koks\_oks* 83  
*koli·y* 27  
*konep·γip* 74  
*kōn ūgdīy\_oks* 39  
*konu·s* 27  
*konɣurp* 41  
*kopku·l* 25  
*kosset\_·tep* 21  
*kubenyi·γip* 74  
*kuote* 28  
*kūt* 88  
*kutä·t* 39  
*kām* 42  
*kām\_·demle·s* 42  
*kāñ* 67

*lesnyitsa* 27  
*līteş* 86, 87, 94  
*logta·k* 55  
*lūm* 51

*moyte·* 66  
*mältsye* 31  
*mätne·* 51  
*mätne·d oks* 51  
*nyūnyū kop* 92

*obenyi·rip* 74  
*ōye·tān* 93  
*oyte·n* 32  
*ok* 34  
*oko·ska* 25  
*omne·ŋ-nä'n* 34

*oḡno·s* 22

*ote* 35

*parempas* 87

*pāstu·k* 65

*samolo·p* 51

*siktī·ḡ kay·gan kaygursen* 88

*syeknik* 23

*syēlī·* 72

*syenen dēdī* 88

*syēnus* 65

*so* 36

*sōḡiy* 31

*sok* 89

*sokṭen* 47

*shūrta* 38

*ū* 18, 57

*uyye* 80

*ulbyi·y* 77

*uldel* 87

*ult hate·t* 74

*ūp* 67

*usinsi* 23

*usl* 68

*utl* 85

*te* 47

*teye·byeslāḡ kāk* 81

*teldogds* 99

*telne·* 35

*tent\_oks* 28

*tes* 29

*tīlam* 86

*tīl-hāyīy-don* 73

*to·ytā* 88

*tol* 47

*tolol* 37

*tomām* 77, 85, 86

*tuye·s* 37

*tun* 29

*tāl* 46

*tālāka ales* 84

*tān* 47

*tā-oks* 55, 80

*tāt* 50

*tāt\_oks* 55

*āl* 35

*älä·mtī* 29

*äp kīm* 72

## II. The OS Words.

*etä* 65

*etäly-mōt* 65

*etān ūp* 67

*iāt korē* 72

*ill* 77

*itye* 87, 92

*kala* 37

*kām* 23

*kāmel-lōs* 77

*kaṇar* 54

*kōzel pelel-yumēt* 76

*kupti-sa* 94

*lūm* 51

*nakerel pō* 40

*nīt* 46

*nōter* 29

*nūltisse* 83

*nāya* 55

*pārke* 87

*pik* 35

*sündyete matterbel paṇ* 73

*sāgel-pärg* 34

*shūr* 32

*takkehyem* 86

*tama* 36

*tyapko-s* 46

*tyäṇo* 46

*töläka* 84

*tuyas* 37

*tūr* 80

*tāga* 62

*töttel-lōs* 87

*töttel-yup* 40

*ūterme* 57

*ūtχel-lōs* 87



