



Title	Verbal Charms of the Alutor in Kamchatka: Tradition, Practice, and Transmission
Author(s)	NAGAYAMA, Yukari
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population of 2000, 100 of which are fluent native speakers of the Alutor language. Alutor belongs to the Chukchi-Kamchatkan language family of the Paleosiberian group; other related languages are Chukchi, Koryak, and Kerek. Koryaks are divided into two groups according to their main subsistence activities: Reindeer Koryak and Maritime Koryak. The Alutor were formally included into the Maritime Koryak. Thus, most previous ethnographic studies did not distinguish the Alutor from the Koryak, and there are many cases in which the Alutor were described as the Koryak. Like the Maritime Koryak, the Alutor's traditional subsistence activities comprise fishing, hunting, reindeer breeding, and gathering.

Although the Alutor have no professional shamans, charms are shared among a limited group of people. People who know charms are always admired and expected to help their fellow villagers. While protective charms can be passed to any community member, harmful charms are often restricted to close relatives, such as a mother and her daughters.

In addition to protective and harmful charms, Alutor has a series of rich phrases that are designated for ritual use. Rituals or offerings to sacred places such as rivers, hills, or capes are called *inalvat* 'offering (to a sacred place)', while those to fire are called *inattil* 'offering (to fire)'. These rituals are often accompanied by phrases that, unlike charms, can be pronounced by any member of the community. The term for indicating such rituals, at the same time, may also be used for indicating the object being offered. Offerings are often made to bring good luck on one's hunting or fishing trips, to bring good weather, to ensure a safe trip, etc.².

Unlike previous ethnographic monologues of the Chukchi and Koryak, the present study uses the word 'charms' rather than 'incantation', although there is no specific emphasis placed on this decision. I define charms as special sets of words or sentences that are used to affect people's real lives. Therefore, the term 'charms' in this paper can be replaced with the term 'incantations'.

Protective and harmful charms have different primary stems. The word *ivjanvən* 'protective charm' is derived from the verbal stem *iv-*, which indicates 'to say', accompanied by the derivational suffix *-janv*, indicating '[a] place for doing something'. Native Alutor speakers often translate the word as *zagovory* in Russian, distinguishing it clearly from harmful charms. The person who knows protective charms is called an *ivjanvələn*, or 'the one having protective charms'. The transitive verb *ivjanvatək*, meaning 'to charm', is derived from the nominal stem using the verbalizing suffix *-at*.

In contrast, the word *ujval* 'harmful charm' is a primary stem that can no longer be analysed. The Alutor people translate the word as *koldovstvo* or *zaklinanie* in Russian. Those who know harmful charms are called *ujvalələn*, literally meaning 'the one having harmful charms'.

² As space is limited, I am not concerned with these specific rituals and phrases.

3. PREVIOUS STUDIES OF CHUKCHI AND KORYAK CHARMS

Among the ethnographic works examining the Chukchi and Koryak, Bogoras's work provided the best description of their charms, including their methods of practice and transmission, and provided comparatively rich materials (Bogoras 1907/1975: 469-508). Bogoras is the only author who mentioned the Chukchi's harmful charms, identifying them as *uiwel* (Bogoras 1907/1975: 471), which corresponds to the Alutor term *ujval*.

One shortcoming of his work, however, was a failure to distinguish between charms and other ritual phrases. This is mainly because Bogoras did not pay much attention to the difference in terminology in Chukchi. He introduced 14 categorized texts under the generic term 'incantation', although the texts included at least some magic formulas, and protective incantations accompanied with instructions, and one harmful incantation. The texts are listed below. All these texts are English translations, and the original Chukchi text is not provided. Instead, he gives 10 Chukchi-language incantations, with English translations in his 1910 study. Small letters indicate variations in each category.

(1) Chukchi incantations collected by Bogoras (1904-1909/1975: 496-508)

1. *Incantation for taming Wild Reindeer-Bucks who have joined the Herd of Domesticated Animals (a), (b)*
2. *Incantation used on the Middle Anadyr in Hunting Wild Reindeer*
3. *Incantation for Hunting Sea-Mammals*
4. *Incantations for Improving Bad Weather*
5. *Incantations against the Coming of Kelet (a), (b),(c), (d), (e)*
6. *Incantation used to protect the Herd from the Hoof-Disease*
7. *Incantations against Attack by Wolves, to be used by a Herdsman*
8. *Incantations of Magic Medicine.(a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h), (i), (j), (k), (l), (m)*
9. *Incantations to bring back the Dying, (a), (b), (c)*
10. *Harmful Incantation*
11. *Love-Incantations (a), (b)*
12. *Incantation used by a Jealous Woman Against Rival.*
13. *Raven Incantation*
14. *Incantations against the Rivals in Foot-race, (a), (b)*

Jochelson (1908/1975: 59-64) provides five charms in Koryak with English translations, but without Koryak terms for indicating that they are indeed charms. Interestingly, he 'bought' these charms from a practitioner during his stay in a Koryak village. All of his texts are comparatively short, and the largest consists of 18 sentences. The charms collected by Jochelson are listed below.

(2) Koryak incantations collected by Jochelson (1908/1975: 60-64)

1. *Incantation for the Protection of a Lonely Traveler against Evil Spirits.*
2. *Incantation for Charming an Amulet for a Woman.*
3. *Incantation for the Treatment of Headache.*
4. *Incantation for the Cure of Swellings on the Arm.*
5. *Incantation for Rheumatism in Legs.*

Among the above, healing charms (3, 4, 5) include many more sentences than the other two, and, as Jochelson pointed out, all texts make reference to the Creator and his family. These facts agree with the results of my observation of Alutor charms. Jochelson pointed out that incantations were transmitted from generation to generation, although he does not describe their method of practice.

Stebnitskii (2000: 205-211), who travelled to Kichiga³ in 1927, recorded three types of charms: those for headache prevention, stanching blood flow, and reconciliation with one's girl- or boyfriend. However, Stebnitskii provided only Russian translations and, like other authors, omitted vernacular names that would indicate that they are actually 'charms'.

4. CHARACTERISTICS OF ALUTOR CHARMS

Alutor protective charms differ in style according to their level of 'strength'. Charms used for healing illnesses or injuries are considered the most forceful, and are not single phrases or sentences but complete narrative texts; other charms, which are considered to be 'simple', tend to be shorter. I recorded 13 'strong' healing charms with the help of Daria Mulinaut, and translated four texts (1, 2, 3, 8) with the help of Lidia Chechulina.

(3) 'Strong' healing charms by Daria

1. To heal bone fractures or bruises
2. To treat tuberculosis
3. To treat rheumatism or polyarthritis
4. To treat enuresis and leakage of urine
5. To treat the common cold
6. To treat uterine prolapse
7. To return to a spouse following an act of infidelity
8. To treat haemorrhoids and anal prolapse
9. To treat eye troubles
10. To treat sudden illness in the tundra
11. To purify one's home

³ The Kichiga dialect belongs to Alutor; thus, I have assumed that Stebnitskii recorded Alutor charms.

12. To protect against harmful charms

13. To ensure one's safety

Each charm comprises 30 to 100 sentences, all of which are much longer than previously published Chukchi and Koryak charms; in contrast with 'strong' charms, however, 'simple' charms⁴ are an exception to this rule, and are phrases that consist of several words. All the healing-charm stories have fixed and stable plot structures, in contrast with ordinary, more complicated folklore texts. There are many healing-charm stories about the Creator, 'Qutkynniaqu', or animals that talk like human beings, as in other folktales.

(4) The typical plot structure of a healing charm

1. One of Qutkynniaqu's children is injured or ill
2. Qutkynniaqu obtains magic items
3. Qutkynniaqu travels to another world
4. Qutkynniaqu finds supernatural animals or plants there
5. Qutkynniaqu asks a patterned question and receives an answer
6. Qutkynniaqu returns home with his findings
7. The child recovers and lives to a great age

As an example, I will provide the plot of a charm for healing bone fractures. The original text in Alutor is given at the end of the paper.

(5) Charm to heal bone fractures

One day, Qutkynniaqu's child broke his leg (4-1). Then, Qutkynniaqu's wife, Miti, asked him to heal the child. Qutkynniaqu asked Miti for the magic healing gloves that he had given her a long time ago when they had just married (4-2). Miti gave him the gloves, and then Qutkynniaqu shook a magic wand made of steel and was transported to another world (4-3).

There, he found an otter and a wolverine (4-4). He offered to show them a place where the earth had cracked open and hot lava erupted. They went there, and then the two animals began biting and clutching each other tightly.

Qutkynniaqu returned home with the animals (4-6) and placed them on the child's leg together with a piece of reindeer fat. The child recovered immediately and became as fresh as a new-born baby. He lived to an advanced age and never again fell sick in his life (4-7).

⁴ Lidia calls 'strong' charms healing charms that consist of whole narrative texts, and calls 'simple' charms ones that consist of several phrases.

Charms generally include a question and answer, although they have been omitted from this particular example. For instance, Qutkynniaqu may ask an animal or plant what ailment it cures, and it may respond by naming a specific illness or injury. Similar questions and answers can be found in some of the Koryak charms in previous studies, although not in Chukchi charms.

I recorded a story in which Qutkynniaqu made three trips to retrieve the necessary magic items. A similar story was documented by Stebnitskii as well. In addition, I recorded two simple charms from Lidia, although unlike Daria's healing charms, Lidia's are structured as phrases and do not feature Qutkynniaqu or his family.

(6) Charm to prevent coughing

Swifts made nests on the seashore and the seawater washed away the dirt from the nests.

(Told in Russian by Lidia Chechulina, 2012-08-24, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky)

(7) Charm for eradicating worries about a child being left behind

yəmmə əl'wakrənwinqurəyəm, yəmnin ηavakək əl'wakrənqajuju. řaqan maŋke təlevək al tinya tin atařka.

'I am a female wild reindeer, and my daughter is a wild reindeer calf. Wherever I go, nothing will happen to my daughter'.

(Told by Lidia Chechulina, 2012-08-24, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky)

Lidia explains that her grandmother taught the first charm to her, and that the 'nests' represent lungs. The second charm was taught to Lidia by an elder female relative when Lidia was preparing to travel abroad, leaving her six-month-old baby behind. Lidia said that the charm helped her very much.

Another interesting fact about Alutor charms is that they can be treated as medicinal products. Thus, a practitioner may recite a story into his/her palms and then place them onto the body part that hurts, such as the back, stomach, or tooth. I have provided detailed descriptions of this in section 7.

5 THE PRACTICE OF CHARMS

As mentioned above, protective charms can be used for healing sicknesses or injuries, stabilizing mental conditions, or resolving family disputes, while harmful charms can be used to invoke misfortune, illness, or even death. In some cases, both types of charms are used in conjunction with wooden or stone idols known as *kalaku*, which serve as guardian spirits. Almost all the Alutor have their own guardian (in Alutor *kalaku*), who wear clothes and are assigned proper names. Unlike toy dolls, which are never given eyes, guardians always are.

Lidia's grandmother, Matrena, owned a wooden guardian with leather straps and beads

named *kalamʔuŋav*, which she used whenever her children or grandchildren fell ill. It was later passed to Lidia's mother, Evdokia, and then to her elder sister, Natalia. Because Natalia's granddaughter suffered from severe illness throughout her childhood, Lidia believes that Natalia's daughter took the guardian to practice healing charms and then kept it with her. It is worth pointing out that the guardian is passed down to the elder daughter of the family. In addition, any family member can borrow the guardian for a while and then return it after using it. Jochelson's work contains a detailed description of guardians with many illustrations.

Lidia explains that both of her grandmothers possessed protective charms. Her paternal grandmother knew approximately 10 charms for the treatment of anal prolapse and other ailments, while Lidia admits to owning 'a few' charms herself. Lidia's maternal grandmother possessed charms for coughs, headaches, liver disease, and postnatal care. When women gave birth to a baby, elder women were invited to practise charms for her early recovery. There is another charm for producing breast milk, and all of them help women after birth. When Lidia gave birth to a daughter in the 1990s, no elder women was alive, and so nobody could administer charms to her. She believes that this prolonged her suffering.

On many occasions, Lidia witnessed sick girls being brought to her grandmother for healing. In cases involving serious illness or injury, the patient is expected to pay the practitioner with hard, often metallic items such as beads, knives, or spoons. However, payment is not made immediately, but perhaps a year or more later.

6. THE TRANSMISSION OF CHARMS

Protective charms can be transmitted to anybody. Those who 'possess' charms are expected to share them with the community. If anybody asks a person with charms to share them, he or she should not refuse. There are no gender limitations either. In one instance, Lidia observed an elderly woman from another village transmit a charm to five younger women. The elderly woman began by making the younger women sit on the floor as she pronounced the charm once. The younger women then 'caught' the charm with the skirts of their parkas, and they memorized the charm for life.

In contrast, harmful charms are only transmitted to close relatives, such as from a mother to her daughter or from an aunt to a niece. It is assumed that some people possess harmful charms, and the person may put a curse on someone else so that the target will become ill or suffer some misfortune. Harmful charms are always practised solely at the possessor's own wish, whereas protective charms are practised at a villager's request.

Many elder women hide the fact that they possess charms, especially when approached by foreign researchers. I learned that some of my consultants possessed charms only after their deaths. Daria was the sole case that I could record, as one of my consultants (although she never admitted that she knew charms as well) strongly recommended that data be collected from her.

7. CASE EXAMPLES OF CHARMING

In this section, I give some recent examples of charming. The first example, from the winter of 2011, is provided by Lidia; with her assistance, I translated a charm supplied by Daria for healing bone fractures, and Lidia memorized the plot, which involved an otter and a wolverine that had bitten and clutched each other tightly. Upon injuring her back that winter, Lidia took a month to recover. She tried many different medicines and creams to alleviate her pain, but all were useless, so she tried to heal herself using the aforementioned plot. After reciting the plot into her palms, and then placing the 'charm' onto her back, Lidia fell asleep. When she woke up the following morning, the pain had disappeared.

The next example, provided by Daria, shows that Alutor charms can help even foreigners. In early 2000, a traveller from North America (whom I had met while conducting field research several days earlier) injured himself while trying to ski through the mountains near the village of Wywenka. However, he was injured on the way and was carried to the village, where he could not receive sufficient care because of the absence of a clinic. The villagers then asked Daria, who was well known for her healing abilities, to treat the man. The foreigner soon recovered after receiving treatment, and thanked Daria profusely for her services. He visited the village again the following year specifically to thank her.

8. FINAL REMARKS

In this paper, I provided some examples of Alutor verbal charms, and made the following points:

- The Alutor have two different categories of charms: protective and harmful.
- Protective charms vary in style according to their level of force and effect.
- Healing charms are the most forceful, and they comprise whole narrative texts rather than single phrases.
- Healing charms have a fixed plot structure.
- Native people preserved and practised their traditional charms during the Soviet era and continue to do so today.

Traditional knowledge of the Alutor people is declining year by year; this is related to changes in the use of their native language. Therefore, documenting this knowledge and describing it in detail is an urgent task.

APPENDIX: CHARM STORIES WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

[1] CHARM TO HEAL BONE FRACTURES

yivlin. qutkən^h l'aqunəy ju l'əlqivnin.

— *aqiwwaka akkapil^j yamsatkulin yətkaləən — tu aqan tin mənəyələn — aqiwwaka yamsatkul yətkaləən.*

pəsasə ənyin miti kumyəłqi.

— *aməyanən wəla lə l'əlqivətkən aqan taqmas yənyəryən un^h l'utək.*

qeqə tot:

— *mətənyu n^h məs lətək... maja qun tu inanmas yənyemən yəkin turnəmavkina? qinajil yi.*

əyē jəlnina ən. fək jap sivals ləti ənpəqlavul pəlwəntəpivsiksanəy, vəjantəłqi rəmetə l'ilyəy. jə l'əlqivninat nənək nənəyətənti qaparənti.

— *qəjje jəpu nənək yələmlaməs yəryək itətkə, awən lət=qi malpis yən tələfun.*

— *tok ənənyə jivalamok.*

tin yə nənin tələqtəninat nənətin mələyərən, yələmlamə: təlaninat. qun naqam amjənəy inakmitvələy ə lət, ineyuvələy ə lət. vifəpalqatkinəy ənyə il yələtəpən məy tələy ə lət qun^h əs amjənəy ineyuvələy ə lət.

— *tin yə qun mitinəy tətəretən nəmalqin mas yənyəryən tələfun.*

əyē təretəninat ənyinat.

— *wajinu qun ənyin.*

ineyuvələy ə lət naqam ənki əs lət l'ul^j təttilnin nənək mələyərən. naqam qunpətkinəy ineyuvələy ə lət vifəpalqatkinəy. turnaratkinəy akkapil^j təlanin. tu nən il yələtəpən məy, tivakmitpən məy təlanin. amjun^h lət wə jitita sənnin.

— *wajo miti, tənretəten mas yənyəryən.*

tin yə qun əs yi... tin yə=q ənyin qunpətkinəy ineyuvələy ə lət. tin yə qun in^h lət kin. qəsən inmə amjun^h lət wə jitita sənnin. amkərvil^h mələ l'əwənyə yəryə sənnin, amkərvital^h wənyə yəryə sənnin, akkapil^j. tin paninəy jilyəti num ənyin.

(Recorded from Daria Mulinaut, Wywenka, 2002-02-27)

TRANSLATION⁵

(Miti) came to Qutkynniaqu and said,

— Oh, our son broke his leg! — or something, maybe an arm — Oh, our son broke his leg!

Well, it was Miti who said the words.

— It is only you who can go and find any kind of healing for the children.

⁵ In Alutor, the subject and object of a sentence are frequently omitted. The omitted words have been placed in parentheses in the English translation to aid the reader's understanding.

— When we began to live together ... where are those healing gloves from the time we were just married? Give them to me!

She gave them to him. Then the Old Man shook the magic metallic wand, and crossed into another world.

There he came upon an otter and a wolverine.

— Oh, you know, I found plenty of good food in the place where there is hot lava.

— Come on, show us!

He led them to a crack in the ground where there was hot lava. Then the two (animals) clutched each other head-to-head, and bit each other. Until they reached a very old age, and until they grew grey hairs, they bit each other head-to-head.

— I shall bring it (= the healing) to Miti and say, ‘I found good healing’.

He brought those two (animals).

— Here you are. They are biting each other. Put them and a piece of reindeer fat where is the leg broken.

They bit each other forever, until they reached a very old age. It (=the healing) led the son to the same degree (of health) as a new-born baby. And it (=the healing) led him to the age of grey hairs and walking with a stick. It healed him.

— Here you are, Miti, I brought home the healing.

Well, nowadays ... Well, they are biting each other forever. That is all.

Indeed, it healed him. It healed our little son so that he could drink and eat happily. And it (=the fracture) is healed.

(Alutor text was translated into Russian by Lidia Chechulina, 2011-02-25, 26)

[2] CHARM TO TREAT TUBERCULOSIS

əŋe əŋjɪn akkapilʲ [ili] ŋavakkapilʲ tatʲəlləqi.

— *tɪŋɣa ŋavakkapilʲ aqiwɰaka qənʲmirutəla naran apilʲʁəkijirutəla.naran apilʲʁəkijirutəla, qənʲmirutəla.*

əŋe əŋjɪn ənpəqlavul nam.

— *tok qun maja ʁəlʲtitkəsəmənʁət, inʲanʲmasɣavsemənʁət, turnəmvankina inʲanʲmasɣavsemənʁət?*

ʁəlnina əŋjɪna.walvitʲətqal təwinnin, pəlwəntəpiqsivsanaŋ akminnin. piqsivsalʲati tərɪtɣiŋavnin pəlwəntəpiqsivsanaŋ.

vəjantati tel rəmetəʁilʲʁəŋ. qu ninma juʁəninawwi ʁəlʲtitkəmɪlʲutaw naqamʲat, ʁəlʲtitkəɣiŋki ʁəlʲtitkəʁəmjərsallatkət.

— *qəŋun ənpəqlavuliʁət taqtaquraŋətəkən ataquraŋkəlʲiʁət wəʁa. apəlʲmənətawiminmis ʁəka itətka al ataquraŋka.*

— *aqiwwaka = qi akkapil' qən'mirutəla naran apil'ʒəkijiruta. aqiwwaka rəttawwi ʒapassalaŋ.*

— *murək waj i ʒənninamuru.*

— *maŋkət qeŋun təʒəntəlqi.*

— *qun waj ʒəm qinakmitʒi. tinarretatəŋ amwəjita qətanruŋ pilʒən. amwəjita tanruŋnin pilʒən.*

təʒəl'nin ʒəl'titkəmil'utap teləŋ. əŋe qun ninma ʒəvunin sival'pəŋjuk rəttaqal'ʒiswənu ʒopta. sival'pəŋjuk ʒəvunin naqa valʒəŋepə ʒəvujji piwtalqi ənnin qənmirut apil'ʒəkijirut. piwtalqi naqa valʒəŋe ənnin sival'pəŋjuk ʒəvunin. ʒəvutkənin sival'pəŋjuk rəttaqal'ʒiswənu ʒopta puntakina, liŋliŋkina ʒoptaq təʒəlʒəŋju. sival'pəŋjuk ʒəvutkə(nin) naqa valʒəŋji piwtalqivətəkən.

— *tu vitku nam təmalləʒulatək.*

əŋe ʒənin kirawasək junin. tərətənin ʒən təʒəlləʒən juʒənin. amwəjita tanruŋnin pilʒən qun kaŋuŋʒal. amwəjita tanruŋnin ankəʒəʒəvka ʒənin ʒəl'titkəmil'utap təʒəlinin. təʒəlinin ʒənin.

quninma ʒəvunin sival'pəŋjuk naqam piwtalqi valʒəŋepə ən. taqmaŋkakin taqapil'ʒəkijiruta naqam piwtalʒatək ʒəvujji valʒəŋepə.

— *tok, jaqqe qun ʒiva, təmalləʒulatək.*

tərətənin ʒənin təʒəlinin. tinʒə qun asʒi ʒiva naqam sival'pəŋjulqivnin iwləŋ junat. inʒə qun təmas ʒəvnnin. ʒətulʒatək ʒəvujji.

— *tinʒə qun asʒi van miti.*

qəsən inma turnaratkinəŋ təlanina rəttawwi. ʒoptaq rəttawwi, ʒoptaq səʒəʒəŋəŋ qəlalwənkən turnaratkinəŋ təlanin. maŋkət kənresata ʒəntakrav. liŋpaninəŋ təlanin. əŋə tivakmitkinəŋ təlanin.

— *tinʒə qun asʒivan miti.*

(Recorded from Daria Mulinaut, Wywenka, 2002-02-27)

TRANSLATION

When a young son or daughter becomes ill.

The daughter becomes ill with tuberculosis or bronchitis.

The old man again begins (to say).

— Where are my healing gloves? Where are the healing gloves from the time we were just married?

(Miti) gave the gloves (to her husband). He took his crow parka and metallic wand. He shook the metallic wand, and wore it on his belt.

He passed into another world. Indeed, he came upon Hares of the Hot Sun that lay flat under the Hot Sun, and they asked him:

— Hey Old Man, what kind of reindeer do you herd, although you have never herded reindeer? Since you don't have a lot of trouble, don't herd reindeer.

— Oh, my little son fell ill with tuberculosis and suffers from a sore throat. His lungs are infected completely.

— We exist for such (ills).

— What should I do?

— Take me with you. Take me to your home, and expand the throat by breathing into it. Expand the throat by breathing into it.

(He) put the Hare of the Hot Sun there (into the throat). The Hare began to lap up all of the alveolar ducts. The Hare began to drink up, and then the tuberculosis and soreness of the throat began to spout from the anus. (The ills) began to spout from the anus when the Hare began to drink. All the ills of the liver and heart began to spout from the anus. When the Hare began to drink, all began to spout from the anus.

— It's good that I found you!

Then he put it (=the hare) under his parka. He brought it (=the hare) home, and approached the patient. He expanded the throat and trachea by breathing into it. He carefully put the Hot-Sun-Hare into the throat with breathing. He put it (=the Hare).

Indeed, the hare began to drink up (the illness) and it (=the illness) spouted from the anus. All tuberculosis in every place began to spout from the anus.

— Well, it is good that I found you.

He brought it (=the hare) home, and put it into (the throat).

Then, until now it (=the hare) drank up (the illness), until the child reached a very old age. It (=the hare) healed him (= the son) immediately. It (=the illness) began to spout from the anus.

— Well, it's O.K., Miti.

Indeed, his lungs became as fresh as a new-born baby's. His lungs and all organs became as fresh as new-born baby's. As if they brought him down (from the upper world). They felt relieved. It (=the hare) led him to the age of walking with a stick.

— Well, it's O.K., Miti.

(Alutor text was translated into Russian by Lidia Chechulina, 2011-02-25, 26)

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カムチャッカ地方アリュートル民族のまじない：伝統、実践、継承

永山 ゆかり

北海道大学

アリュートル民族（チュクチ・カムチャッカ語族）は幸福をもたらすまじない *ivjanvæn* と不幸をもたらすまじない *ujval* の二種類を区別する。これらはいずれもソ連時代を通して現在に至るまで実践されてきた。この地域では、ソ連およびロシアの文化人類学者による研究は主に物質文化を中心になされてきたため、アリュートルのまじないはこれまでほとんど記述されてこなかった。本稿ではアリュートルのまじないの概要を述べるとともに、人々が現代社会の中でまじないをどのように実践し、継承してきたかを報告する。