Ancient Aleut Personal Names
*Kadaangim Asangin / Asangis*

Materials from the Billings Expedition
1790-1792

Edited and Interpreted by
Knut Bergsland

ALASKA
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
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Alaska Native Language Center
1998
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Elmer E. Rasmuson Library Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ancient Aleut Personal Names = Kadaangim Asangin / Asangis: materials from the Billings Expedition 1790-1792 / edited and interpreted by Knut Bergsland.
Includes bibliographical references and indices.
PM34.Z5A53 1998
1-55500-065-7

First Printing 1998 300 copies

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Front cover illustration from Sarychev Atlas severnoy chasti Vostochnago Okeana, 1802 (Rare Books, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks).
Back cover photo courtesy of Lydia Black. (The reverse side of the medallion depicts Catherine the Great with the inscription "Catherine II, Emperor and absolute ruler of all Russia.")

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Foreword
by Michael Krauss

Very little was known until recently of Aleut personal names. The original Aleut name tradition was replaced by the Russian tradition two centuries ago now, even before Veniaminov's time in the Aleutians. A few old Aleut names survived in the historical literature. Knut Bergsland ventured interpretations of over twenty of the Western ones in his monograph *Aleut Dialects of Atka and Attu*, 1959 pp. 16-17. Altogether, until 1992, fewer than 140 old Aleut names had been found in the literature, badly spelled in manuscripts and further miscopied in printing so as to be mostly unrecognizable and uninterpretable even to the most expert students of Aleut.

It was an exciting event then when in 1992 Lydia Black, anthropologist and historian of Aleut at the University of Alaska Fairbanks, visiting the Archives of the Russian Navy at (then) Leningrad, amongst the documents of the Empress Catherine II's scientific expedition led by Captain Billings, 1790-1792 in Alaska, obtained copies of manuscript records including a massive census of Aleuts by name. This census listed Aleut males – males only (who were paying fur-tribute, or were not, or were too young to pay it). The manuscript contains about 1,500 different Aleut men's names altogether, relatively well spelled by a practiced hand. Professor Black also obtained another copy of the census list at the State Archive of Old Documents (*Drevnykh Aktov*) in Moscow. At that very time Bergsland had just finished the draft of his monumental *Aleut Dictionary*, and we were about to print it. We held up the publication and immediately sent copies of Professor Black's important contribution to Professor Bergsland to see how much he could decipher of the names on the census list, about 1,100 different names, all that was immediately available, to include at the last minute in the dictionary. Bergsland being a cautious scholar – I trust he will forgive me for saying this – the results were all the more remarkable, as within that rushed time-frame Bergsland was able to identify and interpret over 600 of the 1,100 different names (printed as Appendix 7 of the *Aleut Dictionary*, 1994). In the present work Bergsland now offers some interpretation for over 1,100 of over 1,500 different Aleut names (counting appendices, over 1,300 of over 1,700).

This has been no small feat. For one thing, though the names are relatively well or consistently spelled, and mostly legible (though it is not always easy to read or to identify each letter), the spelling com-
pletely ignores crucial Aleut sound distinctions, between k’s, g’s and x’s pronounced in the middle of the mouth and those pronounced in the back of the mouth, and between long vowels and short vowels (about like spelling which failed to distinguish between English thick and sick and seek). Worse yet, with personal names there is no predictable or translated meaning available; there are only the sounds themselves, which might make some identifiable sense that could be the name of a person (like Black, Carver, Hunter, Longfellow, Goodrich, or Bloomfield in English). From studying the new Aleut list Bergsland was able to recognize more and more such items, and therewith to recognize more and more the patterns by which people were named (as if we found spellings like Blek, Blon, Glin for English names and so recognized that they could be words for certain colors, Black, Brown, Green) — to the point where Bergsland became able to recognize with some degree of confidence what the majority of the old Aleut names listed must have been, especially as these tended mostly to be equivalent to phrases or even sentences. This high rate of interpretation was possible also because the Aleut names are evidently all of Aleut origin and so generally have a recognizable meaning in Aleut (unlike English first names especially, which are relatively short and are mainly of non-English origin, e.g. from Hebrew or Celtic). The reason Bergsland could recognize only (!) the majority, here now 75 percent, is that the spelling is so deficient that the names are unrecognizable and/or it leaves too many possibilities (e.g. ka may be read ka, kaa, qa or qaa), and/or that there may be special variations or archaisms in the Aleut names (as e.g. in Wainwright for wagon-maker in English) that make them too difficult to recognize, and/or that they contain Aleut forms that are otherwise unknown.

Bergsland’s first work on this material, done just in time to include as an Appendix in the Aleut Dictionary, is now supplemented and superseded in the present work. Besides the additional time for Bergsland to work on the tax documents as well as the census list, we have been able to supply Bergsland with significant additional materials. Since 1992 we have obtained additional missing pages from the Naval Archives manuscript; besides those, and perhaps of the greatest interest, as the census and tax-list names are all men’s, Lydia Black provided also a list of persons married or baptized by the Billings Expedition priest, a list including 29 women’s names, practically the only Aleut women’s names recorded. It is unfortunate — those are the breaks of the times — that we have so many Aleut men’s names and so few women’s, but we now do have at least these precious few women’s names as well to include in this book. In addition, Bergsland includes an appendix of all personal names found in Aleut folklore texts (including some women’s names); finally, having had so much experience and practice interpreting old Aleut names, to the point where he had become able to provide interpretations for about three-quarters of the 1790-1792 material, Bergsland found he could interpret almost that large a proportion of the 132 still more poorly spelled names found only in the other early sources (1749-1792), to include those also in a final appendix to this work.

This work is of course far more than just a list of Aleut (mostly men’s) names and a full alphabetical index to the 1790-1792 names, both identified and unidentifiable. It provides also, against the historical background of the Billings expedition, listings and historical record of Aleut men (by name, sometimes also father’s name) who lived in 66 Aleut villages in 1790-1792 (and to some extent for a generation before that). Moreover, it provides unique and intimate glimpses of Aleut culture and values, as exemplified by the meanings and patterns shown in the different types of Aleut names, carefully reconstructed, analyzed, and classified by Bergsland in this volume.

Thus, for historians the historical background section (1.) of the Introduction, and the Corpus, may be of special interest. For students of Aleut culture and those interested in the nature of Aleut names, including very possibly those who might want to pass their heritage here recovered on to new generations of Aleut people, the account of Aleut Naming Customs (section 4. of the Introduction) will be of special interest, along with the Tentative Classification of the Names (section 5.), which lists all the names according to their meaning, and ends with the list of women’s names.
Preface

This publication was made possible by Dr. Lydia Black, Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska Fairbanks, who obtained and kindly made available photocopies of the manuscripts and got permission to publish them from the Russian archives where they are held, the Central State Archives of the Navy, St. Petersburg, and the Central State Archives of Ancient Acts, Moscow. To Dr. Black I am indebted also for copies of the baptism records 1790, of priest-monk Makariy's list of Aleut villages with the number of baptized people, dated 1796, and other archival data to be mentioned in the text, and for comments on and additions to the historical parts of the Introduction. Dr. Evgeniy Golovko of the Institute of Linguistic Research, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, kindly provided improved copies of parts of the material.

The more than fifteen hundred Aleut personal names published here, after two centuries, although in part obscure, display in surprising details the ancient naming customs reported in 1840 by Ioann Veniaminov, and provide glimpses into the ancient Aleut life reflected in the later legends. The circumstances of the recording of the names as well as the philological work necessary for interpreting them and their formal and semantic analysis are discussed in the introduction to the edition of the manuscript material.

The greater part of the material was used also, after a hurried study, in my Aleut Dictionary, ANLC 1994. The additional material and a more advanced study of the subject have resulted in some better interpretations or suggestions given as a separate appendix at the end of this volume. This monograph supersedes Appendix 7 of the dictionary.

My cordial thanks go to Dr. Michael Krauss for having mediated the manuscript material, provided additional material from the archives of the Alaska Native Language Center, encouraged my work, corrected my English, and seen to the proper presentation of the monograph, and to ANLC editor Tom Alton for having made my manuscript ready for publication and for preparing the maps.

Oslo, August, 1997
Knut Bergslønd

Introduction

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1. The Billings Expedition

In 1785, in accordance with an edict issued by Empress Catherine II on August 8 that year, the Russian Imperial Admiralty formulated detailed instructions for a geographical and astronomical expedition, headed by naval Captain Joseph Billings (an Englishman), for the purpose of describing the northeastern part of Siberia as well as the islands in the “Eastern Ocean” and the coast of America. The expedition started with various preparations the same year and was completed in the summer of 1793. Detailed reports of the expedition were published in 1802 by two of the participants, one in English by Secretary (clerk) Martin Sauer: An account of a geographical and astronomical expedition to the northern part of Russia. ... Performed ... by Commodore Joseph Billings, in the years 1785, &c. to 1794, London; and a more complete one in Russian by Captain Gavrili Andreievich Sarychev (1763-1831): Puteshestvie flota kapitana Sarycheva po severovostochnoy chast' Sibiri, Ledovitomu moryu i Vostochnomu okeanu, v prodolzhenie os'mi let, pri Geograficheskoy i astronomicheskoy morskoy ekspeditsii, byushey pod nachal'stvom flota kapitana Billingsa s 1785 po 1793 god (Naval Captain Sarychev’s voyage in the northeastern part of Siberia, the Arctic Sea and the Eastern Ocean, for the duration of eight years, during the geographical and astronomical expedition under the command of Captain Billings, from 1785 to 1793) I-II, Sanktpeterburg, followed in 1811 by Puteshestvie kapitana Billingsa chrez Chukotskuyu zemlyu ot Beringova proliva do Nizhnekolomskago ostroga, i Plavanie kapitana Galla na sudne Chernom Orle po Severovostochnomu okeanu v 1791 godu (Captain Billings’s Journey through Chukotka from Bering Strait to Lower Kolyma Post, and Captain Hall’s voyage on the ship Black Eagle over the Northeastern Ocean in 1791). A modernized edition of Sarychev’s report, without the vocabularies (cf. Aleut Dictionary pp. xxxviii-xxxix), published by Gosudarstvennoe izdatel’stvo geograficheskoy literatury, Moscow 1952, is more widely available and is used for reference below.
1.1. Article XVII of the instructions.

The article (XVII) of the 1785 instructions that is relevant to the study of Aleut personal names reads as follows (translation by Michael Krauss):

Upon examining the islands, coasts and headlands under Russian rule, over and above your instruction to describe them, you are to inform yourselves as correctly as possible of the number of the male sex inhabiting these places, and to lay a basis for future collection from them of yasak or other taxes.

But for that purpose you are altogether forbidden not only to use any force, but also to retaliate in any way for any kind of brutish conduct toward you on the part of the savages. On the contrary, you are to refrain as far as possible from bloodshed and killing, even on the occasion of a most violent attack on you by them (as very often happened at the hand of the Akutan, Umnak, Unalaska and Akun islanders, to the Russian promyshlenniki without any provocation); you are rather to remonstrate with them through the interpreters, that it is irrational for them to be malevolent toward those who have come only to seek their friendship; to demonstrate that, both promise and then give them trifles which they favor; all your men should come out then at a distance to show themselves to maximum numerical advantage, therewith to intimidate them, to avert bloodshed which could be almost inevitable in such cases; likewise represent to them also that if they are not persuaded by your peaceful conduct toward them, you have such terrible weapons which could kill dozens of them in a single volley, and which you would be compelled to employ against them, if they cannot restrain themselves.

For there is not and cannot be any reason for their brutish furoir towards Europeans other than unnecessary caution and fear, though often also greed at times impelled the promyshlenniki visiting there preemptively to take up fire and sword against these their brethren, benighted more by ignorance than ferocity, and so aroused in them thirst for vengeance, natural for them as for the people living in any country, including civilized ones, to the point that even the fear of death does not restrain these savages from it; which, however, is assuaged by nothing so much as by humane tolerance and civility; wherefore it is most highly recommended to you that you engage them rather with this weapon, insistently, until such time as a clear and inevitable danger of suffering palpable harm compels you to resort to bloodshed; wherefore be also in constant readiness, striking to frighten, however, rather than for vengeful brutal extermination of these unfortunate creatures; at the same time, you are to endeavor by every means, though with all caution, to take them alive; treat them with kindness, gifts, give one a medal to hang about his neck, explaining that this means you are making him your friend, and for recognition in the future, if he comes to you, or when he is seen. Detain him captive as short a time as possible, and releasing him to his countrymen, give him everything necessary for the journey, and attempt to persuade him, that he might relate to them your conduct toward him, and that he could come with whomever he chooses to your ship, with nothing to fear, promising moreover also to give him then traps for catching animals, as well as all else he fancies of you, and that they will all be most kindly received, as soon as he shows the sign of friendship from you hanging about his neck.

When such a one returns to your ship with others, then you may forewarn them through the interpreter that those very weapons which struck them with such fear before, if they agree to it, you are prepared to convert to harmless thunder, which will in this event serve as a sign of your happiness upon seeing your friends.

After that you can give them trifles that they like, proffer them a little vodka and sugar or tobacco, which most of them like. Also give them some traps, small copper kettles, needles, knives, and nets, explaining their use, if they do not already know it, and then ask them in a kindly way to bring you animal skins, oil, fish, or whatever they have; proposing further, that if they have more countrymen with those things, you will give to them too whatever they fancy.

In that way having made them desirous of coming to you, you establish a firm foundation for collecting yasak from them in the future, you make them inclined to trade and receptive to commerce, and therewith, for the glory of Her Majesty and your own honor, you will fulfill one of the most important objects of your commission to these islands and coasts. This is the chief aim of Her Imperial Majesty's most humanitarian intents.
The tribute (in Russian *yasak*) intended here obviously was the regular type of tax paid by indigenous (non-Russian) peoples of the Russian empire, in contradistinction to the pelts more or less lawlessly exacted by the Russian merchants, *promyshlenniki*, from the beginning of their activity in the Aleutian Islands, at Attu since 1748. (See Black 1984:77-78 for discussion of *promyshlenniki* *yasak* exacting and reporting, also Lyapunova 1987b:82-84.)

By an Imperial Decree of March 2, 1766, addressed to the Governor of Siberia, Russian sovereignty over the Aleutian Islands and Alaska Peninsula became part of the compendium of the laws of the Russian Empire, but no definite administration was established (Russian Administration, 1950, p. 2). The lists copied for the Billings Expedition of signed receipts for pelts obtained from named Eastern Aleuts go back to 1765 and 1766, when merchant Glotov got a sea otter pelt from Chernofski, Unalaska Island (1765), Foreman Solovoy three fox skins from three villages of Unalaska, and Navigator Apprentice Afanasy Ochereedin a sea otter pelt from Recheshnoye (later Nikolski), Unmak Island. They continue through 1790 and 1791, when various Russian sailors obtained pelts, mostly fox skins, from all but five of 48 villages. The names of the exploited Aleuts are included in the present edition under their respective villages (for the manuscripts see 2.2. below).

This practice, combined with various kinds of mistreatment of the Aleuts, male and female, in 1787 was found to be “an obstacle to close relations between the [Aleut] residents and the *promyshlenniki*, and by a decree of the Governing Senate of September 12, 1788, the merchants were prohibited from collecting dues not established by the authorities (Russian Administration, 1950, p. 2-3; Gibson 1987:81; Lyapunova 1987b:122 f.). In a letter of August 3, 1789, Merchant Shelekhov informed his administrator Delarov of this prohibition (Andreyev 1948:288; Lyapunova 1987b:122 f.). Clearly, the instructions for the Billings expedition emphasize the need for some kind of reform in the matter of collecting tribute, but the relationship between policy and practice remained complex for some years to come. It is clear, however, that the taxation of the Aleuts was definitely abolished by 1799, when the Russian American Company was chartered.

1.2. The implementation of the instructions.

1.2.1. The visit to Unalaska in 1790.

According to Sarychev’s report (1952:133 ff.), the expedition’s ship *Glory of Russia* (*Slava Rossii*) set sail from Petropavlovsk, Kamchatka, on May 9, 1790. After passing by the more western islands of the Aleutian chain, the ship approached on June 3 the island Sedanka, in Russian also called Spirkon, on the east side of Unalaska Island. There the crew met seven Unalaskan Aleuts in one-hatch baidarkas, two of whom spoke Russian rather well. The Aleuts helped the Russians to an anchorage in a bay near the north cape of the island, facing the Aleut village, that is, the bay called in Aleut *Sidaanak* with the village *Qakilux*, later called Biorka village. They planned to stay for a week, giving Sarychev time to explore the region together with the naturalist Carl Heinrich Merck, a German, who later also recorded Aleut linguistic material, and for the ship’s priest, Vasily Sivato, to baptize Aleuts, according to their own desire and request, altogether 92 persons. Having no knowledge of the Aleut language, the priest could not prepare them in the proper way. Thus “these newly converted Christians performed only one rite of the sacrament of baptism, having no proper idea of the doctrines of the faith” (1952:145).

Baptizing was not included in the official instructions but according to the priest’s report, written April 6, 1791 (in Petropavlovsk), Billings had given him authority on June 4, the day after the arrival, to bring “our Majesty’s loyal peoples living on the islands to the Orthodox Eastern Christian Greco-Russian faith through the holy baptism” and to marry enlightened ones. The natives came of their own accord, according to Sarychev bringing also every day fresh fish to the satisfaction of the crew. On June 5-6, 1790, the priest baptized 29 male and 19 female inhabitants of the nearby village; on June 6-8, 20 more people of two other villages of Unalaska; on June 12, 25 people of five villages, including five men from the island Akun to the east, no doubt visitors in baidarkas. Altogether the priest baptized 63 male and 29 female Aleuts of different ages (from sixty-three down to one year of age). The records, included in the present edition under the respective villages, give the Aleut name of the person, the name of his or her father, the name of the godfather (one of the crew or the priest himself), and the Russian baptismal name of the person, with the age in a separate column. In the case of men, the new Russian family name was that of the godfather, while the female neophytes shared four names, 14 being called Akolina, seven Agripina, seven Manfa, and one Nadezhda; in several cases also brothers, resp. sisters were given the same first name by this hurried sacrament (for the manuscript see 2.2.4. below).

This was by no means the first time that Aleuts were baptized. (For some account of Aleut conversion before the time of the Billings expedition, and before Veniaminov, see Veniaminov [1840] 1984:232-233, Mousalinas in Veniaminov 1993:xvii-xxviii; also Black 1984:194-206)
provides a list of western Aleut names, some of them with Russian baptismal names as well.) The above-mentioned tax receipts have only Russian names for four men listed through 1790 or 1791, two from 1782, one from 1783, one from 1788 (in the census of 1792 also with his Aleut name, see 7.3.18); one of the two listed from 1782 (through 1789, 1791) is indicated as newly baptized, presumably before 1782. A few years earlier, between 1773 and 1780, two newly baptized Atkan Aleuts translated the so-called Backmeister sentences for Underclerk Efim Mutovin (Bergsland 1959:83). In the census established in 1791/1792 (see below), 14 Eastern Aleuts and the chief of Atka (for which more below) had only Russian names, while 80 Eastern Aleuts and ten Andreanof Islanders had in addition to their Aleut names Russian ones, having been baptized recently; only 19 of them are found in the baptismal records of 1790. Although the documents tell nothing about it, the rest could quite possibly have been baptized by the priest during the ship's stay at Unalaska in 1791/1792. But also, as Russian laymen did baptize, as noted explicitly in one case in the baptismal records of 1790 (10.3. B 2.), this could of course have happened earlier as well. By this time Russian promyshlenniki were established in many Aleut villages, exploiting both the men, for hunting, and their women. In due time they also married Aleut women. (A fuller account of baptism during this period, and of how adoption of Russian names developed among the Aleuts, is given by Black [1992] in "Russian Names in Aleut Society.")

In the priest's record the men are indicated as tributary or non-tributary and in his accompanying letter the priest mentions requests for exemption from tribute for three years in accordance with the laws of taxation. In the census of 1791/1792, however, only three of the tributary men of 1790 are listed with that exemption, one of the priest's godsons not included, while one non-tributary man of 1790 is listed as tributary without the exemption. The temporal "regime" apparently remained separate from the spiritual one.

After a delay of another week due to a calm, the ship continued eastward visiting Aleut villages, including the Shumagin Islands (which remained outside of the following year's registration) and Kodiak Island, where the priest baptized 30 male and four female Eskimos in two days. It then returned to Kamchatka, arriving there on October 13.

1.2.2. The registration at Unalaska 1791/1792.

On May 16, 1791, the ship set sail again from Kamchatka and having visited Tanaga Island, where most of the men were reported to have gone to Atka, the ship anchored at Ilulyuk (Iluulux, now Unalaska Village) on June 25 (Sarychev 1952:169 ff.). There Aleuts from different villages and islands had gathered, driven by shortage of tobacco. Billings treated them kindly, giving them tobacco and some small things, and promised to give an even greater quantity of all this to all the Aleuts who came there, if they had dried fish and berries ready for the return of the ship. "We were convinced that, because of their passion for tobacco and their present need for it, they would zealously fulfill our request."

After a trip to the north and to Chukotka, the ship set out for Unalaska in the middle of August. From Chukotka, St. Lawrence Island, and the Pribilof Islands, it arrived at Unalaska at the end of the month. On September 2, Captain Hall's ship Black Eagle (Cherny Oryol) was observed by Aleuts in a cove on the western side of Captain's Bay and was towed from there to alongside Russia's Glory. At a meeting of the officers the next day it was proposed to winter at the place and to stay on board the ships, rather than to disperse in native villages. On September 11, all the officers agreed to that.

The next day Sarychev (1952:194 f.) got the order from Captain Hall to summon the officers and constitute a commission for the implementation of Article XVII of the instructions for the expedition. The commission (in the minutes called "the Commission instituted by decree of Her Imperial Majesty for imposing tribute (yasak) upon the islanders") started the next day with the following members: captains Robert Hall, Gavrila Sarychev and Khristian Bering, director of naval ordinance with captain's rank Afanasye Bakov, and second lieutenant Mikhayla Bakulin, with the collegiate registrar Gavrila Yerlin as a secretary.

All these persons signed the dated minutes of the commission's meetings, while secretary (clerk) Martin Sauer served as a bookkeeper and keeper of the supplies of gifts, etc. These documents, the initial steps in preparing a census, constitute important parts of the material of this study (on the manuscripts see section 2. below). Together with Sarychev's report they also throw interesting light upon the work of the commission and the attitude of the Aleuts.

The preparation of an orderly taxation was the main task of the commission. But as noted by Sarychev (1952:194 f.), it also had to treat the islanders with gifts and consider the rank and zeal of the chiefs (toyons) "for their most gracious reward in the name of Her Majesty with gold, silver and copper medals." For that purpose the commission had in stock 74 gold, 292 silver and 612 copper medals, with the picture of the empress on the one side, that of the ship Russia's Glory on the other; a great number of earrings, etc., 521 mirrors, 481 scissors, 103 folding knives and 207 sheath knives, and about 600 pounds of tobacco.
At its first meeting, the commission decided to summon Yelisey Pupyshev, the acting chief of the village Imagna (in Morris Cove, about four nautical miles northeast of Unalaska Village, cf. Sarychev 1952:274; the first chief had left with a Russian seafarer), to associate him with the commission's work as an interpreter, to ask him which toyns were now present and have him encourage them to prepare dried fish and other goods for the ship's crew, and to have him obtain from the other toyns lists of their subordinates and make them pay tribute, and to give him a gold medal, which he got, with ribbon, two weeks later. As seen from the earlier tax receipts, Yelisey Pupyshev had been his baptismal name since 1782. In 1781 he was listed as interpreter Yermashok and so was no doubt identical with the Aleut Yermusk who on June 28, 1778, came in a baidarka to Captain Cook's ship in English Bay (Samgan Udaa), boarded the ship, eager for tobacco but not wanting brandy, and was asked for Aleut words - the very first English-Aleut word list (Beaglehole 1967:1120f.; Aleut Dictionary p. xxxviii inaccurately called Aleut-Russian). He knew no English but according to Sarychev (1952:199) spoke Russian rather well. From February 13 to March 24 he accompanied Sarychev on a baidarka trip to investigate the west side of Unalaska Island, but for the rest of the time probably helped the commission register the Aleut tribute payers and so may have been responsible for certain dialectical features of their written names (see section 3.3). His Aleut name was Kagalux, apparently Kagalux "Heel" as seen from a document of 1797, when he accompanied priest monk Makariy on a trip to St. Petersburg (Lydia Black's copy of Yakutsk consistory records, Yrkuts Oblastnoy Arkhiv, F 50, opis 7, svyaska 12, delo 55, dokument 12, folios 3-4).

At the beginning of October another important person arrived, the principal chief of Atka Sergey Pan'kov (baptized before 1786). He came from Unimak in a big baidara, accompanied by 25 Andreanof Islanders, 14 in the baidara and 11 in one-hatch baidarkas. He wore a coat of scarlet cloth with golden fringes and a velvet cap, granted him by the Russian empress for his services to the throne. According to a report of Governor Ivan Pfil' to the empress of November 5, 1791 (Narochnitskii et al. 1989:306 f.), he had without any inducement from the Russian side collected tribute from his relatives and other inhabitants of the nearby islands for two and a half years (that is, since 1789) and delivered it to Okhotsk by courier. Now the toyn of Amlia Kalanis (for Kayunis) Kanglax Ovetskin (see Corpus 13.1.1.), being chosen by Pan'kov with the consent of the other toyns, brought in person to Okhotsk 60 sea otter (pelts) and eight female and young as a tribute to the throne, wanting to be recognized as the subjects of the empress, and asked for a receipt to show his kinsmen (as he said, no Russian ship had shown up in the years 1788 and 1789). According to Sarychev (1952:195), Pan'kov himself had been to Kamchatka on a merchant ship and on his return received orders from the government regarding the islanders and conveyed them to all the Aleutian Islands. In Sarychev's words, "he spoke Russian rather correctly and from conversation with him one could notice that he had, compared with the other toyns there, a great superiority both with regard to understanding and to reasoning."

From Pan'kov the commission inquired about the number of inhabitants of the Andreanof Islands, the number of villages and the number of persons of male sex. Consulting with the toyns who were with him, he imposed tribute on himself and on them, namely the toyns of Amlia through Tanaga. These got silver medals, except for a toyn of Kanaga appointed by Pan'kov, who like the appointed leader (starshina) of Atka got a copper medal. Pan'kov himself got a gold medal and, for distribution among his islanders, 22 pounds of tobacco, 14 knives, 14 pairs of scissors, and 10 mirrors. Pan'kov and his company then returned east to winter at Unimak.

Many Aleuts from the Fox Islands were attracted by the expedition's ship, to get the gifts promised them the previous year by Captain Billings, and to bring dried fish, berries and Black Lily roots (Sarana) and get paid for it, preferably in tobacco. Toyns of various villages came in with lists of their people for registration, getting medals, tobacco and other gifts. On November 10, the minutes also mention the distribution of 900 fox-trap barbs, for the Aleuts to trap foxes. Beginning in the middle of December, actual payments began to come in, predominantly fox skins. The sea otter was already drawn upon too heavily west of Unimak and only seven toyns and six other Aleuts in that area paid a sea otter each, while this was the predominant tribute of the Andreanof Islanders. The chief of Chalukas (later Nikolski), Umnak Island, baptized Ivan Glotov, who was one of those who came in April 17, 1792, earned special attention and a gold medal for having learned to read and write Russian.

At the end of March, 1792, the toyn of Ilak Island (the easternmost of the Delarof Island, west of Tanaga) showed up and was ordered to bring the list of his people, getting for encouragement of the others a copper medal, one knife, one mirror, one pair of scissors, one paper of earrings, one paper of needles, and one pound of tobacco. The tribute was not fixed then but later turned out as six sea otters and two polar foxes (sold in China worth many kilos of tobacco). The Aleuts farther west remained outside of this registration.
Introduction

In the beginning of October, 1791, Sergeant of geodesy O. Khudyakov had been sent eastward, assisted by three toyons of Unimak (who visited the ship) and baptized interpreter Ivan Galkin, to survey the islands eastward to the tip of Alaska Peninsula and Deer Island, and “to inquire about the number of male inhabitants of the islands encountered and on Alaska, noting in your journal how many are found in each village” (Sarychev 1952:196; Narochintsiky 1989:302, dated September 1, 1791, probably for October 1). On April 21, he came back with 55 Aleuts from three villages of Unimak Island, the village of Sanak Island, and one village of Alaska Peninsula. The next day they willingly promised to pay tribute, each of them a sea otter (52 pelts) or a fox (70 pelts according to the final census), and got their gold or silver medals, scissors, knives, mirrors, earrings, needles, and tobacco. This marked the eastern limit of the registration, which did not include the Shumagin Islands, although Sarychev had visited them the previous year.

The registration of Eastern Aleuts continued through May 7, with a belated payment on May 13. The previous day the commission stated that the time had run out. On May 15, Russia’s Glory set sail toward the west and one month later was back in Petropavlovsk.

The minutes of the commission deal only with tributary men, but the lists turned in by the toyons must also have contained non-tributary Aleuts, old or sick people and minors, just mentioned once in the minutes (November 1, 1791). Also able-bodied men were left non-tributary, having been taken away by Russian seafarers. All three categories, tributary and non-tributary men and minors, are included in a final census, signed by Robert Hall and preserved in two copies (see 2. below), presumably written after the departure from Unalaska, on board the ship or in Petropavlovsk.

1.2.3. Evaluation of the Census.

As may be expected from an enquiry of this sort — totally dependent on the initiative, effort, and willingness of the Aleuts to make the trip to the Russian ship at Unalaska to register — the coverage of the census is very incomplete and uneven. This may be seen from a glance at the map on pages 24-25, showing heavy concentration in certain Eastern sectors and no names at all for the Western beyond Tanaga and Ilak.

The census contains altogether 1207 male persons, 751 tributary, 137 non-tributary (of which 80 were old or sick, 57 at work for Russian seafarers), and 319 minors (maletnyye, cf. 2.2.1. end). The table published by Sarychev (1802 II pp. 182-183) has partly different figures. The number of tributary men is here 746 (the sum 756 is an error of addition), not including men from three western islands (Amlia, Adak, Kanaga). There are 422 old or sick men and minors, collapsed in the table, 23 more than in the census (80+319). The number of able-bodied men employed by Russian merchants, noted outside the table, is 17+40, the same as in the census.

Since the registration was entirely dependent upon the willingness of the toyons, one can not take for granted that the census is complete even within its geographic limitations. The commission did not visit the villages to count people, and the number of tributary men found in the commission’s minutes is for many villages much lower than in the census, so many of the tax payers remained unseen by the commission. For the Aleuts, the taxation may have been a kind of barter, the number of pelts determining the amount of tobacco and other so-called gifts, and some toyons may have left out some persons as irrelevant to the immediate business. A striking feature of the census is the uneven distribution of minors. Of the three villages of Unimak, for example, the first has 11 minors vs. 25 tributary men, but the second only two vs. 23, and the third four vs. 21. The realities behind the figures are of course difficult to get at.

Of the 63 male persons baptized in 1790 (see 1.2.1.), only 20 are found in the census, four of them marked in 1790 as tributary. Of the rest, eight are marked as tributary, ranging in age from 60 to 27 years old, while the non-tributary range from 40 down to one, the largest group of them (22) being 35-20 years old, clearly able-bodied men. Most interestingly, nine of the latter belonged to the village where the expedition’s ship harbored (Sidaanax, Biorka). A possible explanation is that the able-bodied absentees were taken away by Russian merchants before the registration in 1791/1792. These absentees are not among the 40 Aleut men who with 30 women were taken to the Pribilof Islands to hunt sea mammals by one of merchant Shelikov’s ships that had wintered in 1790/1791 at Unalaska, in English Bay, Samgan Udaa (Sarychev 1952:274; Narochintsiky et al. 1989:294), nor among the 17 taken by Shelikov to Kodiak from Alaska Peninsula, Unimak and Sanak, all these men being included in the census (seafarer Shirokiy was Shelikov’s man). As seen also from its minutes, the commission apparently had difficulties locating this category of potential tax payers. Anyway, to the 351 male inhabitants of 15 villages of Unalaska Island according to the census, must be added at least the 43 baptized ones of 1790, and at least five to the 44 inhabitants of one village of Akun (7.2. of the corpus).

The earlier tax receipts, which are limited to the Eastern Aleut area and are very far from being a census, gave 206 different payers
### Aleut Communities Listed in the Census, 1790-1792

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Community Name</th>
<th>Location Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Unmax, Umnak Island</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Adus</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chochalitiak</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Uyux</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chulukas, Nikolski</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Aglaugax</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Chulukas</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Samalga, Samalga Island</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Unalga, Unalga Island</td>
<td>Village same name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Umnax, Umnax Island</td>
<td>Village same name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Qiganan, Islands of Four Mountains</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Qiganan, Herbert Island</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Qiganan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Tachigua</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Tachigua, Makushin Village</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Hik'am-angun</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Hik'am-angun, Bersolph Village</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Hik'am-angun, Kashega Village</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Umsaluk</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sidaanax, Sefanka Island and Village</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Tanan angtna</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

(Continued)

(fathers not included), of which 65 are found in the census (four of these also in the baptismal records). Some of the rest (141) may possibly have been dead by 1791, but 56 of them got a receipt as late as 1790, other 24 even in 1791 (all the dates are given in the corpus). Three of the villages of the census are not included in these lists (10.13., 11.3., 6.), but there are eight additional ones, with 16 tax payers, four of them with receipts from 1791 (the easternmost), two of them from 1790. These settlements could have been due to the Russian activity, but they could also have been remnants of the earlier Aleut pattern.

In the east, in addition to the village of Alaska Peninsula called in Russian Morzhoyskoye (Corpus 1.1.), the tax receipts have eight payers until 1791 located on both sides of the important strait between the mainland and Unimag Island: Akayuda = Akayudaa "The Strait (there)" and Chishuk = Chisung on the mainland side, Isonok = Isonax, False Pass, and a nameless one on the Unimag side. There are also two additional locations on Akun Island, both difficult to identify: until 1789 one payer at Zakharina (cf. name Russian Zakhar, as well as zakharat 'to start spitting'), until 1790 another at alitxu (alitxu-x 'army; crew'), which is also part of the name of that payer (see Corpus 7.9.).

In the west, west of Umnak Island, the tax receipts very interestingly have payers on two of the Islands of Four Mountains: five in the period 1780-1790 at kygnax = Qignax "Fire (of volcano)", probably at Chugunadak Island with the constantly smoking Mt. Cleveland, and one in 1789 at Chegotkov, perhaps Chigulax, Herbert Island, farther west. In May 1790 Sarychev (1952:135) stated that the Islands of Four Mountains had formerly been inhabited but not "now." According to Veniaminov (1984:73), Chugunadak Island (Tanax angunax) had 100 or more inhabitants until 1764 [or 1770], when shipmaster Glotov [or Ocheredin] killed almost all the men, while the women died of hunger or were moved to Umnak. In 1792 two tributary men, three men employed on a ship, and two minors of Chalukax, the later Nikolski, were said to have been moved presumably recently from the village Tanam-alu "Mid-island" of Yunaska Island, some 20 miles west of Herbert Island (according to Veniaminov it had formerly two villages). By 1790, then, the Islands of Four Mountains may not have been entirely depopulated.

At least some 100 Eastern Aleut male persons thus seem to have escaped the attention of the Billings commission, whose census lists 951 Eastern Aleuts, from Alaska Peninsula through Umnak. The baptismal records and the tax receipts name also about 200 fathers (as patronyms, all included in the corpus), but many of them may have been dead by 1790.

An important additional source for evaluating the census has recently been brought to light by Lydia Black: a list of Aleut villages with the number of baptized people of both sexes, dated 1796, by priest-monk Makariy. According to Veniaminov (1984:235) he was sent to Unalaska in 1795 and baptized all the Aleuts from Unga to the Islands of Four Mountains.

The Shumagin Islands are here represented by the village Ughnaasaqax (in the list Unjog'ika, apparently miscopied) of Unga Island, with 53 male and 73 female baptized persons. According to Veniaminov several of the Shumagin Islands were formerly inhabited but later, following a tsunami, the people were concentrated at Unga, apparently before 1795.

For the rest of the Eastern Aleut area the 1796 list has 44 villages like the census, with 1049 male and 1190 female baptized people, 98 more male persons than the census. The names of the villages are the same as in the census, with two exceptions: Umingan = Uminganin instead of Imagna (10.2.) thus clearly identified as Morris Cove north-east of Unalaska Village; and Augalga = Awalga "The village over there" with an unnamed addition (4+7 male, 6+12 female baptized persons) instead of Sedanka alias Umsalux (10.13.) near the southwestern end of the island (with 12 male persons in 1792). Four of the villages have the same number of male persons as the census; 33 from one to four more, six villages less; one village five more; five six more; one eight; one ten; one eleven more; but one village seven less. These differences, adding up to +117-24=93, probably represent a more accurate registration than four years earlier, rather than any great increase of the population, and perhaps some minor movements of the people.

As it seems, priest-monk Makariy may have baptized most if not all the Eastern Aleuts of his day, a total of 2328 persons, 1088 male and 1240 female. The striking deficit of men may have been due to the hardships of their hunting, enhanced by the greed of the Russian merchants, according to Veniaminov (1984: 254) one cause of the decrease of the Aleut population, which was indeed drastic. According to Veniaminov's figures from 1834, the people of the ancient Eastern Aleut area numbered then only 1303, 583 male and 720 female persons, about one-half of the number one generation earlier. In the meantime, however, Aleuts of this area had been taken away by the Russians to colonize the Pribilof Islands to the north (by 1834, 182 persons, 88 male and 94 female), and to hunt for them eastward, by 1812 even to California.

The priest-monk stayed at Unalaska and did not go to the Andreanof Islands. For these, his list has just nine male persons, the same number...
as the ones indicated as baptized in the census, and eight female persons, no doubt baptized at the same time. Only the location of some of these persons is somewhat different, the most interesting case being that of Atka. While the important chief Sergey Pan’kov, himself baptized, in 1791 had himself booked for Atxam-acha, the village at the westernmost tip of the island, the list of 1796 has the baptized people (two men and one woman) in Tanangin (an Eastern Aleut form, probably given by some person in the east), no doubt Tanaangis, a former village near the eastern end of the island (on the south coast). This could possibly be due to misinformation, or the people might have moved eastward since 1791. But it also seems possible that the chief in 1791, himself perhaps living in the western village, did not specify the settlements of his 30 subjects (with seven minors). Before the people were concentrated in a new village on the north side of the island (later moved to the east side), there were at least eight settlements on Atka Island (see Bergsland 1959:24-35, Atka 236, 255, 280, 338, 501, 505, 600, 635). The Andreanoft Islanders may at that time also have housed more people than the 256 brought to the commission’s attention by their toyons.

The priest-monk finally listed 38 male and 57 female baptized people in the village Ig gasaxta = Ig si-tat (1909) of Attu Island, at that time perhaps the only Aleut village in the Near Islands. These people were firmly controlled by the Russians since the late 1740s (references in Bergsland 1959:14).

The Rat Islands are not included in the documents discussed here. Semisopochnoi Island, in Aleut Uni(i)ya, where 25 families were reported to be living in 1776, was still inhabited in 1792 (Sarychev 1952:223). Amchitka Island, with 30 men and their families in 1776 (evacuated but then repatriated in 1812; see Black 1984:96, 98, 189), in the 1820s still had 42 inhabitants, listed by Litke. Only later the Rat Islanders were moved eastward to Adak and finally to Atka (Bergsland 1959:14).

As the documents indicate, in 1791-1792 the Aleuts may have numbered more than 5000 people (a drastic decrease since the arrival of the Russians a generation earlier). Nearly one-half of their personal names are found in the documents.

2. The Manuscripts and Their Interpretation

2.1. Preliminary survey of the problems.

To interpret the Aleut names in these documents, that is, to recognize the Aleut words used as personal names, one must first of all, of course, identify the Cyrillic letters. Many of them have more than one shape even in the same hand and are sometimes difficult to distinguish but do not, in general, cause any serious problem. The quality of the photocopies of the manuscripts, however, is uneven and some spots are barely legible. The Cyrillic letters are transliterated as in Aleut Dictionary p. xxii, with e for e (and ə) after consonants, but ye after vowels and at the beginning of words, and yo where written or known to be è. The transliteration is given in italics, but uncertain readings are in roman, and illegible letters are indicated by dots. Interpreted Aleut words are bold face. The Russian parts of the documents are translated into English.

Most of the names occur two or more times in the different parts of the material. This may facilitate the reading but quite often the same name is spelt differently. The variation appears to be due to miscopying, but the range of the manuscripts in terms of priority is complicated by the possibility that Aleuts (for instance Yelisey Pupyshev) were consulted during the process. The choice of variants thus depends upon the degree of interpretational plausibility, and sometimes the choice must be left open. Since at least all but one of the variants must be erroneous, one may be tempted to carry the emendation a step further, but without extreme caution this procedure would not yield results of any documentary value.

Through the obvious instances of recognizable Aleut words, the Cyrillic spelling can be analyzed in terms of Aleut phonology, but certain inherent ambiguities are difficult to resolve and sometimes make possible more than one interpretation of a name.

The manuscripts include no indication of the meaning of the names. The meaning must simply be “seen”, identified by means of the Aleut lexicon known from other sources (see Aleut Dictionary). There are no contexts other than phrasal names, so otherwise unknown elements do not permit any interpretation at all.
The translation of the names involves of course their grammatical analysis, which follows in section 3. Quite often the apparent literal meaning seems rather strange for a personal name. The interpretation thus depends upon the naming customs, to be discussed in section 4. The final section of this introduction is a tentative semantic classification of the names. To approach the “real meaning” of the names, as expressions of the cultural values of ancient Aleut society, is of course the most interesting task of the interpretation, as well as the most hazardous one.

2.2. Description of the manuscripts.

The manuscript data for each name of the corpus are ordered in terms of the relative completeness of the different manuscripts, which are identified and labeled as follows:

Tsentral’nyy Gosudarstvennyy Arkhiv Drevnykh Aktov (Moscow), OFVK, Fond 24, N° 67, folios 29-45 : Census a.
Tsentral’nyy Gosudarstvennyy Arkhiv Voenno-Morskogo Flota (St. Petersburg), Fond 214, opis’ 1, delo 29, folios 1-7 letters, etc.
folios 11-27 : Census b.
folios 29-111 signed minutes : c.
folios 117-146 Sauer’s copies: d.
folios 149-264 : Tax receipts (1765-1791), abbreviated T.
delo 28, folios 79-86 : Baptismal records (1790), abbreviated B.

2.2.1. Census a-b.

Census a has an old archival label: DELO Ob ekskpeditsii kapitana Bellingsa kasatem no obozhneniya yasakom aleuty (Act about Captain Billings’ expedition regarding taxation by tribute of Aleuts), SPB (St. Petersburg). The document itself has a title reading, in English translation, as follows: “List made in the commission instituted on imposing tribute on the islanders with indication of the number of people in each village, also of those who pledged themselves to pay and what to pay as tribute, and of those who paid or did not pay”. The photocopy of the manuscript is excellent and the hand is clear and easy to read. The hand is the same as that of the baptismal records of 1790, probably priest Sivtsov’s hand (L. Black).

The photocopy of census b is rather blurred, partly illegible, and the verso of the last folio is missing. The hand appears to be the same as that of Census a. The two manuscripts are almost identical, with the
exception of the spelling of some Aleut names, to be discussed in the next subsection.

The persons of the census are listed under their respective islands and villages, numbered for each island. The order of the islands in the manuscripts is the following, the number added in front of the names indicating the east-west order adopted in the Corpus here: 10. Unalaska 1-15; 11. Umnak 1-7; 9. Unalga (erroneously listed as Umnak 8); 5. Kigalga (now Tidal Island) 1-2; 8. Akutan 1-5; 7. Akun 1-7; 3. Unimak 1-3; 2. Sannax (Sanak Island); 1. Alyaksa (Alaska Peninsula, Morzhovoi Village); 4. Ugak; 6. Avatanak; 14. Atka; 13. Amlia 1-2; 15. Chigula (Chugul Island); 16. Adax (Adak Island); 17. Kanaga 1-3; 18. Tanaga 1-4; 19. Illak (Ilak Island). Under each village there are three categories of persons, numbered separately in the leftmost column. In the Corpus, for ease of reference, the persons of the census are numbered consecutively.

The persons of the first category are the tributary men, also including the chief (toyon), possibly also an acting chief (zauryad toyon), each one with his Aleut name, possibly with his baptismal Russian names added, or with his Russian name alone (if baptized earlier). In the first column to the right, the date of the payment of the tribute is indicated, in accordance with the signed minutes (c), and in a next column the year for which the payment was made, if any; for some villages the payment was not yet made. In the last two columns is indicated what the person had agreed to pay as tribute, and, possibly, what he had actually paid, in the case of chiefs regularly two foxes of a determined kind or one sea otter, in the case of the other tributary men one fox or, in the west, one sea otter. These data are not included in the Corpus.

The non-tributary men, the second category, are indicated in the second or third column as old or sick or the like, or as employed on the ship of some Russian merchant. The minors, in Russian maloletnye, included, as seen from the baptismal records, young men up to thirty years and children down to three years.

2.2.2. The minutes (c) and Sauer's copies (d).

The photocopies of these parts are generally good. The minutes, all dated, are 95 pages irregularly paginated by folios (29-111, with many gaps and some misplacements). Copies of two versos are missing, but not more, as shown by Sauer's copies which are paginated by folios (117-146) in an orderly fashion.

The minutes start, after the date, with the title of the commission and the names of the members (see 1.2.2.), and have at the end the personal signatures of the members and, last, that of the collegiate reg-

Of two thousand dollars, to be furnished in,...

...from the end of March, 1792, there come in different hands, one very distinctive and two or perhaps three other ones. Sauer's copies are in one hand, different from Sauer's own hand (known from his signed inventory of medals, etc.), but similar to Yerlin's hand.

The minutes state the agenda, mostly the lists of payers or the tribute brought by the named tovons, and then the resolution to accept the lists or tribute, to remunerate the tovons with medals and gifts for their people, and orders to clerk Sauer to enter into his book the tribute and the gifts, and to issue a receipt to the payers. His book contains the order as well as his own action. In this way a tax payer's name is listed at least twice, sometimes even five or six times, often differently (see 2.3. below). In the case of one village, one name found in Sauer's copy is missing in the minutes (8.3.2.), and four names found in the minutes are missing in Sauer's copy (8.3.4-6, 8.).

The number of Aleuts named in both or one of these parts of the material is 406, 343 less than the number of tributary men in the final census. The number is the same for the central area, from Umnak Island (11.) eastward to Akun Island (7.3-7.), with one exception (8.4.). For the villages farther east and for the Andreanof Islands the minutes have mostly just the name of the toyon. For four villages in the west (17.2-3. and 18.2. 4.), both the minutes and Sauer's copies are missing, left out by the scribe (rather than in the photocopy). Writing out the final census, the scribe must in any case have had at his disposal additional documents or notes. At the end of Sauer's copies there is an additional page with a copy, in the same hand as that of the census, of the imperial letter of award to Yelisey Pupyshev (his gold medal) and three other notes about awards.

2.2.3. The tax receipts 1765-1791.

The photocopies of these 115 folios are of an uneven quality and partly difficult to read; twelve names are partly or wholly illegible. There are several hands, presumably the same as those of the minutes, one of them clearly the same as that of the census, presumably priest Svitsov.

Many of the sheets have on top a box, empty or with a text in (presumably) Svitsov's hand, in English translation reading as follows: "Copy of receipt given for payment of tribute by so and so (island, village, name),
to whom, by name, and with what (kind of pelt) the payment was made, in which year, month and day: of this then below here*. The data follow in separate columns, so also in the lists without a box on top. In general, the receipts are collapsed so that the name of the payer is given just once, with the years, etc., in following lines. For one village (3.1.) the name is repeated for each year, with many variant spellings. The payer’s name, following that of the island and village, is mostly in the Russian genitive (-a), and with some exceptions is followed by his father’s name, indicated by ‘son of’ (syna or sna) and/or by the Russian patronymical suffix -ov (gen. -ova).

The lists include only Eastern Aleut villages, altogether 48 in a very irregular order; four villages of the census are not included (4.1.; 10.13.; 11.3, 6.) but there are eight additional ones (1.2-3.; 3.4-5.; 7.8-9.; 12.1-2.), see 1.2.3. above. As also mentioned above, the number of payers is 206, of which 65 are found in the census. The number of different fathers is 122. The names of the payers are numbered separately in the corpus after the census of the respective villages.

2.2.4. The baptismal records of 1790.

The photocopies of this manuscript are good, causing no serious problems of reading. Being dated 7th April, 1791, the list must have been written during the ship’s stay in Petropavlovsk, Kamchatka, by (presumably) priest Sivtsov The entries refer to baptismal certificates, partly mentioned in the right margin, dated in a column preceding the text. The text has the name of the island and the village, the Aleut name of the person (in the case of toyns with that title), the father’s name (with the Russian patronymical suffix), the Russian baptismal name, the Russian godfather’s name, and in columns to the right the age and, in the case of the male persons, the status as tributary or non-tributary. The baptized people belonged to six villages of Unalaska (10.1., 3-5., 8., 14.) and one of Akun (7.2.), altogether 63 of male sex and 29 of female sex. The first entry has in addition the name of the toyon of the village (10.14., different from the toyn in the census). The names of the baptized people are numbered separately, after the tax lists for the respective villages.

After the baptized Aleuts there follow baptized people of Kodiak (30 male and 4 female), and a dozen weddings of baptized people, with their Russian names only, not included in the present edition.

2.3. Variant spellings of recurrent names.

The earliest of the documents of 1791/1792 are undoubtedly the minutes of the commission (c). Having the personal signatures of the members of the commission, they would seem to be the originals. It is not clear, however, whether the lists brought by the toyns were written beforehand by some literate person or were recorded at the commission’s meeting. Being hired as the commission’s interpreter, the Aleut Yelisey Pupyshev probably was present at the meetings, except the five and a half weeks when he accompanied Sarychev to the west coast of Unalaska (February 13 to March 24, 1792). He may thus have helped dictating the names of the Aleuts and have influenced the form of the names. This would explain, for example, the eastern form of the Umnak village name Adun (listed March 30, 1792), instead of Adus, the dialectal form used by priest-mono Makary in 1796, Veniaminov in his book of 1840, and recorded by Gordon Marsh at Nikolski in 1950. In the minutes, however, ten of the recurrent names have different spellings: a final -k instead of -x or -g (= -x), especially the ending -nak or -nok instead of -nax (-nax), and vacillation between the letters a and i, quite often difficult to distinguish in these manuscripts to begin with. These are very minor points, typical of the whole material, but they show that copying mistakes (rather than recording mistakes) could come in even in the original minutes of the commission.

Sauer’s copies were certainly copies of the minutes and have about one hundred spellings different from the minutes, including differences between Sauer’s own notations. Most of them are minor points such as the confusion of a and i or o, and of n and i or k (sometimes very similar), and in the majority of the cases the minutes appear to have the better spelling. In some twenty cases, however, Sauer’s copies appear to have the better spelling, sometimes perhaps accidentally, but at least the following case must have a different explanation: cxalkait, but dxalkagayak (7.5.12) probably Qalqagayax “Magpie” (see 2.4.). Here the ya seems to have been copied as i (sometimes very similar letters), but also the ga is left out. Another interesting case is c ugalxaxu, d ugalxyxaxu (10.6.4.), probably Ugalu(m) qaxwu “Butt of spear”. The former variant could represent a syncopated Ugal(um) qaxwu, but only a speaker of Aleut could have provided the longer form. Thus, either the form of the minutes was a copying mistake of an earlier list, or the longer form in Sauer’s copies was due to a speaker of Aleut, presumably Pupyshev, if not copied from the possible earlier list. These questions have of course no definite answer, but the choice of variants must be a matter of understanding, rather than a mechanical one in terms of chronological precedence.

Between the two copies of the final census a and b there are ninety differences, most of them minor of the usual types. In most cases census b has the better spelling, including a case like a kayuktin, b kayukhin
(1.1.5.), clearly Kayutxin “His own strength” (probably an elliptical name, see 3.1). In some cases, however, census a has the more plausible variant, at least in two cases rather significantly: a razsgin syukustanax, b without the second part (8.2.6.); a umlu yugolakax corrected from umlu uqalukax, which is b’s form (7.1.7.). The correction agrees with c-d, so apparently a was copied from b and then corrected from c-d. Another such case is a chyagix corrected from b chyagix (10.5.10., no c-d). In the above-mentioned case d xalkagayak (7.5.12.) Census a has the same form but census b an initial k, likewise in a case without c-d (3.3.5.). The Cyrillic x and k are alternative notations for the Aleut uvular q also in many other cases (see 2.4), so rather than the one being copied from the other, the manuscripts a and b were probably copied from a common source, that is, in addition to c-d, some earlier lists that are not preserved.

Comparing finally a/b with c/d, one finds about fifty differences. In four cases, a=b follows c rather than d, in seven other cases vice versa, all trivial. In the more numerous cases where a=b differ from c-d, a=b is mostly inferior, due to copying mistakes, but in a couple of cases clearly better, the most remarkable one being a-b Iglgyagin ayyuga sanax, c-d just Iglgyagin (10.10.6.), which shows that the final census - written after the departure from Unalaska - had an additional written source. When a differs from b it more often follows c than d, while b follows d only once, wrongly.

The spelling of the tax receipts is clearly inferior to the rest, the lists being copies of probably inferior notations, and sometimes barely makes possible the identification of the name in the census. The spelling of the baptismal records is much better but could not have served as any source for the census, the number of names common to the two being rather small.

In short, the interpretation of the Aleut names needs a critical evaluation of all the possibilities offered by the manuscripts.

2.4. The Cyrillic spelling of Aleut.

The Cyrillic alphabet, transliterated here as in Aleut Dictionary p. xxii, presents certain difficulties for writing Aleut, having no special letters for uvular consonants (q x g) as distinct from the velar ones (k x g), nor for the velar nasal (ng) or the labiovelar w, nor for the initial h and other aspirated phonemes. On the other hand, the Cyrillic alphabet has more vowels than the Aleut three phonemes a i u, another source of phonological ambiguity. In very many cases, however, the spelling hardly leaves any doubt about the reading, for example tayagux (11.5.7.), tayagox (10.9. T. 8.), tayaog (1.1.54), tayauk (3.3.1.), all obviously tayagux ‘man’; Aleut has no diphthong au, so the voiced uvular fricative is marked by either zero or g. Another example is ayagax (10.4. B. 15.), ayegak (10.9.42), clearly ayagax ‘woman’, the Aleut -ya- having a more palatal pronunciation before the velar g than before the uvular g. The notation of the final x by k as well as by x is common in all the manuscripts, as already noted above (2.3. first paragraph).

The uvular stop q is mostly written k, like the velar k, e.g. kanaxtusek (3.1.11. b), Qanaxtusix “Wintering place”; kichxasukax (6.1.24.), Qixcha suqax “His knife was taken”; kuggagix (11.13.), Qugagix “Shaman”; cf. kanux (19.1.4.), Kanux “Heart”; kil’ma txagsig (16.2.16.), Kilmanaxgisiix “Means for having (getting) stomachs (bladders)”; kugan (in 7.2.27. and elsewhere), kugen ‘on, upon’. Being aspirated or even affricated, the q is also quite often written x, sometimes xk, e.g. xalkagayak (7.5.12. a, b k-), see 2.3. above), Qalqaqayax “Magpie”; algatxin xayuxtanaax (6.1.6.), Algtxin qayuxtanaax “Hooked his mammals”; seaxan (10.8. B. 3. father), perhaps Saqan “Points of fishing spear”; aixhinax (11.3.6.), Ayqinax “Difficult”, cf. tuku aikisahax (3.2.5.), Tuku ayqisqaqax “His chief was hard to deal with”. In one case the x could perhaps be read as k: Igana xall’ynak (14.1.3.), perhaps Igana xalunax “Shot at / the flying one”.

As seen from examples above, the Cyrillic x may naturally render also the Aleut voiceless velar fricative x and the uvular x, while the Cyrillic g may render the corresponding voiced fricatives g and g (at this time loanwords with voiced stops were probably not yet adopted). The uvular nature of a fricative is sometimes reflected by a written mid vowel instead of a high one before or after it, e.g. chegana (in 10.2.8.) beside chiga (in 3.1.27.), chignana ‘his river’; ogolax (2.1.2.) beside ogolyuk, ogolux (in 10.11.3.), etc., ogulux ‘spear’. After a uvular g written g, the Cyrillic vowel y (very) instead of i is quite frequent, for example in kil’mata txagsik above, or chan shukagyisanak (3.1.42.), Chaan suqagisxanax “Took (something) with his hand”. In certain clusters, as well as in final position (see above), the voiceless fricatives are quite often written k, e.g. ukchogix (18.2.5.), Uxchugix “Has tufted puffins”; Anekodoxkan (1.1.2.), Aniqqdxusix “Childish”; anitkuk (in 10.14. B. 25.) beside alitxux (in 3.3.7.), etc., alitxux ‘army, warrior, crew’. The voiced uvular fricative is apparently sometimes written x, as presumably in Isanak saxonax (6.1.16.), Igana xaxunanx “Hit the terrible”.

The velar nasal, in the modern orthography written ng, is written ng, n, or g, as in the positional noun ngan (in 10.3.27.), nan (in 7.2.19.), gan (5.2.20., etc., very common), ngaan ‘for him/it’. Other examples are sangin
shukax (2.1.48.), Sangin suqax “His ducks (or blades) were taken”; tayagonin uyeox (3.1.13.) Tayagunin uyaqax “His men were sent for”; ayagogin shokax (10.11.33.), Ayagangin suqax “His women were taken”, all with the suffix -ngin; chnau (7.8.1.), Chngatuox “Sea otter”; unlyuk (in 11.1.8.) beside unglux (5.2.17.; 10.14. B 9.), Ungleox “Pinnacle”. The last word is written twice with an m (7.1.7.; 8.3.7.), perhaps a mishearing due to the labial vowels. In almox (9.1.10. and in 7.1.12.), if aalngaax “oldsquaw”, the substitution may be due to the syllable initial position, strange to a Russian ear, as also in nagox (14.3.6. Atkan), Nagux “Son-in-law (or Brother-in-law)”, unless the dictated form was the (modern) Eastern Aleut nagux. All four the notations of the velar nasal are of course ambiguous. The ng can also be read as n’g or ng, e.g. anga as anga”his side or match, adversary”, anga”his line”, or anga”his breath”. And the g in medial position can be read as g or g as well as n’g, cf. ayagog and tayagonina above. The phonological context may yield a clue, as in the latter examples and in the case of the cluster -ngl- (there is no cluster “-nl-“), but quite often the choice must be left open. In final position one finds both ng and n, as in adang (3.1.24.), Adang “My father”; amiyun (10.5. B 10.), Amiyunng “king salmon”, but also k, which obviously reflects a normally devoiced final nasal, rather than an otherwise unknown variant of the word: ukuchik (11.4.10.), Uuquching “Blue fox”.

The different notations of the quite rare labiovelar approximant w are seen from the following examples: kaugax (8.4.2.), Qawux Seag lion; ayagog, ayagin (in 11.3.3.), awangin ‘his workers’; aguasinax (in 17.2.8.), awasaanax ‘worked with his harpoon’.

The initial h, not found in the ordinary Cyrillic alphabet, is either left out (some forty cases) or written g (about thirty cases), e.g. al’qax usextax (3.2.15.), Alagax huxistax “Has a mammal loaded in”; gaddugix (17.2.2.), Hadugix “Neighbor”. The zero is of course ambiguous, e.g. Innok (12.1.11.), Inux “Piece of food (or tobacco)” or Hinux “Piece of sod, turf”. The g is less ambiguous, because the initial velar fricative g is much less frequent than the h, and the uvular one almost absent. In a couple of cases the h seems to be written x: algagox xoxasix (5.1.13.), Algagaanhaqasix “Bringing his mammal to him”; xachatx xauqadinuk (8.5. T.1. father). Qachxax huqdukonax “His skin was soft”. The x of the final terms could of course have been read as x, q, or g, but then no words seem to fit in. In the late 1770’s under-clerk Efim Mutovin wrote the Atkan h with x (three times) as well as with o or left it out (see Bergslænd 1959:83-84). In the Census there are also two examples of x marking the aspiration of another consonant: tayaum xlya (11.3.10.), also tayaxula (10.5. B 2.), Tayagum hlaa “Man’s son”; kuxmanax (13.2.18.), Quhmanax “Was white”. For the rest, the aspiration of nasals and approximants is left unmarked.

As seen from examples above, the Aleut affricate ch (č) is written ch, and the sibilant s both s and sh, which reflects a pronunciation heard also in modern times. Concerning the western (Atkan) voiced or semi-voiced z is written z or more often zh, e.g. tayagu kizhak (13.1.8.), Tayagukizax “Dear man”; Ek’ya axazigan/hk (17.1.15.), presumably Iqyaa haqazigax “His baidarka comes properly”. Interestingly, the same notion is used for Eastern Aleut in more than twenty cases where the western dialect would have z, e.g. ayegachxizhak (10.9.45.), Ayagachzixax “Nice woman”; chaguzhak (2.1.46.), Chaaguzax “Just hand”. The Eastern use of zh or z could not be due to an Atkan speaker and so indicates a phonemic distinction of z and s in both dialectal areas of that time, although the zh is used also in eight or nine cases where Atkan would have s, most of them with a long vowel as in chalik gan shuzhakax (3.2.56.), apparently Chalix ngaan suusaqax “Was taken with a fishline”. These exceptions are perhaps more likely to be the scribe’s hearing mistakes than indications of the later merger, see also Aleut Dictionory p. xxvii.

The semivowel y with a following a or u (y does not occur before i) is of course written with the Cyrillic letters ya, yu (sometimes very similar), in the former case also with ye (e, see below), as in the above-mentioned ayegak beside ayagak for ayagax “woman”. The ya and yu are used almost regularly to mark the non-velar pronunciation of a preceding l, sometimes also to mark the palatal character of a preceding s, which is more often written sh. After a consonant, the consonantal character of the y/a/u is marked in the usual way by a preceding “soft sign” or “hard sign”, as in the frequent word Eκ’yα, Ek’ya, Ik’ya (e.g. 2.1.41.; 11.3.1.), Iqyaa “his baidarka”. An initial kya is written k’ya (16.1.12.) or kiya (6.1.2. and perhaps 7.1.6.). Before a consonant the y is written i, e.g. aikoh (8.3.1.), Aykax “dog”.

The Aleut three short vowels are mostly written a (ya), i, u (yu). The lowering of the high vowels before a uvular consonant is quite often reflected by a written e and o, as in Ek’ya, etc., above and oklogoyukatix (11.1.11.), Uqlugayukatix “Disliked for a long time”. In initial position the two Cyrillic e’s, the a transliterated as e, and the e transliterated as e after a consonant and ye after a vowel, are not always clearly distinguished. An initial lowered i is also written with ye/ye, here transliterated as ye to avoid confusion (the initial ya is written ye only once, 2.1.3.), e.g. ‘Eganox kuchichixinax (10.9.34.), Iganon kuchichxinax
A consonant cluster like l̥g, as in the very frequent word algax ‘mammal’, is written l̥g, which could reflect the usual short transitional vowel, but quite as often lg with a superscript l̥, which rather indicates an orthographic convention.

Unless superscript, a final consonant is regularly followed by a "hard sign" (') or a "soft sign" (' ) as in the Russian orthography of the time, left out in the Corpus. Sometimes a phrase is written as one word, e.g. algamigan 'mammal'. But a long name may also be written like two words, with the "hard sign" after both parts, e.g. sugan 'gazelle'. This shows the scribe had no real command of Aleut, which makes all the more remarkable the transcription of Aleut in these documents.

In the tax lists, where the names are mostly given in a Russian genitive form, a final consonant would have an additional a, while a final Aleut a or aa would be changed into i or y, depending upon the quality of the preceding consonant. In the census, the Aleut forms are restored.

2.5. Inventory of names.

The total number of different male persons in the three sets of documents is 1618, all included in the corpus. As mentioned in 1.2.3., the census includes 1207 male persons (751 tributary men, 137 non-tributary men, and 319 minors). The tax receipts have 266 payers, of which 65 are found also in the census, and 122 fathers. The baptismal records include 92 baptized men and boys (and one additional man), of which 20 are found also in the census, 29 women and girls, and 76 different fathers, of which one is found also in the census.

In the census 17 men have only a Russian name (including starik ‘old man’ and Kodiak twice), in the tax lists four. These 21 names are indexed separately, together with the 90 baptismal names additional to the Aleut names in the census, and the 92 additional ones in the baptismal records. In the tax receipts three men have no name and 12 others only partly legible names.

The number of persons with a legible Aleut name thus is 1582, while the number of different Aleut names is about 1510. The great majority of the names are found, in the Corpus, as the name of one person only. A little more than 50 names are shared, each of them, by two persons, seven by three persons, and only one Tayagux ‘man’ by six persons. Since the number of male persons in these documents seems to approach the total number of male inhabitants of the area, or at least of
the Eastern Aleut area, the strikingly high number of one-person names would seem to be significant and perhaps of importance for understanding the nature of the names (to be discussed in 4.).

In about 1140 of the 1510 different Aleut names it has been possible to offer a more or less plausible interpretation, given in bold face. In the Corpus, an obvious or at least highly probable interpretation is indicated by a colon (:) after the transliterated form, while less certain interpretations are qualified by “apparently”, “probably”, “possibly”, “perhaps”, or “conceivably”. At the lower end of the scale the interpretation could as well have been left open, but perhaps a suggestion is of more interest than nothing. The problems are in part grammatical, to be discussed in the next section. Of the other names, about one quarter have some identifiable part but remain obscure like the rest, the crucial parts being presumably irretrievably obsolete or altogether unrecognizable.

3. Formal Aspects of the Aleut Names

This section deals with the grammatical structure of the names, their word classes (parts of speech) and derivation (postbases), with dialectal features, and with loanwords.

3.1. One-word and phrasal names.

The Aleut names are one-word or phrasal, the latter numbering about forty-five percent of the corpus. E.g. Algax “Mammal” (8.4. T 3.; 10.12.28.); Algam iğanaa “Terrible mammal” (14.1.28.; 19.1.6.); Algam tunuu “Mammal’s voice” (7.5.3.); Algaan tununinax “Made his mammal roar” (2.1.49. allegan tununinak, somewhat uncertain); Algaxtin qayuxtanaax “Hooked his mammals” (6.1.6.); Ataqaq algatxax “One mammal gotten” (10.11.31.).

Of the one-word names some forty or more are grammatically elliptical. Some are in the relative case, the simple relative singular in -m or the 3.p.sg. rel. in -gan l -an, and so would require a following term with an anaphoric suffix (like Algam above), e.g. Hlanamqun “Darner boy’s” (15.1.17.); Algaan “Of his mammal” (11.4. T1.). cf. Algaan angtaa-ngaan aqax “Was given half of his mammal” (7.3.14.); Anchan “Of his property mark” (10.11.16., stem anat-). Another dozen appear to have a reflexive 3.p. possessive suffix, which requires a following transitive verb with a 3.p. subject (like Algaan, Algaxtin above), e.g. Amiin “His own maternal uncle” (3.3.22.). cf. Amixtin salginax “Provided his maternal uncles with ducks (or blades)” (7.4.10.); An'gat “His own lines” (14.1.3. Atka), cf. An'gatxin sayunax “Pulled his lines” (5.2.35.). These reflexive 3.p.sg. suffixes, however, are homophonous with 2.p.sg. suffixes, see 3.2.1. A larger number of names have the form of a transitive verb without a suffixal marking of an object and so should normally have an explicit nominal or pronominal object, e.g. Qayuxtanaax (1.1.) “Hooked”, cf. Algaxtin qayuxtanaax above; Tiyyunax “Pulled out”, father of Algax tiyyunax “Pulled out the mammal” (6.1.1., T1.); Igaanaasanaax “Intimidated (someone)” or “Was terrible with (something)” (16.1.10.), cf. Ugalunn iqaanaasanaax “Was terrible with his spear” (7.5.5.; 8.3.3.).

An ellipsis would also make names like the following a bit more
meaningful: Ataqan “One” (10.10.2.), possibly the same person as Ataqan ugaluxtax “Has one spear” (10.10. T 2. somewhat unclear); Algan or Algaan asix “With mammals / his mammal” (13.2.2.), Sila “His proximity (toward him)”, cf. Sila aqax “Was close to him” (5.2.28.), itself perhaps elliptical. Many more one-word names could possibly be elliptical, for example the above-mentioned Algax “Mammal”, which is also the object part of many phrasal names, but in such cases the assumption of ellipsis would be arbitrary.

The nature of the true ellipsis is unclear. One possibility is that it was accidental in the situation of the registration, but at least one elliptical name is found both in the Census and in the earlier Tax lists: Chalaasax “Landing with (something or somebody)” (7.5.1. and T 3.). Another possible example is 1.1.3. and T 1.). Another possibility is that the phrasal names were shortened when used as a term of address, but for this there is no evidence. Of the few names used as terms of address in folkloristic texts there is one phrasal one but of a very trivial type: Tungam hlaadaganaa “Tusk-boy” (Atka 1908, see Aleut Dictionary p. 585).

3.2. Word classes and constructions.

The remarkable fact is that the Corpus includes both nominal and verbal names, the latter referring, according to Veniaminov, to memorable events (see 4.2.). Very many Aleut stems are used both as nouns and as verbs but it is still possible to distinguish between ordinary nouns, with or without one or two denominative postbases, deverbalic nouns, verbal nouns or ambivalent forms, and participial or finite verbal forms. A few additional names appear to belong to other word classes.

3.2.1. Ordinary nouns.

A number of one-word names are nouns in the simple absolutive singular (vowel stems with the suffix -s, consonant stems with suffix zero), some few in the plural (in Eastern Aleut suffix -n, in Atkan -s), e.g. Algax “Mammal” (10.12.28., etc.), pl. Algas (15.1.10.); Ulax “House” (7.6. T 1.; 10.5. B 4.), pl. Ulas (17.1.15.); Niigung “Andeanof Islander” (10.6. T 1.), pl. Niigung (10.4. B 18.). The form Kitak (1.1.22.) is ambiguous: singular Kitax “Foot” or dual Kitax “Feet”. Two of the simple names have an enclitic negation; Aaachagulux “Not best friend” (3.3.17.); Alakssinulux “Not mainlanders” (3.1.32.). As mentioned above, one-word names in the relative case must be elliptical. Two names, both uncertain, may have a numeral determiner: Aalax akayux “Two straits” (3.1.28.); Chaang bagedux “Five burdens” (8.2.T 1.). Perhaps a predicative noun in Kadan qudax “Fire ahead” (1.1.7.).

Two names appear to have a 1.p.sg. possessive suffix, two or three other ones a 2.p.pl. possessive suffix: Adang “My father” (3.1.14.); Hlang “My son” (10.9. T 4.); Hlachi “Your (pl.) son (or sons)” (10.9.40.); Taayaguchix “Your man (or men)” (13.2.9. Amlia; possibly Angachi “Your adversary” (10.9.43.), but the very ambiguous agachi could perhaps be taken also as an imperative: Aagaachi “Get away (you pl.)” or Hangachi “Ascend”, a grammatical category not otherwise represented in the Corpus. Names like the above-mentioned Amin and Anq’at, if reflexive, must be elliptical, but the suffixes being homophonous with 2.p. sg. suffixes, the names could also mean “Your (sg.) maternal uncle”, “Your lines”; likewise dual forms like Ugalukin “His own / Your two spears” (7.8.1.) (other examples are 3.3.8., 10.8.25., and 10.9. T 4.).

Names with a non-reflexive 3.p. possessive suffix, with or without a preceding referent in the relative case, are far more numerous (more than thirty examples), e.g. Taayagum sau “Man’s face (or blade)” (5.2.13.); Sagimaga “His face” (7.3. T 5.); Algam kitakix “Mammal’s feet (dual)” (10.14. B 1.; 32.); Hangakix “His sleeves” (16.2.4.); Algama (m) kayungin “Mammal’s muscles” (10.14. B 18.); Ayagan algaa “Women’s mammal” (11.6.1.); Anaktangin “His / Their markings” (10.15.15. verbal noun). Alitxum silan algaa is ambiguous: “The mammal in front of the army” or “Being in front of the army” (7.7.5.). One name seems to have a demonstrative determiner: Akan algaa “His mammal out there” (10.9.2.).

The following demonstrative postbases are found in nominal names, roughly classified in terms of meaning (cf. Aleut Dictionary, pp. 467-558 Suffixes):

-Vda- | -aad- ‘minor, small; dear; resembling’ (ten examples), e.g. Taayaguddax “Little man” (7.2.8.; 10.11.19.; 11.4.12.); Quagaddax “Little assistant spirit” or “Mask” (1.2.1.). Apparently doubled in Taayaguddaddax “Little man” (10.4.17.). Perhaps variant -Vza in Hyaaqagazax “Little tree” (10.14. B 20.).

-kda- | -gda- ‘small’: Asxinuk’dax “Little girl” (16.1.2.); Umyugdax “Little sponge” (17.1.19.).

-kucha-, after u-kicha- ‘small, little’ (six examples), e.g. Hlakuchax “Little boy” (7.1.12.); Taayaguchikax “Little man” (11.3.4.). With a following -Vda- in Hlakuchaddax “Very small boy” (8.1.20.).

-chixa- ‘nice, pretty’: Ayagachixax “Nice woman” (10.9.45.); Tukuchxisax “Nice chief” (9.1.2.); Uyuchixax “Nice neck” (7.2.4.). With following -Vda- in Aniqduchxizada “Little nice child” (7.2.2.8.).

-yug- ‘poor’ (five examples), e.g. Algayux “Poor mammal” (8.3.8.); Taayayuyux “Poor man” (in 18.1.1.); Chuagayuyux “Poor fur parka” (3.1.29.).
forms, descriptive of a person's instruments, place of activity, way of doing things, or perhaps of the person himself, as the group's or chief's instrument for obtaining things, or the like.

Many of the names are simple nouns in the absolutive case, in the singular or, rarely, in the plural, e.g. Algaxaqisix “Means for getting mammals” (3.1.19.); Chalaasix “Means/Place for landing” (13.1.16.); Chikadusix “Means for winding up (guts)” (10.7. T 4.); Iqagidusix “Start of paddling” (11.7.2.); Mayaagasin pl. “Hunting gear” (10.15.3.), an ordinary noun. Enclitic negation in Maqlussesalax “No reason to be idle” (11.1.9.).

Many names have an adjunct in the relative case and a possessive 3.p. suffix (or only the possessive suffix), indicating the owner or corresponding to the subject of the underlying verb, e.g. Tukum mayaaxa “Chief’s hunting (tool)” (6.1.23.); Tayaxugamnagisix “Man’s lightness” (7.3.13.); Ayagam taligaxa “Woman’s means for / way of dancing” (10.12.15.); Tukum amalikia “Chief’s cleaning tool” (3.2.24.); Chuchagaxa “His being erect (or erection)” (6.1. T 2.). In two names the suffix seems to correspond to the object of the underlying verb, a rare construction: Algax daxtuxa “Means for stopping mammal(s),” if not “Mammal’s way of stopping” (8.1.14.); Iqamak aguduxa “Removal of danger (?)” (2.1.39.), cf. transcription chaxsam aqluhua “beapoos,” later A1400 uukuchimmingam katmucha (1952 du. katmusikix)a “fox stretcher.” What normally corresponds to an object is a phrase with the positional noun in, 3.p.sg. ngaan, -aan (“dative”), found in over twenty of the names, e.g. Algamaa sayuxtaasix “Means for pulling mammal(s), pulling rope for mammal(s)” (10.5.3.); Algamaa tugaasix “Means for striking mammal(s)” (2.1.14.); Iqamak agidusix “Means for opening (prying) slate” (2.1.49.); Tukum ngaan suusix “Means for taking (a chief)” (2.1.30.); Tukum igim ukuxtaa “Chief’s means for looking at himself (mirror)” (7.2.34.) (for this name see 3.4. below).

Several of the bases of these nouns have a postbase, a deverbative one like the transitive -a in -dusi:, -ya “try to make” (-10.14. B 21.), intransitivizer -qaq- (5.2.32., -da “usually” (10.14. B 38.), -tata “temporarily” (10.5.3.), -naag- “try to” (1.1.12.), or a nominative one, which may also make a suffix cluster with the following -usi: -as- / -asi: -as- “have; be in, etc.” Ayagum ulugisx “Woman’s means for having meat” (10.14. B 47. a woman); Tayaxug amagisx “Man’s means for having eye(s), Man’s substitute eye(s)” (10.14.9.); Alugisx “His means for sea hunting (lit. going by sea)” (7.4.13.). Perhaps predicative in Ulugulagisx “His spear (is) means for having fish (or food)” (8.3.1.9.).

-gu- “have many”: Algaguusix “Means for having many mammals”
(6.1.10.); Alitxu(m) qaduguucha "Warrior’s means for having many scabs (?)" (10.3.3.).
-ziga-, -siga- ‘have good’: Ayagam ingalazigaacha “Woman’s means for (way of) having good nits (?)” (10.4. B 11.); Kambisigaasix “Means for having a good head (?)” (1.1.28.).
-Iq(i)- ‘provide with’ -Algama ngaan nunalaqisix “Means for wounds- (providing with wounds) a mammal” (8.5.3.); Algamaan unalaqisix “Means for providing a mammal with cooked (food) ?” (10.14. B 4.).
-Xsi- ‘make’: Hunazxisix “Means for making wounds” (13.1.34.).
-Txagi- ‘catch, find, get’: Algatxagisix “Means for getting mammals” (3.1.19.); Chadugnatxagisix “Means for getting blubber, Providing blubber” (10.1.5.6.); Kilmatxagisix “Providing stomachs (bladders)” (10.2.16.).
-Li- ‘go to’: Tanagulisin pl. “Means for visiting people with many places” (10.1.1.), with an underlying verbal noun.
A dozen names have other deverbal suffixes:
- Vlug /-alug- ‘place or time for V-ing’: Sagaulux “Sleeping place” (7.8.1); Tanilux “Lighting place” (10.2.13.); Aygaalux “Time for travelling” (7.2. T 6.); Assulux “Place for nailing” (10.14. B 48.s, a woman); Lutulux “Way of trust, one to be trusted?” (1.17.20.).
-Kna/-kna- ‘result of V-ing’: Kilaknaax “Beaten (surpassed in race)” (10.11.11.); Idgaligisax “Result of drililing (fire)” (10.9.31.).
-Ligisax (likna-) ‘remains of’: Qaligans “Remains of eating, Leftovers” (19.1.2.), an ordinary noun.
-Ga- ‘something to be V-ed’: Malgadagaax “Ready to be done” (10.14. B 6.); Angazagaax “One to get aid from” (11.7. T 1.); Chatunagaax “Ready to be chased” (10.6.14.).

3.2.3. Verbal nouns and ambivalent forms.
More than 140 names have a verbal stem without a tense or participial suffix but most of them with some characteristic postbase. Depending upon the circumstances, such stems may indicate a person or an object or the state or action as such, or may be tenseless predicates (so-called general tense).

Intransitive stems occur in one-word names or may have a subject in the absolutive case or a subjective adjunct in the relative case (participial construction), e.g. Qayaax “High/Tall” or “Hill” (19.1.1.), Uluudaax “Red” (1.1. T 3.); Iganax “Terrible” (10.15. T 4.); Tananiax iganax “His places (or islands) are terrible” (10.11.14.); Tatalgaa ikanax “Is terrible to listen to” (11.5.3.); 17.3.15.); Algam iganax “Terrible mammal” (14.1.28.); 19.1.6.); Ayagam iganax “Terrible women” (3.1.14.); Alqagix “Has/Having mammal(s)” (10.3.2.); 6.1. T 1.); Ugaluu alqagix “His spear has (is in) a mammal” (10.3.13.); 11.1.17.); Alix iyagix “The old man has a baidarka (or paddles)” (10.15.8.); Tayagum iyagix “Man in baidarka, Padding man” (11.3.11.); Qagadux “Men’s dancing” (3.1. T 8.); Tayagum mayaaga “Man’s hunting” (10.10.1.); 10.15. T 3.). Enditic negation in Ayagamena guduxaginulax pl. “Hide nothing for the woman” (10.14. B 37. a woman); Iqyagixinulax “Not his own paddlers” (13.1.22.), elliptical.

Many of the intransitive stems have a denominative postbase: -gi- ‘have, have in or on it; be in, etc.’ (more than thirty examples), examples above.
-tu- ‘have a big, have much’ (a dozen examples), e.g. Gulatux “Has/Having large nostrils” (17.2.6.); Takatux “Has a big bladder” (8.3.9.).
-gu- ‘have many’: Chayagux “Has many fish pots” or Chayagux “Has many drums” (17.3.8.); Chuuyugix “Has many jackets” (in 10.8. T 2.); pl. Chuuyugux (16.2.10.); Tanagun pl. “Have many places” (1.1.37.).
-la- ‘have lots of’: Algaax “Has lots of mammals” (18.1.2.).
-ziga-/-qiga- ‘good, efficient’: Tayaguzaax “Efficient man” (5.2.18.).
-nu- ‘smell of, taste of’: Chaduganuxax “Smelling/Tasting of blubber” (10.2.22.); Takanux “Smell of codfish bladder” (10.7. 13.; 11.5. T 1.); Manux “Good smell/taste” (10.9. T 5.).
-naag- ‘go for’: Tayagunaax “Man killer” or “Outside man” (13.1.4.);
-lug-: Tayagulux “Fighter” (11.4.11.).
-miigu-: Qaadamimigux “Fishing for trout” (18.2.6.).
-Vgu- ‘look for’: Iqyagux “Looking for baidarkas” (14.1.36.).

Many other intransitive stems have a deverbal or neutral postbase:
-da-, -za- ‘generally, habitually, etc.’ (some twenty examples), e.g. Changadaax “He goes fast (baidarka)” (10.8. B 5.); Ugaluu algadax “His spear usually gets mammals” (2.1. T 4.); Iqagizax “Generally paddles in baidarka” (12.1.1.); Algagidagulux “Never harpoons” (10.8. B 7.); Aamg aqulgadagulux “Its blood is never eaten” (8.1.6.).
-xta- /-ta- ‘have V-ed; for a while, etc.’ (half a dozen examples), e.g. Talixtas “Dancers” (17.1.24.); Quganaax ayuttaax “The stone tumbles (7.3.1.); Algaax gidaxtaax “His mammal is enviable” (14.1.33.).
-yuka-, -yukat- ‘for a long time’ : Nanayukanax “Long aching”;
Uqlaguyukatix “Disliked for a long time” (11.1.11.)
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-qada- ‘stop’: Anqagiqadax “Stop(ped) breathing” (7.3.21.).

Hamamaqadax “Stop being so” (10.8.8.).

-Vka- | -ika- ‘can’: Algaaka “Can catch mammals” (19.1.11.).

-Vtu- | -astu- ‘want, tend to’: Tanaagaatux “Wants (or Wanting) to come back to his place” (3.2.4.). Tayagusiitux “Wants to get (kill men)” (13.2.11.). Chalaxsaatux “Wants to be met (when landing)” (16.1.11.).

-qaggu- : Alistaqagux “Apt to vomit (?)” (7.2.6.).

-Vda- | -ada- ‘a little, slowly, at ease, etc.’: Kichaadaq “Draining a little” (19.1.3.). Uchaadaq “Goes/Going leisurely down” (16.2.11.).

-Vzaada- | -aazaada- ‘very much’: Ayuuzazaad “Falling over very much” (1.1.40.).

-du- ‘fast’: Kahmadux “Doing (going, being) fast” (18.3.1.).

-zu- ‘well, ably’: Qazam “Good worker” (5.2.4.) elliptical.

-ziga- (-diga-) ‘well, properly’: Iqyaa haqazigax “His baidarka comes properly” (17.1.15.). Ayukazigax “Good long stay” (3.2.12.).

-chixiza- ‘nice’: Ayagaachax “His wife is nice (does nicely)” (10.15.1.).

-lga- | -sxa- passive: Humnisxax “Made swell” (10.14.17.).

-qa- | -a- passive of -xta- | -ta-: Ahtlayaq “Used for board” (15.1.15.).

-qi- | -agi- ‘be in the state of having been V-ed’: Iqyaa tugaqit “His baidarka is struck” (3.1.10.).

Some fifty names have a transitive stem, one-half of them with a nominal object, e.g. Algaax husixtax “Has a mammal loaded in” (3.2.15.). Anqagix haqaxaax “Bringing a person” (7.4.14.). Such names without an object may or may not be elliptical, e.g. Chalasaax “Land with (something or somebody)” above (3.1.). One uncertain name would seem to have a subject but no object: Tuktu anaqat “His chief makes (things) his own (with property marks)” (10.2.1.), cf. Algaax anaqat “Marking the mammal as his own” (9.1. T.3.). One name is a verbal noun with a possessive suffix: Axtsidigax “His proper perforation (? )” (7.2.37.).

Ten of the names have the denominative suffix -xta- | -ta- ‘have as, use as’: Algaax husixtax above; Iqanax uxttax “Has a terrible body” (9.1.5.). Chakin agaluxtax “Uses his hands as tusks (for striking)” (10.2.4.).

The majority have a deverbal suffix:

-da- ‘generally, habitually, etc.’: Tayagux takadax pl. “Tear off (eliminate ?) the man” (2.1.43.). Ayagaax[n] ukudax “Watches his wife” or Ayagaan ukudax “Finds women” (11.4. T.5.).

-xta- | -ta- ‘have V-ed; for a while, etc.’: Algaan udixtax “Distributing mammals” (3.1. T.7.); anaqat above.

-Vsa- | -usa- / -asa- ‘with, etc.’ (ten examples), see Anqagix haqaxaax, Chalasaax above.

-chxi- ‘make (cause), let’: Chakin hiqayachxit “Letting his hands freeze” (16.2.9.). Chingachxit “Making (baidarka) go fast” (17.1.32.).

-yta- ‘try to make’ (some ten examples): Anqaginax takayax “Trying to take loose a woman” (1.1.52.). Qasayax “Trying to make surface” (18.1.6.).

-ni-za- ‘cause habitually’: Atatanizax “Causing to be fast” (3.2. T.14.).

3.2.4. Verbs in the remote tense and participles.

Some 315 names have the suffix -na- and 120 the suffix -qa- (etc.). Depending upon the circumstances such forms could be verbal predicates in the remote tense or participles, e.g. Aqalax “Was angry” or “One who is/was angry” (14.1.5.). Isiqaaxlux “Was not cut” or “A not cut one” (11.7.7.). Very few of these names, however, have clearly a participial nature: Tayagux(m) kuligichxinax “Man who makes (people) have a deck load” (10.1. B 4.). Aamagnax “Bleeding” (1.1.15.). Chingatuxaxtinlux “Sea otter he himself did not catch” (3.2.9.), elliptical, suffix rather than non-participant: -taxa- ‘gotten’; Qidanaxukax “Darned weeper” (10.14. B 1.), with an additional denominative suffix (the verbal form would have been qidakudax “the darned one wept”). The ambivalent forms may therefore be taken preferably as predicates in the remote past (see also 4.2.).

Intransitive forms as one-word names are ambivalent, e.g. Algaaxchixan “Were/Being nice mammals” (10.9.29.). Likewise Algaax “Was/Being a mammal” (10.12.9.). But there may also be a subject in the absolutive case, with or without a possessive suffix, e.g. Algaax xalaxsinaax “The army went inland” (3.3.7.). Tuktu alituxanax “His chief waged war (or made an attack)” (15.1. 19.). Achaachaax amaginox “Your friend had cruelty?” (7.2. B.1.). There may also be an oblique term, with or without a subject: Hlaa ngaan huxanax “His son rolled down for him” (11.7.10.). Tanaamaan (or Tanaamaan) tunuxanax “Spoke to the (or his) land (place)” (10.4.6.). One name seems to be a complex sentence: Tayagux(m) kugax tadaqad(g)alqum utanax “After having trodden on a/the man, he went down to the beach” (7.2. B 3.).

Transitive forms have in very many names an explicit object in the absolutive case, with or without a possessive suffix, e.g. Tayagux kalux “Shot a man” (3.3.1.). Algaan sngalux “Observed mammals” (2.1.12.). Iqyaa kalahnaax “Dragged his baidarka” (10.8. 26.). Two names have an anapophoric object, with a subject in the relative case: Tuktu tumuxaxsaaqaxinin “The chief talked about (or argued with) them” (7.2.15.). Tayagux gulinqax “The man pierced it” (10.9.38.).
Names like Qayuu'tanax "Hooked" (1.1.4.) are presumably elliptical, see 3.1. Likewise Tayakun sayunax "His man pulled" (11.4.4.) and a couple more, although a transitive verb may also be used in a general sense.

Forms in -qa- without a subject in the relative case and without the suffixal reference (as in the example above) have a passive sense, e.g. Sayuqax "Was pulled" (14.1.27.), cf. sayuqangis 'they pulled him'. An object noun, which becomes a kind of subject, has typically a 3.p possesive suffix, indicating an anaphoric subject (forty-five examples), e.g. Qichqa suqax "His knife was taken" (6.1.24.), cf. qichqa suqangin 'they took his knife'; Tayaqungin qichqilqax "His men were deprived of weapon" (7.2.29.); only in a couple of cases, perhaps questionable, the noun has no possesive suffix: Tukux uyaqax "The chief was fetched" (8.1.1.), cf. tukux uyanan 'they fetched the chief'. Some names have in addition an anaphoric oblique term, quite normally, e.g. Tukux ngaan uyaqax "The chief was brought to him" (7.2.25.); Chalix ngaan suusaxax "Was taken with a fishline" (3.1.26.). Some other names have only a specified oblique term, e.g. Alitxum ngaan uyaqax "Was fetched for the army" (7.7.9.). A dozen names have an oblique term with an anaphoric noun (noun with a 3.p. possesive suffix), e.g. Unglugan kugan ammagnixtqaxax "Was made bleeding on his pinnacle" (8.5.5.); with a passive postbase: Ulagan silan kayuulqaxax "Was waited for (hopefully expected) to his house" (1.1.47. -ula- passive of -usa-); Tanagan kukin ayuqaxax "One went out from his two places" (2.1.28. -ga- 1-passive of -xta- 1 -ta-).

A large number of these transitive verbs have a denominative or deverbal postbase: -lgi- 1 -ski- 'provide with N; put in N' (thirty-eight examples), e.g. Ulax ayagalginaxa "Provided the house with women, brought women to the house" (10.9.3.); Algaax isaxsaxinaxa "Put the/a mammal in a/the basket" (10.3.22.).

-li- 'remove N from, deprive of N' (some twenty examples), e.g. Kanaax ayagalginaxa "Took women away from the Konig" (3.1.40.).

-xta- 1 -xa- 'have has N, use as N': Linax kamuqtanaxa "Had roof of mats" (10.12.27.).

-Vsa- 1 -usa- / -asa- 'with, by means of, etc.' (more than eighty examples), e.g. Chaan suqagisanaxa "took (took something) with his hand" (3.1.42.); Niigun tununinigim uqutaasanaxa "Enjoyed the Andreanof Islanders' words" (4.1.2.); more examples above.

-ni- 'cause' (some twenty examples): Algaax ammagnixaxa "Made the mammal bleed" (10.4.3.); Tayagun tununinaxa "Caused men to talk" (11.5.9.).

3.2.5. Other verbal forms.

Half a dozen names appear to have the present suffix -ku-, e.g. Kunakux "Is skinny (fish)" (13.2.2.); Ayagaasaku "Took her as wife" (10.9.10.).

Several names seem to be in the conjunctive, some of them with an anaphoric object suffix, e.g. Alitxunusalix "Fighting with (somebody)" (10.9. T 3.), elliptical; Alugaa hisix "His black lily is growing" (1.1.6.); Igalijikan "Trying to make him faint" (6.1. T 2.); Ayagaqa qalqa "Eating its female (?)" (10.2.6.).

3.2.6. Other word classes.

The name Ataqaq "One" (10.10.2) may be elliptical, see 3.1.

Relational and positional nouns: Haduugix "Neighbor" (17.2.2.).

Agaalun "The last ones" (10.14. B 27.); Sila "His proximity (toward him)" (13.2.6.); Atiing "Their lower part" or "Below them" (11.7.4.); Ungan "In between (them)" (5.2.12.). Possible derivitives: *Quchxayax "The middle one" (10.5.8.); *Quchxaadax "The middle one" (10.7.8.); *Tanayax "Landward" (3.1.5.).

Demonstratives: Uma "Here, back here" (10.9.33.); Naguya (= Nawaya) "That's the one" (7.4.12.); Akuudan "Over there" (11.4.8.).

Hamamaqadax "Stops being so" (10.8.8); Qigangudagax "Eastward" (3.2 T 3.); Hakuguxi "Being above the seashore" (1.1. T 7.). Ikaqaatuxax "Wanting to get across" (3.1.9.); Unaatixax "The lower (lowest) one" (3.2.23.).

Personal pronoun: Tunan "We" (10.9. T 5.).

3.3. Dialectal features.

Some Eastern Aleut names seem to have the syncopation typical of the modern dialects, e.g. Ayagaga(n)aalixax "Future bride" (10. 14. B 80.);

Tayagn haaga(n)alinax "Deprived the men of wood" (11.2.7.);

Chuug(ay)yuux "Poor fur parka" (3.1.29.); conceivably also Kaal(i)kaa-dax "Little paper" (3.3.14.).

Two western names show the apocopea typical of modern Atkan: An'gat "His own lines" (14.1.3. and in 16.2.3.); Eastern Aleut An'gatxin (in 5.2.35. and 11.5.15.); but Iqaqitinuxax "Not his own paddlers" (13.1.2.).

In the Eastern name Tayagun ignaqtichaulux "Man's lightness"
(7.3.13.) the enclitic negation has the form ulux, rather than the later yulux, after a vowel, like ulax in old Atkan.

In names of Unalaska and farther east the plural suffix is -n as in the later language, while two names of Umnak and one of Islands of Four Mountains have the -s that is regular farther west: Ginas manax “Did enviable things” (11.4.3.); Kamganinas “They caused (people) to feast” (11.6.6.); Ayagas “Women” (12.1.1.). As indicated above (2.3.), the more frequent -n at Umnak (some ten examples) could be due to the Unalaskan interpreter Pupyshev, so also the -n in two names of Amlia (3.1.2. and 23.), beside the normal and more frequent -s of that area (15.1.10. and 13., etc.). According to Veniaminov (1846: XII-XIII), the people of Umnak at this time used the -s, and so undoubtedly also a generation earlier.

As expected, the 2.p.pl. possessive suffix has the form -chi in the Unalaskan name Hlachi “Your son(s)” (10.9.40.) but the form -chix in the name of Amlia Tayaguchix “Your man-men” (13.2.9.).

The archaic absolutive sg.-Vn 1 -un/an of the deverbative suffix -Vsi- 1 -usi-/asi- ‘means, etc.’ is found in two names of Umnak and four names farther west: Anigan “Adze” (11.6.5.), cf. Unalaska Anigasix (10.7.12.; 10.12.17.); Imadun ‘shouting’ (in 11.2.8.); Ayagadun “Means for getting women” (14.1.12.); Qaluun “Place with hot springs” (see 14.1.9.); Sahmidun “Flinging instrument” (16.1.8.); Chiduun “Means for sliding down” (16.2.6.). The western form Kasam “Eider Duck” (14.1.17) is known also from Netsvetov 1840, later Kasamiš.

Two names mentioned above, Kadan qudax (1.1.7.) in 3.2.1. and Ugalu qagisîx (8.1.9.) in 3.2.2., recall nominal sentences of the Eastern Aleut type, possibly due to Russian influence.

Half a dozen Eastern Aleut names appear to be or contain words otherwise known only as Atkan: Kuyunx “Great sculpin” (8.1.11.); Tukîx kangayulîgınax “Provided the chief with an upper (of dress)” (8.1.13.); Algangin sugatxax “His mammals were chased” (8.2.2.); Tukum kanixtaatu “The chief who tends to be pleased” (8.5.4.); Magulix “Betrayal” (9.1. T 7); Qaxuxax “Hit exactly” (10.12.8.); while one Atkan name has a stem otherwise known only from Eastern Aleut: Qachayul “Being ready to be mad” (14.1.18.). These words may have had a wider geographic distribution, but the possibility of later movements could not be dismissed; two inhabitants of a village of Unalaska were marked as visitors from Atka (10.13.8-9.). Tamamax “Doing so” of Tanaga (18.3.6.), belonging to the Naahmići, may have used that word, otherwise known only from Atuan.

3.4. Foreign elements.

The Russians, who also brought along natives of Kamchatka, had by 1790 dominated the Aleutian area for a generation and some of them also lived with Aleuts in Aleut villages. In this way Aleuts could have names like the following:

Xaykin pl. “Dog salmon” (10.10.4.), from Kamchatkan Russian khayko ‘dog salmon’ or directly from Kamchadal (Itelmen).

Tayagum satxaa “Man’s net for catching sea otter” (10.1. T 1.), from Russian sêka ‘net’.

Saamanix “Fine grass for putting inside boots” (18.1.7.), probably from Russian *samany, plural of samán ‘chaff’.

Luusix “Spoon” (13.1.6.), from Russian lózhka, pl. lózhki ‘spoon’.

Kuunnix “Horse” (4.1.12.), from Russian kon ‘horse’; the Russians did not take horses to the Aleutians but took Aleuts to Kamchatka where they could see them.

Kaalakadax (3.3.14.) perhaps from kalikax ‘paper, document; letter’ from Koryak kalikal.

Tukum igím ukuštâacha “Chief’s means for looking at himself” (7.2.34., a minor), meaning ‘mirror’, must refer to a gift like the ones brought along by the Billings expedition (see 1.2.2.). Chixtin algalginax “Put mammals in dens” (7.6.1., T. 2. 1780-1790) may refer to the Russians having Aleuts set out foxes for trapping, cf. Eastern Aleut kîsax, Atkan klîmchix ‘torsion trap’, old loans from Russian klyaptîy, and the distribution of nine hundred trap bars mentioned in 1.2.2.
4. Naming Customs

4.1. Carl Heinrich Merck's account.

Dr. Merck, naturalist of the Billings expedition, together with staff physician Michael Rohbeck who recorded valuable Aleut word lists, sought ethnographic information with the help of interpreter Mikhail Lavrentiev Milkov, born at Umnak (probably the son of a Russian, not in the Census). In Merck's journal one finds the following sentence, translated from his peculiar German: "the name is given the newborn by the most experienced [men] of a settlement, after what comes first to their mind, such as birds, sea animals and the like" (ms.p. 134: "den Namen geben Neugebohrenen, die erfahrensten eines Wohnplazes, von ihnen zu erst einfällt, als Vogeln, Seeieren und dergleichen"; altered in Jacobi 1937-123; Pierce 1980:175).

In the Corpus there are several names of the indicated type, e.g. Aagulix "Hawk (falcon)" (10.14.20.); Anuliix "Cormorant" (10.9.4.); Algax "Mammal" (10.12.28. etc.); Isix "Seal" (1.1.34.). The sentence, however, is rather vague and very far from accounting for the great majority of the names recorded by the Billings expedition.

4.2. Ioann Veniaminov's account.

The only really informative account of the Aleut naming customs is found in Veniaminov's celebrated "Notes on the islands of the Unalaska District" (1840 2:69-71; English translation 1849:190-191). Veniaminov worked as a priest in the Eastern Aleut area from 1824 to 1834. All the Eastern Aleuts having been baptized by 1795 (see 1.2.3.), Veniaminov could not have witnessed an Aleut naming ceremony but he certainly got information from people who had. His companion and interpreter from the beginning, Ivan Pan'kov, chief of Tiguada, was born in 1778 (Black 1977:96) and so must have gotten an Aleut name himself, being perhaps one of the fourteen minors in the census for his island (5.1-2.), and as a teenager probably witnessed several naming ceremonies. Veniaminov undoubtedly got information also from older people, for example from witnesses of the Aleut naming of the children baptized in 1790 (see 1.2.1.). In literal English translation, with retention of his paragraphs, and normalized Aleut orthography, Veniaminov's account reads as follows:

Each newborn child was given a lineage (rodovoye) name either of the father's or the mother's side, and sometimes both. Every name, whatever it might be, always meant something, for example, either a war exploit of an ancestor, or his bravery, or some incident which happened to one of its kin, and so forth. For example, algalx kayulinax, that is, "weakened (a/the) mammal"; alituxx kayulinax, that is, "weakened (the) army"; or igluqan uguusanax, that is, "deceived with his decoy (lit. skin, hide)" [the first word of the translation obmanut' manschikom (chucheloyu) must be a misprint for obmanul'!]; and so forth. But not every one had or could have his or her own proper name; for example, a father was named aalux (wave), his son was named ayagax aaluchinaax, and his daughter, ayagam aaluchach, that is, as if -vich or -una [Russian patronymics. The son's and daughter's names, left without translation by Veniaminov, apparently mean, respectively, "caused a/the woman to laugh" and "woman's means/way of laughing", so the father's name probably was aalux "laughing" rather than aalux "wave, swell"].

Giving a name was always the privilege of the grandfather on the paternal or the maternal side; but if neither of them was living, then the name was given by an uncle or some other kinsman. In the latter case, the name-giving was not so ceremonial and the name was mostly derived from that of the father.

The name was given to the newborn forty days after birth with the following ceremony. Upon the expiration of the fortieth day the grandfather of the newborn came out into the middle of the yurt, or kashim [probably ulaagamax 'communal house'], and, as is customary, seated himself on the floor. (This is a sign that he wants to make a public statement.) Having made a brief introduction and courteously asked all to attend to him patiently, he began to relate the history of his lineage (rod), the exploits of his ancestors and that for which they were famous. Then he related everything about himself, what he had been distinguished for in his own life or anything out of the ordinary which had happened to him. Finally, he stated that, in memory of one or another of his own exploits or of an exploit of an ancestor, he names his grandson or granddaughter, with such a name, for example, "weakened
(a/the) mammal”, “vanquished (the) enemy”, etc.

In addition to such names, many had nicknames (lit. common nouns), depicting a characteristic feature of the person, for instance, his gait, disease, or his boldness.

At present, names are given in the same way as among the Russians, while a family surname remains the same as the one given the ancestor upon receiving the Holy Baptism. The custom of giving nicknames (lit. common nouns) for mockery or joke is still carried on now. Once successfully given, the nickname is frequently kept forever by a person and even passed on to children.

4.3. Discussion.

4.3.1. Names and legends.

Veniaminov’s first example of the ceremonial name-giving is found three times in the Census: Algax kayulina in “Weakened (killed) mammal” (9.1. T 2.; 10.3.6.; 10.4.13.). A close analogue of his second example is Taya gu n kayulina x “Weakened (vanquished) men” (10.3.26.). The third example recalls Ig lu qa ay ugasasaqax “His skin (decoy?) was taken out (in a boat)” (7.2.25.). A great number - perhaps half - of the names in the Corpus may be accounted for in this way.

The name-giver’s stories, one might think, could be reflected in some of the stories or legends recorded by Veniaminov and later by Waldemar Johelson (edited in 1990 by Bergsland and Moses L. Dirks, referred to here as J.). Actually, one of Veniaminov’s stories is about a chief and his son Taya gu n Kay ul inax (1840 2:279-290, 1984:301-307). Rather than “weakening” a man, however, he himself got killed by his wife’s kin. In one of Johelson’s stories (J 50) a man of the same name got likewise killed as the result of a conflict with women. In these stories, then, the name was not descriptive of the man, quite naturally if he got the name as a forty-day-old baby, but he did not live up to the name either. On the other hand, Agada x ha gi yanax “Tried to lift up the sun”, a minor of Akun (7.2.32.), recalls the story figure Angali x Agi yanax “Daylight Lifter” or perhaps rather “Lifted the daylight”, who actually tried to lift the daylight (angali x a gialix) and managed to do it (J I 7:30 ff.). The minor of Akun probably was baptized before he got a chance to live up to the magic of his name.

At any rate, the legends may indicate what kind of exploits or happenings would be worth remembering at a naming ceremony. So, for example, a prominent theme in the Johelson collection is to go east fighting Konigs and to abduct women, apparently reflected in names like Kanaa x tukulina x “Killed the Koniag chief” (4.1.9.); Kanaa x ayagonalina x “Took women away from the Koniag” (3.1.40.); Tanaa n ayagonalina x “Brought women to his place” (7.6.4.). In legend as in life, however, there are also failures, possibly reflected in names like Ayagangin suqax “His women were taken” (10.11.33.); Taya gu n qich xi li qax “His men were deprived of weapon” (7.2.29.); Igla ga malitaxax “His harpoon was taken away” (7.2.30.). In 1910 midwife Marfa Golodova of Unalaska stated that a boy child was named by his maternal uncle, who would give him a name that would shame him and make him angry (J 36:32). The idea behind this sort of name-giving remains obscure.

The fact that a name in the Census is found also in a historical legend is not surprising (see also 10.5. B 3.). But one may ask how or why a person could get a name like Ignaach x ih “Reedgrass” (9.1.3. and J 32.2.). The name recalls a legend dominated by magic where a “man with reedgrass as a magic guise” (taya gu m ignaach x ih uduxtaxa) became a ladder for the chief to enter the enemy house (J 48:34.). Magic undoubtedly was an important part of ancient Aleut life and is bound to be reflected in personal names but the details remain obscure. Rich as it is, the Johelson collection probably represents just a fraction of the ancient lore, and even at Veniaminov’s time the ancient Aleut spiritual life was hardly more than a shadow.

According to Veniaminov’s account a baby girl was named in the same way as a baby boy. Of the twenty-nine names of women and girls found in the Baptismal records, however, only four or five would seem, possibly, to reflect a name-giver’s story, be it about a male or a female ancestor (all in 10.14.): Ayagax salginax “Gave the women duck(s)” (B 31.); Ayagax agdalginax “Gave the woman a canoe” (B 39.); Igalu gu chiyaqax “Her big woman’s knife was held out (handed over)” (B 36.); Tuku[m] aligdaacha “Chief’s means/place for vomiting (?)” (B 38.); Chnga malitaxax “Her (or His?) body hair was taken away” (B 43.). Insofar as they can be interpreted, the other names seem more trivial, including Ayagakuchax “Little woman” (B 32., 28 years old), an analogue of Taya gu kichax “Little man” (11.3.4.).

More possible examples of this first category of names are found in section 5. below.

4.3.2. Naming for father.

In the Tax lists there are about 120 son-father relations, in the Baptismal records 63 son-father relations, 26 daughter-father relations and two daughter-mother relations (10.14. B 40., 46.; B 47. no parent).
Of the sons (altogether about 210), 27 or about 13 percent appear to be named for the father, of the daughters three (10.14. B 46. possibly for her mother B 45.).

One man had the same name as his father: Alitxun tagaacha (or tagaacha) “Army’s landing (or trying)” (7.9.1.). The other names are cases of partial naming for the father similar to Veniaminov’s example.

In some of the cases the son or daughter shares the initial part of the name with the parent, e.g. Qaqul kalahnaq “Lined up (or dragged) Rat Islanders”, son of Qaqul atxaatax “Keeps the Rat Islanders in order” (10.8.19 = B.6.); Ayagax salsixinaq “Put a dancing shawl on the woman”, daughter of Ayagax “Woman” (10.4. B 12.). Other examples of this type, several of them difficult to interpret, are 1.1. T 6.; 3.1. T 11-12.; 3.2. T 9.; 3.5. T 1-2.; 10.3. T 1.; 10.5. B 8.; 10.8. B 6.; 10.14. B 10. 13, 16, 24, 28.; 11.4. T 5.


In two cases, two brothers were named, differently, for their father: Kanaagin angalii “Koniag’s daylight” and Kanaagin iqyna “Koniag’s bidarka”, sons of Kanaagin algaa “Koniags’ mammal” (3.1. T 11-12.); Algax malinnaq “Appropriated a/the mammal” (chief) and Kanaax malinnaq “Appropriated (enslaved) the Koniag”, sons of Algaman malituq “Mammals were appropriated” (10.4. 1, 11 = B 1, 3.). The elder brother (the chief) had also a son named for him: Algamaan malidusix “Means for appropriating mammal(s)” (10.4. B 2.), cf. Algamaan unaligisix “Means/Way of giving mammal(s) cooked (food)”, son of Algax unaliginaq “Gave the mammal cooked (food)” (7.2. T 5.). In the other cases of brothers or three generations the names are quite different (10.4. B 4-5; 13, 6; 39-40).

It is important to note that at least two of the younger people were named for a living parent, a boy (10.4. B 2.) and a girl (10.14. B 40.).

4.3.3. Nicknames.

A nickname would presumably be given a person who already had a more normal name, unless it was inherited, a possibility mentioned by Veniaminov. In either case, some persons in the Census could possibly have been listed with their nickname, for example Sikanax “Toothless” (11.1.10.); Qihmuk “Cross-eyed” (10.12.10.); Aniqduksix “Childish” (11.1.2. T 5.). Tuuhyux “Silent” (13.1.32.); Qagux “Fierce” (10.3.23.).

As a matter of fact, some ten of the names in the Census or their close analogues are known also as modern nicknames (Atka 1950-52): Tanitux “Bald” (14.1.32.), modern Quixduax “Baldhead”; Aqlanaq “Was angry” (14.1.5.); modern Aqlax “Hothead”; Uyqigadax “Little old woman” (10.8.17. a man), modern Iganakuxa “Little old woman” (girl with an old-looking face); Qatxamux “Big penis” (17.3.11.); Qatxayux “Poor Penis” (18.3.3-4.), modern Nungix “Penis” (Attuan word); Chuchagax “His being erect (erection)” (6.1. T 2.), modern Chuchaxtuxi “Erector”; Qaalux “Fermented urine” (10.10.3.; 18.4.2.), modern Huxsunux “Stink (of urine)” (wet his trousers as a child); Kalagaan “His own sculpin” (14.3.16., elliptical), modern Kalagaq “Sculpin” (rapacious boy); Titlax “Eagle” (5.1.5.), also modern: Tumgax “Tusk” (10.2.12.), modern Tuvax “Tusk” (Attuan form).

A nickname apparently could have any form, e.g. Maguun “Well, all right” (lit. if you do), the nickname of an Eastern Aleut who perhaps used that expression often. But there seem to be no objective criteria for distinguishing, in the Corpus, between nicknames and other names.

4.4. Conclusion.

The ideology behind the Aleut naming customs is difficult, if not impossible to get at. But one important point seems certain: there is no indication of a child having been named specifically for a recently deceased relative, nor, of course, of a deceased’s soul being reincarnated in a child. According to what Veniaminov could find out, the pre-Christian Aleuts had only vague ideas about a life after death and believed that the “souls” of the dead, called shadows, lived on invisible among their kinsmen and helped them, etc. (1840 2: 126 f., 1984: 220 f.). The Aleut word for shadow has also been used for a ghost or spirit (see Aleut Dictionary p. 419 uqiminqayat- etc.), while the word used in the Christian sense of soul, anqix or angidgix, probably as a calque from Russian (duska, dakh), actually means breath, which can be observed to come to a final stop.

The Aleut naming thus differs clearly from the ideology known from many Eskimo groups. According to Bircket-Smith’s account of Chugach naming (1953:85), a child was named by its father for a dead relative even before the birth took place, but the child was not supposed to resemble its dead namesake, nor was the soul of the dead person believed to be reborn in the child. According to Margaret Lantis’s detailed account of the naming system of the Nunivak Eskimo (1946:236 f.), children were most often named for their grandparents, like the Aleut
without the idea of the soul of a person being transferred, but there was no ceremony and no legend connected with the name.

Perhaps the most peculiar feature of the Aleut customs is the naming for an event experienced by an ancestor, rather than for an ancestor as such. This could perhaps have something to do with the linguistic fact that the majority of the forms in question are ambivalent as to word class. As mentioned above, a form or phrase with the suffix -na-, for example, can be used both as a finite predicate in the remote tense and as an agent participle, descriptive of a person or an object, etc., as if a materialized event. A possible parallel is the place name Tanax angunax “(the) island (is) big” (one of the Islands of Four Mountains, and an island near Atka village), actually a clause, while any big island would be referred to as tanam angunaa, a participial construction. Aleut thus has both “proper verbs” and proper nouns. This may also explain the fact that the great majority of the names are of one person only (see 2.5.).

However, apart from the possible nicknames, there are more than one type of names in the Corpus. Several of the simple names have obvious Eskimo analogues, for example among the names listed in Greenland in 1743 (Meddelelser om Grønland 120, 1939, pp. 207-218), e.g. Agnaks “Chief, host” (7.6.6.), Grl. Ituck = ittoq ‘male head of family’; Ayagaadaa “Girl” (11.1.42., a man), Grl. Niviarsina, name variant of niviarsiq ‘girl’; Angusix “Nose” (17.1.26.), Grl. Kingok = qingnak (du.) ‘nose’; Tulax “Upper arm” (2.1.36.), Grl. Tellek = taleq ‘arm’; Sax “Duck” (10.8.5.), Grl. Mitok = miteq ‘eider duck’ (etymological cognate); Igasiq “Wing” (3.3.15.), Grl. Isrlok = isaroq ‘wing'; Chunguuyux “Piece of down” (13.1.14.), Grl. Kiviok = qivoq ‘down’; Qidanakadaa “Darned weeper” (10.14. B 1.), Grl. Kejegakuk(tok) = qigaajuk(tok) ‘(who is) prone to weeping’; Naguya “That’s the one” (7.4.12.), Uma “Here, back here” (10.9.33.), Grl. Una ‘this one’.

The Aleut naming customs probably had a long history behind them, like cultural phenomena in general.

5. Tentative Semantic Classification of the Names

The purpose of this last section of the introduction is to indicate to which areas of ancient Aleut life the names may belong according to their presumable meanings: 1. Human beings, 2. Nature, 3. subsistence, 4. Social relations, with several subdivisions. Because of the vague or uncertain meaning of many of the names, the classification is inevitably somewhat arbitrary and leaves a residue: 5. Various names.

5.1. Human beings.

5.1.1. Sex and age.


Ayagakachax “Little woman” (10.14. B 32., 28 year old woman). For married woman (wife) see 5.4.2. For men and boys called woman or girl see 5.4.3.

Alix “Old man” (10.14. B 30.), Tayagum aliga “Old man” (10.11.26.), Aliisinan pl. “Grew old” (3.3.25.).

Sugangix “Young man” (4.1.5.; 10.12.12.; 13.1.33.), Suganggaasadax “Very young man” (2.1.37.), Hlaagax “Real (or Favorite) boy” (16.2.7.), Hlukachix “Little boy” (7.1.12.), Hlukachadax “Very small boy” (8.1.20.), Hlanamqum rel. “Darned boy” (15.1.17.), Anyqutxijadi “Nice little child” (7.2.28.).

5.1.2. Parts of the human body.

Some of these words may also refer to an animal body.

Kamix “Head” (14.1.22.), Taniqux “Head” (10.7.7.), Tayagum
saa “Man’s face” (5.2.13.). Sagimagá “His face” (7.3.T 5.). Angusix “Nose” (17.1.26.). Kuchux “Upper lip” (5.2.2.). Agunañ “Tongue” (10.14. B 9.). Chuyux “Arm” (10.8. B 1.). Tulax “Upper arm” (2.1.36.). Chakuxa “Little hand” (18.2.1.). Chaaguzañ “Just hand” (2.1.46.). Chaakluuxa “Darned hand” (8.4.7.). Kamgisisañ “Means for having a good head (?)” (1.1.28.). Ta yawgum dagiñcha “Man’s substitute eye(s)” (?) (10.14.9.). Dañlichan rel. “His substitute eye” (10.14. B 22.). Alugan angaa “His side” (3.3.23.). Aqayuñ “Hip” (11.1. T 7.). Qatxamux “Big penis” (17.5.11.). Qatxyuxuñ “Poor penis” (18.2.3-4.). Chisux “Vulva” or Chisux “Hard rod” (3.4.3.). Ichaxañ “Anus” (18.2.2.). Ichaxun “His own anus” or Ichaxun “Bottom of basket” (11.3.8.). Uyaxkin “His own two openings (?)” (3.3.8.; 10.8.25.). Qalux “Fermented urine” or “Eating place” (10.10.3.; 18.4.2.). Kitax “Foot” or Kitax “Feet” (1.1.22.). Kanux “Heart” (19.1.4.). Angix “Intestines” or Angix “Breath” or “Voice” (13.2.16.). Kayuxin “His own strength (muscles)” (1.1.5.). Kayuu “His strength” (3.3.26.). Aqxyuakux “Wart” (10.14.1.). Hiichinkañ “Pimple” (13.1.19.).

5.1.3. Physical characteristics.

Qayax “Tall” or “Hill” (19.1.1.). Iganañ uluxtañ “Has a terrible body” (9.1.5.), cf. 5.4.6. Kayuginañ “Was strong” (17.1.23.). Ta yawgum ignagichiñhuxulux “Man’s lightness” (7.3.13.). Kunakux “Is skinny (like fish)” (13.2.2.). Qachxa huqdgunañ “His skin is soft” (8.5. T 5.).

Tanituñ “Bald” (14.1.32.). Qihtmux “Cross-eyed; twisted” (10.12.19.). Datuñ “Having a big eye (or big eyes)” (13.1.28.). Gulatuñ “Has large nostrils” (17.2.6.). Sikanux “Toothless” (11.1.10.). Uyutux “Having a big neck” (3.2. T 1.). Uyuchixinañ “Nice neck” (7.2.4.). Uyugidax “Has (craning his) neck” (3.1.21.). Qagalgitiñ “Has big nails (or claws)” (10.1.2.2.).

Anqaxa “His way of standing” (13.1.25.). Chuchagaxa “His being erect (erection)” (6.1. T 2.). Igunax “Crooked” (17.2.3.). Kañhiguñ “Bends over” (17.1.25.; 17.3.2.). Ayuxadax “Falls over very much” (1.1.40.). Ayatuxuñ “Tends to fall” (10.15.7.).

Tayagux ngaan liiñadax “A man likened to him” (7.5.9.).

5.1.4. Mental characteristics.

Iganañ “Terrible” (10.15. T 4.). Igatxiañhuxulux “Not frightened” (17.2.5.). Ta yawgum inuxuñ “Man’s fright” (7.1.1.). Mayadax “Usually daring” (18.3.10.). Qagux “Fierce” (10.3.23.). Qagudax “Always fierce” (3.2. T 4.; 10.8.10.). Qagumax “Mighty fierce” (2.1. T 1.). Tayañgum qaguuxañ “Man’s fierceness” (7.4.1.). Qachanisanañ “Got angry with somebody” (11.2.4.). Qachayux “Being ready to be angry” (14.1.18.). Aqalanax “Was angry” (14.1.5.). Ayaguñlañ “Badly disrespectful ones” (10.4. B 14., a woman). See also 5.4.6.

Luñux “Reliable” (1.1.43.). Luulazañ pl. “Kind of reliable” (7.3.20.). Luuluñ “Way of trust (one to be trusted)” (17.1.20.).


Anqdxux “Childish” (1.1.2.). Qidanakux “Darned weeper” (10.14. B 1.). Tuñux “Silent” (13.1.32.). Saan ayagichixinañ “Let his face be ashamed (blushed ?)” (15.1.8.).

Iganañadañ “Lust” (17.1.28.). Taanxatuxañ “Little drunkard” (10.8. B 8.). Tumuk saxta(ad)ax “The chief’s two lazy ones” or “The two lazy chiefs” (8.1.17.).

Sigax “Try to recognize” (10.9.22.).

5.1.5. Movements, states, voice.

Sagimagax kumsixañ “Lifted the face (?)” (7.3.4.). Agidgix “Wide open (eyes)” (10.14. B 29.). Chakix yaqgix “His hands are moving” (13.2.4.). Chakin bangatañ “Holds his hands up (as sign ?)” (10.2.3.). Chaan suqagisanañ “Took with his hand” (3.1.42.). Chaan anqasanañ “Lifted up with his hand” (1.1.49.).

Kitax “Kicker” (17.3.4.). Kitax “His feet step (tread)” (10.14. T 8.). Tanux tadax “Trod the ground” (10.8. 30.). Anqax “Stood up (or set out)” (1.1.38.). Iganañ (or Iganañ) ixhux “Jumped the cliff” (15.1.24.).

Malga agañadax “His puff (odor) appears” (1.1. T 5.). Anqagiqax “Stop(p) breathing” (7.3.21.). Qalaulingatux “His urine was stopped (?)” (3.1.34.). Ichtux “Wiping posterior” (17.1.3.). Qachxa mañiquax “His skin was soaked” (11.6.2.). Chakin bighayax “Letting his hands freeze” (16.2.9.). Qinganayax “Making get cold” or “Growing cold” (10.4.2.). Nanayux “Long aching” (11.4.2.).

Aliqax “Trying to make vomit” (1.1.12.). Alixtaqalagux “Apt to vomit (?)” (7.2.6.). Chakin aligisanañ “Vomited with his hands” (11.6.4.). Aligaisañ “Way of nearly vomiting” (1.1.12.). Tukum aligdañcha “Chief’s vomiting means/place” (10.14. B 38., a woman). Igalix “Faint-
ing from bloodletting” (10.14. T 5.). Igaliyakan “Trying to make him faint” (6.1. T 2.).

Kayuun uqahnañ “Cured his strength” (10.14.5.).

Angusuñ “Calling out” (14.1.23.). Qisikin agisatatanax “Used his palms for hollering” (3.1.30.). Tunuucha “His talk (or curse)” (11.5.6.).

Angín ayagidusanah “Made (somebody) ashamed by his call” (11.5.8.).

Tunuñ qichatanañ “Sharpened his voice” (10.8.13.). Imadun sanax “Equal to (as loud as) shouting (?)” (11.2.8.). Tana(a)maan tununañ “Spoke to (the his) land (place)” (10.4.6.).


5.2.1. Mammals.


Akan algañ “His mammal out there” (10.9.2.). Ayagan algañ “Women’s mammal” (11.6.1.). Ayagaga algañ (12.1.1.). Algaman iganañ “Terrible mammal” (14.1.28.; 19.1.6.).

Algahxizanan “Were nice mammals” (10.9.29.).

Algayuxuñ “Poor animal” (8.3.8.).

Akayum algañ “Strait mammal” (3.2.18.).

Algam quhamañ liiñuñ “Mammal seeming bright” (2.1.29.).

Issuñ “Seal” (1.1.34.).

Iganam isuŋ “Danger’s (?) seal” (2.1.34.).

Chiidiñ “Pup” (16.1.15.).

Aataqiglax “Future fur seal bull” (10.5.3.).

Alax “Whale” (7.2.43.).

Chngatux “Sea otter” (7.9.1.).

Uquuchsia “Blue fox” (11.4.10.).

Akykux “Dog” (8.3.1.; 10.3. T 1.).

Hamuyukux “Hare (?)” (8.1.5.).

Kuunuñ “Horse” (4.1.12.).

Algam kitakix “Mammal’s feet” (10.14. B 1., 32.).

Algman chisuucha “Mammal’s vulva” (3.3.3.).

Algam kayuñ “Mammal’s muscles” (10.14. B 18.).

Algam tunuñ “Mammal’s voice” (7.5.3.).

Ingłax “Vibrissa” (3.3.19.).

Tumgañ “Walrus tusk; foreshaft” (10.2.12.).

Igkukan “Hides” (5.2.21.).

Chuxin “Backbone” (1.1.22. with other alternatives).

Saŋnyux “Vertebra” (6.1.7.; 7.2. B 5.).

Saqnyuñ “Small guts” (13.1.2.).

Takatux “Has a big bladder” (8.3.9.).

Algam qutagachña “Mammal’s means for being carried by the wind” (7.3. T 3.).

5.2.2. Birds.

Sañ “Bird, duck” (10.8. T 5.).

Lagaañ “Young goose” (4.1. 7.).

Aalgañ “Oldsquaw” (9.1.11.).

Kasam “Eider duck” (14.1.17.).

Ququñ “Young of eider” (1.2.1.).

Uluñtax “Murre” (11. 2.18.).

Qugñuyax “Young puffin” (1.1.9.).

Chuxini “Least auklet” (17.3.9.).

Anulgiñ “Coromant” (10.9.4.).

Tixlax “Eagle” (5.1.5.).

Sañamanax “Eagle” or Sagimañ “Eagle” (4.1.11.).

Aaquliñ “Hawk ( falcon)” (10.14.20.).

Qalqagayañ “Magpie” or “Raven” (7.5.12.; 10.14.19.).

Qalqagañ “Had the raven eat (?)” (5.1.1.).

Chaxtux “Savannah sparrow” (5.2. T 4.).

Kamalux “Young of rosy finch” (18.3.9.).

Dasustux kukan taganañ “The crimson <bird> alighted upon him” (?) (8.4.5.).

Kuchukangin “Its (or His) beak” (13.1.23.).

Igasiñ “Wing” (3.3.15.).

Chunguyux “Piece of down” (13.1.14.).

Hakax sunax “Took the feather”.

Saหłmañ “Egg” (16.1.7.; 18.3.4.).

Chaasuxtaqax “Old yolk” (3.1.39.).

5.2.3. Fishes.

Amanyuñ “King salmon” (10.5. B 10., a woman).

Xaykin “Dolphin” (10.10.4.).

Aluxchux “Dog salmon (?)” (10.4. T 1.).

Qaadaañ “Young trout” (16.1.5.).

Chuxchux “Cod” (19.1.7.).

Kalagañ “His own yellow sculpin (or harpoon)” (17.3.16.).

Kuhuyuñ “Great sculpin” (8.1.11.).

Kuhuyuñ “His great sculpin” (13.1.7.).

Taamulux “Flounder” (6.1.12.).

*Tuquyux “Smell of codfish bladder (?)” (10.7.13.).

5.2.4. Lower animals.

Agqunax “Sea urchin” (10.3.21.; 11.2.3.).

Chiimkañ “Periwinkle” (1.1.14.).

Chiikmañ “Worm” (4.1.3.12.; 15.1.3.; 17.1.8.).

Tukuknom “Chief’s maggot” (18.1.3.; perhaps cf. J 48:44 ff.).

Umuygax “Little sponge” (17.1.19.).

Ayagam ingalazigachña “Woman’s means for having good nits” (10.4. B 11., a woman).

5.2.5. Plants, wood.

Alguañ hisix “His black lily is growing” (1.1.6.).

Alişsiix “(medical plant)” (2.1.11.).

Ingnaax “Reedgrass” (9.1.3.).

Saanam “Fine grass” (18.1.7.).

Lalux “His cedar” (10.9.20.).


Hyagañ “Only wood/log” (3.2.31.).

Hyaggañ “Stabbed the log” (10.7.5.).

Malañ “Seed, pod” (5.2.29.).

Stiknetisicax “Cut the birch bark” (5.1.3.).

Tanañ huqdqux “His place is mossy” (8.5.2.).

Hinux “Piece of sod” or Innux “Piece of food” (13.1.11.).

Kaalakkañ “”? “Little paper” (3.3.14.).

5.2.6. Natural objects.

Igduñ pl. “Flint” (3.2. T 7.).

Iglux “Obsidian” (18.1.7.).

Qugñayux “The stone tumbles” (7.3.1.).

Agigilux “Big round stone” (7.2. T8.).

Chuqñulux “Gravel” (6.1.25.).

Chuxkux “Dust” (8.4. T 1.).

Ciñl “Mud” (10.5. B 11., a woman).
5.2.7. Land and sea, places.

**Unglux** "Pinnacle" (10.14. B 9.). **Igana(m) chutchidilgaa** "Pointed cliff" (14.1.35.). **Sisxaadax** "Isthmus" (3.1.16.). **Tukum akaluga** "Chief's path" (7.5.4.). **Chimitxin** "His own tracks" (2.1.51.).

**Tayaugs chiqganaa** "Man's river" (10.2.8.). **Qalutux** "Has large hot springs" (17.1.10.). *Qalun** "Place with hot springs" (14.1.9.).

**Alaqux qakax** "Its sea is dry (?)" (19.1.14.). **Aulaux** "Swell (or Laughter)" (10.15. T 5.). **Amnax** "Stream, current" (17.1.12.). **Akayux** "Strait" (7.2.14.; 10.11.15.). **Aalax akayux** "Two straits" (3.1.28.).

**Tanaax** "Land, place" (10.6.11.). **Tanaug pl.** "Have many places" (1.1.37.). **Tayaugm tanga** "Man's islet" (7.2.42.). **Qanaxtusix** "Wintering place" (3.1.11.). **Halasix** "Place for turning the head" (3.1.2.). **Halaalugin** "Their place (or His places) for turning the head" (10.14. B 26.).

**Chunux** "Chukax Point" (1.1.32. with other alternatives). **Amlax** "Amlia Island" (13.1.20.). **Chagligis** (15.1.13., point). **Kiugan asunax** "Crossed over Cape Kiugan" (14.1.10.). **Tanaax** "Big island (Tanaga Island)" (10.8.7.; 11.1.15.). **Itimisxadaax** (9.1. T 7., which see). **Kad'yaq**, *Kod'yax* "Kodiak Island" (1.1.29.; 10.15.31.).

5.2.8. Natural phenomena.

**Sulugin** "His own thunder" (14.1.16.). **Sulgix** "Thunder" (3.1. T 9.). **Amudaax** "Usual lightning" (15.1.6.). **Taniilux** "Lightning place" (10.2.13.). *Achayaax* "Trying to make burn" (3.1.23.). **Kadan qudax** "Fire ahead" (1.1.7.).

5.3. Subsistence.

5.3.1. General.

**Angaagaixax** "Subsistence" (10.11.5.; 10.15.4.), pl. **Angaagaixin** (7.5.18.).

5.3.2. Clothing.

**Chuetaqan** "Clothes" (3.1. T 6.). **Tayaugm qagdukix** "Man's sealskin parka" (7.3.9.). **Chigdaadax** "Little gut parka" (5.2.33.). **Chuugayuyux** "Poor fur parka" (3.1.29.). **Chugux sanaax** "Took the fur parka" (10.13.12.). **Chuuyugux** "Has many jackets" (10.8. T 2.), pl. **Chuuyugus** (16.2.10.). **Hamgakix** "His sleeves" (16.2.4.).

**Uyulix** "Scarf" (8.1.19.). **Saliiix** (?) "Dancing shawl" (10.4. B 7.).

**Ulligil'qatqax** "Old boots" or **Ulgitaqax** "Taken inside" (13.1.27.).

**Itxangin ilan quyuqax** "Was put to bed in his collar (?)" (5.2.11.).

**Chuqanax ulachagiquagulux** "What was put in him was not turned inside out (?)" (6.1.22.). **Sakin angusinax** "Got (spilled) the lamp on his bird parka" (10.4.4.). **Tukum akangulux** "Provided the chief with an upper" (8.1.13.).

**Axsidigax** "His proper perforation", perhaps for labret or nose pin (7.2.37.).

5.3.3. Housing.

**Ulaux** "House" (7.6. T 1.; 10.5. B 4.), pl. **Ulaaq (17.1.18.). Ulagan** rel. "His house" (11.2.14.). **Ulaasaku** "Took it for house" (7.2. T 1.).

**Ulaaxtuxanaax** "Had a large house" (17.1.5.).

**Tukayuxchi** "Your front wall" (7.4.5.). **Tuliixa** "Rafter" (11.2. T 1.). **Kaginax** "Swept" (10.8.1.8.).

**Igana(m) qixyax** "House platform of fear (?)" (11.5.4.). **Sagaulux** "Sleeping place" (7.9.1.). **Tayaugm saqaul** "Man's bedding" (10.12.11.).

**ULaax** "Tent" (7.2. B 1.). **Ulasidaax** "Little tent" (6.1. T 5.). **Ulasinx chimikhaanaax" Took his whole tent" (10.8.11.). **Lilin kamuxtanaax** "Had roof of mats" (10.12.27.). **Iganax adugixsanaax** "Lived in a cave by the cliff" (3.1.8.). **Angalix tanaaxtanaax** "Lived in daylight (?)" (10.12.3.).

**Angalix itaguxsanaax** "Stayed with daylight" (10.12.5.).

**Angaagin hayugin** "The people are in their sleeping places" (11.1.21.). **Ixaax tunuqix** "His place (bed) has a voice (or message)" (15.1.2.). *Aqayux saxaax* "Took the inner one (in house) (?)" (10.11.8.). **Kalaax isinax** "Cut the mat (?)" (10.2.5.).

**Ulaax ayagaxs** "His house has women in it" (10.11.21.). **Ayuqazigax** "Good long stay (?)" (3.2.12.). **Uxsutux** "Has much warming" (11.7.14.).

5.3.4. Eating.

**Tukum-ngaana unaaxixix (or anuusixix)** "Means for cooking for (or for hitting) the chief" (7.5.17.). **Qaligax** "Material for food" (10.14. B 35.). **Qatautaax** "Is usually hungry" (10.8.27.). **Qazuxum** rel. "Good eater" (5.5. T 4.). **Qazanaax** "Was eating leisurely" (13.1.3.). **Tumgixas** "They did not eat the bought [food]" (2.1.4.). **Qaligaxs "Leftovers" (19.1.2.). **Alix unalixs** "Fed the old man with old food" (10.12. T 3.). See also 5.3.7.3.

**Kaluxaax sanaax** "Took the plate" (10.12. T 3.). **Lusuxiix** "Spoon" (13.1.6.).

5.3.5. Handicraft etc.

**Suqyan** "Carpenters, handicraft workers" (1.1.45.). **Chakin suqyanasax** "Worked with his hands" (16.2.2.). **Chakin igataqixi-
sanax “Used his hands to find knives (slate)” (7.1.8.). Qichxix “Knife” (11.7.15.). Qamlin susalisanax “Disentangled with his knife” (10.2.11.; 10.7.2.). Igamagin “Big woman’s knives” (10.10.8.). Igalguy chiyaqatx “Her big woman’s knife was reached her” (10.14. B 36., a woman). Qigagasix “Cutter” (15.1.11.). Sagix “Edge” (17.1.9.). Sagik halaasanax “Turned his two edges (tools)” (3.1.35.). Qatax “Sheath” or “Lateral half” (10.9.21.). Qataa aqixax “His sheath comes loose” (13.2.3.).

Anigasix “Hatchet” (10.7.12.; 10.12.17.). Anigan (11.6.5.).

Quxunanax “Chopped” (3.1. T 3.).

Susuganax “File” (3.1. T 14.; 11.1.6.). Iqagisix “Saw” (10.9.21.).

Chankusix “Hammer for crushing” (1.1.20.; 13.2.10.). Tugaanax “Struck with (something)” (17.1.6.).

Igamaan agidusix “Means for opening (prying) slate” (2.1.47.).

Igan hadguusanax “Piled up slate” (10.8.6.).

Chaambilaitan “His own means for knocking (striking fire)” (1.1.23.). Anichani rel. “His lighter” (11.7.13.).

Hadguqaglisix “Means for piling up, shovel” (10.1.10.).

Ixsix “Bail, handle” (15.1.7.). Chadam aug “Oil bag” (7.5.14.).

Chaduxusix “Grease” (1.1.48.). Nuxusix “Storing stomach” (7.2.11.).

Uuyqaadax “Little opening” (1.1.51.).

Umnaa ukqax “His rope was found” (17.1.16.). Chikadusix “Means for winding up (guts)” (10.7. T 4.). Taguklax “Little bundle” (18.14.).

Taguusix “String” (3.2.25.).


Chitxagisix “Means for grabbing” (5.2.32.). *Iganichxuxudax “Means for making fly (?)” (2.1.44.).

Tukum aamalichan “Chief’s cleaning instrument” (3.2.24.).


Aguqisix “Made (built)” (11.4. T 2.). Sixsax “Breaking in two” or Siksax “Clubbing” (15.1.16.). Sisakadulux “Never breaks in two” (6.1.20.). Qatsaxadulux “Is never split” (10.8.14.). Chatunax “Ready to be chipped” (10.6.14.). Ahlayagax (?) “Used for board” (15.1.15.).

Igdagisxan “Result of drilling (fire)” (10.9.31.). Qignax / Qaganax alaasax “Being at a loss for fire / bone (?)” (3.1. T 5.). Anguligaasax “Was taken as material for lamp” (16.1.1.).

*Qilguxax (Qilguxax?) “Knotted” (15.1.23.). Qilguxutxax “Got many knots (?)” (13.1.18.). Qilgux hyaganax “Struck the knot (?)” (7.4.7.).

Igluqaa qiguxax “His hide was laid away” (10.3.25.). Iguluqax “Bridged” (9.1. T 3.). Ilaglan “Without patching” or “Patch it in several places” (7.2.40.). Chaan hakaasanax (?) “Used his hand to remove feathers” (3.1.3.).

Tukum igim ukuuxtaacha “Chief's means for looking at himself (= mirror)” (7.2.34.).

53.6. Baidarka and traveling.

Tayayuqum qiyagii “Man in baidarka, padding man” (11.3.11.). Alik iyqagix “The old man has (goes in) a baidarka” (1.1.26.). Iqyagix “Usually paddles in baidarka” (12.1.1.). Iqyagixtinulax “Not his own paddlers” (11.3.12.). Iqyax xayugix “His baidarka is strong” (11.1.19.; 15.1.1.). Iqyax Iqgananax “His baidarka was terrible” (10.14. B 27.).

Iqyam iganana “Terrible baidarka” (17.3.17.). Ilyax agiixa “His baidarka was rubbed” (11.3.1.). Ualalax “Barge, baidarka” (7.2. B 5.; 10.5. T 1., B 7., 10.-11.).

Tukum ayugacha “Chief’s equipment for going out (in a boat)” (10.1. B 1.). Aygalaux “Time for traveling” (7.2. T 6.). Iqyax ayugnix “Put the baidarka in motion” (10.5.7.). Iqyaxidusix “Start of paddling” (11.7.2.). Iganax ayugusax “Went out by (alongside the cliff)” (3.1.37.).

Angiin xagdusax “Went out to sea with his breath (or voice)” (10.11.38.). Tunuxstax ayugusax “Went out with talking (magic?”) (10.9.19.).

Iqyax haqzigax “His baidarka comes properly” (17.1.15.).

Changadaax “Goes fast” (10.8. B 5.). Changax “Making go fast” (17.1.32.). Aalalux “Goes into swells” (3.1. T 4.). Iqyax xaynulax “Made his baidarka raise the bow” (2.1.13.). Alaguanaga taangasqax “Was brought a drink on the ocean?” (2.1.3.).

Alaguxnulux ayugusax “Went out on a sea not his own” (7.2.12.). Akayux agilax “Missed the pass” (10.14. B 41., a woman). Kiiakax “Beaten (surpassed in race)” (?) (10.11.11.). Akitaax “Means for going as far as (somewhere)” (?) (10.11.22.). Tayayuqum axtaacha “Men’s proceeding” (3.2.27.).

Chagudaan qagdusax “Was happy for his wooden hat (visor)” (10.3.14.). Qissix “Steering” (11.5.5.). Ayadax “Usually tumbles / capsizes” (8.3. T 1.). Iqyagix haqhax “Raised the paddler” (11.3.2.).

Ilux hanikatnax “Made the circle (of baidarkas) stop paddling” (17.1.14.).

Alagux husisxax “Has a mammal loaded in” (3.2.15.). Iqyax alagix “His baidarka has a mammal on/at/in it” (2.1.41.). Taadalaax “Baidarka deck” (11.7.17.). Taumgax “Cross-strap” (10.3. T 5.). Kuligixtin “His own deck load (or upper central ribs)” (9.1. T 6.). Tayagu (m) kuligidchixinax “Man who makes (people) have a deck load” (10.1. B
4. Iqyam ixhaqash “Filled baidarka” (10.7.1.). Iqyaa[n] ilgitanaax “Loaded his [own] baidarka heavily” (11.7.3.; 12.1.3.). Hawnugax “Towed” (17.1.1.2.). Tuku[m] hazugacha “Chief’s towline” (10.5.11.). Hualuqay xiyagaqisanaax “Paddled with a river otter” (3.1.1.). Kilmax ayugusax “Taking stomach out” (8.3.12.). Igluqaay ayugusaqax “His hide was taken out” (7.2.25.). Angaqax ayugusaqax “Passed with men” (1.1.27.). Angaqax haqasax “Bringing a person” (7.4.14.). Angaqax haqasaqax “Brought people” (11.5.10.). Iqyagaqaqax “Brought in baidarka” (11.7.7.). Tayaqun agusanaax “Passed with men” (5.2.8.). Angaqax humadanx “Brought the person outside” (10.4.14.). Akayuusaqax “Was taken across the strait” (11.7.18.). Akayuun imahnaax “Shouted over his strait” (10.9.24.).

Tayaqun u:n chalaqasanaax “Slid ashore with the men (his man)” (8.4. T 1-2.). Chalasaxa “Landing with somebody or something” (7.5.1.). Aalulu hauvununax “His swell went toward the shore” (16.1.13.). Chalasaxa “Landing place” (13.1.16.). Alitux aulichana “The army’s landing place” (10.1.16.; 10.13.1.). Aulichana hauvax “His harbor grew (became larger)” (10.14. B 14.). Chalasaxaataqax “Wants to be met (at landing)” (16.1.11.). Tigusaqax “Taken ashore” (7.5.10.). Angaqax tigerusanaax “Landed by daylight” (3.2.1.). Iqyaaan hachihmanax “Finally tied his baidarka” (9.1.8.). Iqyaaan salisixinaax “Put a shawl (?) on his baidarka” (10.4. B 7.). Iqyaaan kalalanaax “Dragged his baidarka” (10.8.26.). Ulasixinaax “Tug of a tent ashore” (6.1.11.).

Tanaqin anqasaqax “Set out by (along) his two places” (11.2.17.). Aalaxsatayunaka “Went to the mainland” (14.1.2.). Chaang haux “Five burdens” (8.2. T 1.). Sitax agnax “Passed the isthmus” (5.2.27.). Tanaqulisiin (?) pl. “Means for visiting people with many places” (10.1.1.). Ikaaxqinax “Was over there” (10.1.2. B 35., a woman). Iganax ukunax “Found his cliff” (?) (14.1.29.).

5.3.7. Hunting.

5.3.7.1. Hunting equipment.


Gichi:txitin “His own weapons” (3.1. T 7.). Ugalux “Spear” (2.1.2.; 10.8. T 4.). Ugaluka:gin “His own two spears” (7.8.1.). Ugalu[m] baqatux “Butt of spear” (10.6.4.). Aklig(a)yuu “Poor harpoon” (3.2.28.). Tumpuqax “His own foreshaft” (10.9. T 4.; 11.2.2.). Saguq “His own blade” (17.1.35.). Kadaatuxax “Worn spearhead” (11.2.11.). Ayutgaqilax “Used for bringing down” (3.3.13.). An’qat “His/Your own lines” (14.1.3.).

**Introduction**

Alga'txin qayuťxanať “Hooked his mammals” (6.1.6.). Qayuťxanať “Hooked” (1.1.4.). Algaał qayuqax “His mammal was hooked” (10.14.2.). An'gaxtin qayumigasanaň “Hooked with his lines” (11.5.15.). Algaał qayumikaň “His mammal was hooked repeatedly” (15.1.21.). Algaał chayanaň “Hooked the mammal from the fish trap” (8.3.4.). An'gaa alhaňi “His line has (is on) the mammal” (15.1.22.). An'gaxtin sayunaň “Pulled his lines” (5.2.35.). An'gat tixmigasanaň “Jerked with his lines” (16.2.3.). Algaał tixyunaň “Jerked (pulled out) the mammal” (6.1.1.). Algaał ignunaň (or igunaň) “Pulled out (or Left) the mammal” (3.3.2.). An'gaa ilaqunaň “His line helped” (13.2.5.).

Chuhnitaxi “Poking” or Chuhntaalaax “Poked with” (10.14.6.). Algaan anaatanaň “Clipped mammals” (10.11.1.). Chaan algaliisanaň “Killed mammals with his hand” (7.3.2.). Algaał samiisanaň “Flinging mammal to the ground” (7.4.3.). Algaał ayunaň “The mammal fell over” (10.4. T.1.; 10.14. B.19.). Alga[x] anunaň “Hit the mammal” (5.2. T.3.; 7.7.6.). Chudulax “Hits several in one shot” (10.13.11.).

Algaan aqaxatx “Missed his mammal” (10.14. B.3.). Algaamak takadusitx “Way of letting a mammal go” or “Means for Way of taking off mammals” (9.1.12.). Algaą takahnaň “Let the mammal go” (9.1.1.). Takayanaň “Trying to tear off” (11.2.1.). Algaanluxi amqiisanaň “Was angry because of -catching-, no mammals” (10.2.21.). Chhagatutatxaxinulu “The sea otters he did not catch” (3.2.9.). Agaligidugulu “Never harpoons” (10.8. B.7.). Algaanluxinuninulax “Mammals without wounds” (8.3.5.). Algaanluxi chauguňaň “Wounded a mammal not his own” (10.1.17.).

Kulamakigaňaň “Killed whale(s)” (10.15.22.). Alakix kimaxaň “His two whales were sunk” (?) (10.3.10.).

Algaał kayulixaň “Weakened (killed) mammal(s)” (9.1. T.2.; 10.3.6.; 10.4.11.). Algaanluxi “Got mammal(s)” (3.3. T.3.). Algaał ataqaňan “Got one mammal” (10.10.5.). Atqaqan algaatx “One mammal gotten” (10.11.31.). Algaał chimikatx “Mammal was taken” (10.1. B.1.). Algaą “Has mammal(s)” (10.3.2.). Alitxuxixi algaą “His two warriors have mammals” (1.1.16.). Algaalax “Has lots of mammals” (18.1.2.). Qawagix “Has sea lion(s)” (7.3. T.5.). Algaał alaqasanaň “Put a property mark on the mammal” (10.2.25.). Antaťan “His markings” (10.15.15.). Algaał anaat “Marking mammal” (9.1. T.3.). Anachan re “His property mark” (10.11.16.). Algaan re “His mammal” (11.4. T.1.). Algaan re “With mammals (his mammal)” (13.2.). Algaał gıdaktaň “His mammal is enviable” (10.1.33.).

Alga[x] hatągasanaň “Slipped (or started) with a mammal” (16.1.16.). Algaangin chutuxaň “His mammals were plugged up” (10.2.20.). Kuun algaą “You had (a mammal upon you)” (?) (10.8.20.).

Humnisixaň “Made swell” (10.14.17.). Humniidadax “Makes swell a little” (2.1.45.). - Uğalux qaala “Spear tight” (?) (10.9.12.).

Alasxinax “Went hunting inland” (10.8.31.). Chixtın algaliisax “Put mammals (foxes) in the dens” (7.6.1.).

5.3.7.3. Hunting results etc.

Tanaľ axaligisi “Brought mammals to the place” (2.1.40.). Algaan ngaan alaqliisax “His mammal was taken ashore for him” (7.3.10.). Algaan ngaan haqasix “(Bringing his mammal to him)” (5.1.13.). Ulaan igluqaligisi “Brought hides to his house” (5.2.14.). Tumgan haqaqasanaň “Brought tusks” (11.2.15.).

Małsi “Butchering” (2.1.27.). Qamligiisanaň “Handled (something) with his knife” (10.7.10.). Algaan atxatx “Cut a chunk of his mammal” (1.1.18.). Atxaastixqagulu “Did not get means for cutting a chunk” (1.1.17.). Qugduliisi “Means for taking off top part of whale” (1.1.24.). Kilmukgisiisisi “Means for getting stomachs” (10.2.16.).

Chaduńatxagisiisisi “Providing of blubber” (10.15.6.). Chaduńanuk “Smelling of blubber” (10.2.22.). Amatxin “His own braided intestines” (?) (3.1. T.15.). Ayagaa qalka “Eating its female” (?) (10.2.6.). Aamag qagalagadulu “Its blood is never eaten” (8.1.6.). Algaał qaligasuňaň “Used the mammal for providing food” (10.3.5.). Uğalun qaligasanaň “Used his spear for getting food (or fish)” (10.3.16.).

Algaał qaaliaňaň “Scraped the mammal” (10.2.23.). Qixatax “Scraped” (14.1.30.). Qalidax “Usually scrapes” or Qalidax “Usually deprives of food” (19.1.5.).

Algan udixaň “Distributor of mammals” (3.1. T.7.). Algaan ngaata-ngaan aqax “Was given half (the transversal half) of his mammal” (7.3.14.). Angtalisiisi “Means for removing the half” (7.5.13.). Achtuqatx “Was asked for shares” (3.3.11.). Saadakin achxuzigasanaň “Shared nicely his (her?) two long bones” (10.3. B.2., a woman).

Algaał isqastax “Put the mammal in a basket” (10.3.22.). Anuxi algaał “Put mammals in the stream (?)” (10.3.9.). Algaax qaqaasinaň “Put covered his mammal with grass” (10.4. B.8.). - Hasakin algaał “Provided his two reefs with mammals (?)” (10.9.25.).

Algaał unaligisi “Gave the mammal cooked food” (7.2. T.5.). Algaamalun alaqasix “Means for giving a mammal cooked food” (10.14. B.4.). Algaamal unaqisisi “Means for having cooked food for a mammal” (7.2. T.5.). Algaał alaqasanaň “Gave the mammal braided intestines (?)” (10.14. B.5.). These names could perhaps refer to a rite of serving the killed game a “meal”, comparable with the Eskimo custom of giving the game a drink of fresh water.
5.3.8. Fowling.

Sa[x] ugalunax “Speared a duck” (5.1.7). Aalgaaax ugalunax “Speared an old squaw” (7.1.2). Iganax kalunax “Shot a/the flying one” (14.1.34). Uxchuqox “Has puffins” (18.2.5).

Sangin uyaaqax “His birds/ducks (or blades) were brought” (2.1.25).

Tanax salginax “Brought ducks (or blades) to the place” (11.5.14).

Aagayax salginax “Gave the woman duck(s)” (10.14. B 31., a woman)

Amixox salginax “Gave his maternal uncles ducks” (7.4.10).

Sagan ilin huluxax “Shared in his ducks?” (8.3.11).


5.3.9. Fishing.

Ahyaquoxix “Means for spearing fish” (10.11.23.). Saqan “Points of fish spear” (10.8. B 3.). Ihngix “Dipnet” (11.4. T 8.). Ihngx *aligxatax “Got material for dipnets” (17.1.29.). Yaqgyqum satxxa “Man’s net for catching sea otter” (10.1. T 1.). Cha(a)yaqox “Has many fish pots (or drums)” (17.3.8).

Kuliga cha(a)yagox “Put fish pots (or a drum) on his baidarka deck” (10.1. B 4.).

Akayux waisisaqaxx “The (His) strait was fished in” (7.7.2).

Iqgan amagam “The terrible fishing’s place?” (11.1.12).

Qaadamiqux “Fishing for trout” (18.2.6.). Chaliq ngaan susqaxx “Was taken with a fishline” (3.1.26.). Ugalunx qaisunasax “Used his spear for making fish supply” (2.1.3).

Igana xochisix “His spear is means for having fish (or food)” (8.1.9).

Igana xochichisax “Had the terrible one fished out from boulders” (10.9.34.). Sikuq xogunax “Took out the decaying fish (red salmon)” (2.1.24).

Qatxangin sayuqax “The fish he caught were pulled” (5.2.19).

Kalaax “String for stringing fish” (1.1.30.; 5.2.7.). Yaqgyqum qanacha “Man’s handle (slit in meat or fish)” (10.15. 19.).

Tanax xalginax “Provided the place with fish” (10.3.17.). Takanux “Smell of codfish bladder” (11.5. T 1.). Qataxun rel. Smelling of filet fish (13.1.5.). Ugalunx hudiqisiqax “Used his spear for getting dried fish” (10.1.9.).

Qatmiq xigim ugotqanana “Enjoyed a/the razor clam” (4.1.14).

5.4. Social relations.

5.4.1. Social status.

Tuqox “His chief” (7.3. T 4.). Tuqox “Chiefs (His own chief)” (10.5. B 6.). Tukuchisax “Nice chief” (9.1.2.). Tukum kaniqtaatux “Chief who tends to be pleased”. Tuqox anatax “His chief makes (things) his own” (10.2.1.). Tukum xigidalqinax “Provided his chief with or

nments” (10.8.16.). Agnakax “Chief, host” (7.6.6.). Agnakuchax “Little chief” (10.15.24.).

Tanax tuyagux “His place has men” (10.2.10.). See also 5.4.7.

Yaqgyqum kayuqginax “Made the men work hard” (10.8.23.). Imagox “Exhausted” (3.1.4.). Ali[x] aqyinax “Put the old man in motion” (17.2.1.

Yaqgyqum ayguxanax “Gave the man work hard” (16.1.10.). Kayuqginax “Worked hard” (16.1.9.). Yaqgyqum sayuqax “His man pulled” (11.4.6.). Yaqgyqum ayguxanax “Caused men to be had as dogs” (10.3.7.). Yaqgyqum awiyqanax “Used (women) as men” (18.3.3.). Chigxangyaqox “His river has a woman (or women) in/at it” (3.1.27.).

Tayamagdax “Great trader” (10.6. T 2.). Ayagax “Trying to sell” (3.2. T 1.).

Tukuxiix “Riches” (3.1.22.). Agachax tukulaqadax “One gets most rich by him” (7.2.21.). Tukum ayagox “Trying to make (or become) rich” (3.3. T 1.). Tukuxulan pl. “What to be rich by” (5.2.9.). - Tanaaq chadunaq “Oiled (brought oil to) his place” (3.6.1).

Tanaaq hyaagqalinax “Provided his place with wood” (10.14.8).

Aanaqasiqax “Has a counterpart (in an affectionate relation between an older and a younger person)” (11.2.6.). Ayax “Friend” (17.3.5.).

Aachagux “Best friend” (3.3.17.). Aqax “Adversary” (10.8. T 1.; 10.13.8.; 16.2.12.). Angax “Your adversary” (10.9.43.). Ilagidax “Has friends” (8.4.1.). Achaachang aqganax “Your friend had cruelty” (7.2. B 1.). Uqjuyqayax “Disliked for a long time” (11.1.11.).

Tanaaq sugaasnax “Complained about (or slandered) his place” (10.2.7.). Chxaqox “Thief” (10.5.10.). Agutax “Fugitive” (11. 5.11.).

Asaqox “Has a name” (11.4.7.).

5.4.2. Marital status and kinship.

Ugix “Husband” (16.1.14.). Uqixatutax “Wanted to be had as a husband” (3.2.3.). Ayyaqax “Had a wife” (17.1.17.). Ayyaqax “His wife is nice” (10.15.1.). Ayyaqax “Taking for wife” (2.1.6.). Ayagasaq “Took her for wife” (10.9.10.). Alix aqyagox “The old man has a wife” (10.15.8.). Alix aqyagox “His old man has a wife” (10.11.25.). Ayyaqax “Was still with his wife” (11.4. T 6.). Ayagatax “Has a big wife” (5.2.34.). Ayagadatux “Has a big young woman” (12.1.5.). Ayyaqax “Future bride” (10.14. B 30., a woman).

Hlang “My son” (10.9. T 4.). Yaqgyqum hlaa “Man’s son” (10.5. B 2.; 11.3.10.). Hlachix “Your (pl.) son(s)” (10.9.40.). Hlaquchax “His little son” (13.1.21.). Hlaqnaqtaax “Hit his son with a stick” (11.7.11.)
Hlaa nган huσanαx “His son rolled down for him” (11.7.10.).
Tayaqαm aσxinuxίicita “Man’s stepdaughter” (7.4.2.), cf. 5.4.3.1.
Adang “My father” (3.1.24.). Latux “Grandfather” (13.1.31).
Kukaαx kayqunuxαx “Grandmother is hard” (7.10.12.).
Hungis “Sister (man’s)” (11.1.5.8.). Huyuu “Her brother” (10.2.17).
Huyuqisicis “Half-brother” (10.4. B 10., a woman). Ludatxin “Your/His own
elder brothers” (7.5.11.). Kingikudax “Darned younger (brother)” (16.2.5).
Amin “His own maternal uncle” (3.3.22.). Omnini “His own
nephew” (10.12.4.). Umnigiisicis “step-nephew” (10.12.4.). Quliqis “Aunt (maternal uncle’s wife)” (18.4.4.). Quligatxin “His own aunts”
Ngαgux “Son-in-law/brother-in-law” (17.3.6.).

5.4.3. Sexual relations.
5.4.3.1. Transvestism.
Sauer (1802:160) reported: “They formerly used to keep objects of
unnatural affection, and dress their boys like women.” Merck: Here one finds,
although nowadays more rarely, male women (Aijheuhuk = Ayagigux),
as on Kodiak, who themselves, although more rarely, have
women (Ma. p. 184; Jacobi 1937:122; Pierce 1980:174). According to Choris
1822 (in Hrdlička 1945:168), Aleut parents would formerly dress and
dress a good-looking son as a girl and, at the age of fifteen or sixteen,
give him in marriage to a rich man. The following names are all names
of male persons.

*Axatagax “Made into a woman” (3.3.20.). Tayaαm ayagiguxaαxnαxtana “Used men as women” (10.14.4. = B 29.).
women” (3.1.4.). Ayagakuchax “Little woman” (2.1.23).
Ayagachuxisax “Nice woman” (10.9.45.). Ayagaguzahlax “Only woman”
(2.1.7.). Ayagadax “Girl (and/or Co-wife)” (1.1.42.). Asxinux “Girl” (7.4.
T.2.). Asxinukdax “Little girl” (16.1.2.). - Uyqiqadax “Little old woman”
(10.8.17.).

Tukux qinganalinax “Deprived the chief of cold (warmed the chief)” (5.2.24.).

5.4.3.2. General.
Taniidax tuglax “Feeling her mons pubis” (10.14. B 39.). Ayagacmanquαqax “The one above the woman” (3.2.10.). Kilmaa ayagiguxis “His
belly has a woman on it” (10.12.6.). Kitakix ayagiguxis “His feet have a woman
on them” (10.12.7.). - Ayagaman nakalinax “Cleaned his (own) woman” (11.4.

Chaαn ayagagigisana “Copulated by means of his hand (masturbated)” (10.9.27.).
Algaαx yaxtana “Loved a mammal” (2.1. T 3.). Algaman ayagatanx
αaα “Mammal to be taken as a woman” (10.14. B 44., a woman).

5.4.4. Feasting etc.
Kamagax “Preparing feast” (5.2.1.). Kamigαnax pl. “Caused
people to feast” (11.6.6.). Kaαalαn sαgigλαnαx “Put provisions on his
grass mat” (10.6.12.).

Tununuxax “Made (the drum?) resound” (17.3.12.). Chaαyαguαx
“Has many drums” or Chaayu “Has many fish pots” (17.3.8).
Aaxa “Dancing” (1.1. T 2.). Qαqαnuux “Men’s dancing” (3.1.T 8.;
10.3. T 2.). Talixτ “Dancers” (17.1.24.). Ayagam taligαsa “Woman’s
way of dancing” (10.12.15.). Tukux axaaαsaanux “Danced with the chief”
(11.2.16.). Ayagαx salixταnαx “Put a dancing shawl on the woman”
(10.4. B 12., a woman).

Ukamαx “Theatrical performance” (11.3.7.).
Ungilaxa “Tale (story)” (6.1. T 4.).

5.4.5. Shamanism and magic.
Qugαq “Shaman” (11.1.13.; 16.1.3.). Qugax “Assistant spirit”
Qugαdαx “Little assistant spirit” (1.2.1.). Qugαm αlgα “Spirit’s
mammal” (10.11.18.). Qugαm alagux “Spirit’s sea” (3.2.8.). Qugαx anigλαnαx “Chopped (?) the spirit” (10.12.13.). Qugαx tunuxαx “Made the spirit talk” (10.12.1.). Hutaqαx qugαq “His thumbs have spirits”
(8.3.13.). *Qugαxaqαnαx “Provided (somebody) with magic (or mastery)”
(17.1.22.). Qugαqistaqulgux “Was not treated with magic” (3.2.20.).
Asix “Qugαqistaqisαnαx “Provided (somebody) with (somebody)” (7.1. 9.). Ayagαnα xugαxaq “Gave his wife a spirit” (2.1.8.)
Qugαx ayαgαnaα “Went out (in his boat) with a spirit” (10.8. 24.).
Qugαx aligαnαx “Gave the spirit a mammal” (10.12.32.).
Algaαn αgαnaα “Mammal’s frightfulness” (3.3.12.). Algaαn
kuxαx “Sent out his mammal” (6.1.2.). Algaαn axilux “Has mammals as crew” (7.3.19.). Qugαdαxαx aligαx “His braids have mammals”
(11.1.1). Algaαn (?) tununuxax “Made his mammal talk” (2.1.49.).

Iskαxτ (in) adaluxαxα “Deceived with baskets (his basket)” (11.3.5.).
Ayagaαn daligλαnαx “Provided his (own) wife with an eye (or eyes)”
Axsigin ukuştqaqax “His amulets were seen” (6.1.4).

Ağadaşı hachiyanax “Trapped to lift up the sun” (7.3.22.), cf. J 17:31ff.

Tanaan yaglilğitanax “Made his island sway” (15.1.20.), cf. J 71. Qaya

5.4.6. Tribal relations.

Agii’dax “Guest (from other village or tribe)” (14.1.7.).

Qigi’inax “Krenzin Islander” (1.1.13.).

Alaxsiin aligaa “Old man of the mainlanders” (5.2.26.). Alaxsiin
aligaa “Mainlanders’ mammal” (3.2.6.). Alaxxiinulux “Not mainlanders
(Alakans)” (3.1.32.).

Niğux “Andrearof Islander” (10.6. T 1.), pl. Niğugin (10.4. B 13.),
a woman). Niğux qagunaq “Being mad at the A.” (14.1.6.). Niğux
qaalanax “Mocked the A. I.” (7.1.5.). Niğux qinganahnaq “Made the
A.I. cold” (10.6.2.). Niğux isinaq “Cut across the A.I.” (10.1.5.).
Niğux chimikahnaq “Took the whole A.I.” (10.1.4.). Niğux aguniaq
(or haquniaq) “Caused the A.I. to work (or pack)” (10.1.8.). Niğux
iganaanaq “Intimidated the A.” (10.6.8.) (2. B 4.). Niğugin tununin
igim uguataananax “Enjoyed the words of the Andrearof Islanders’
(4.1.2.). Niğugin aamaganaq “Made the A.I. bleed” (10.6.9.). Niğux
udalnaq “Put the A.I. in the bay” (10.1.3.). Niğux algulinaq “De-
prived the A. I. of mammal(s)” (11.1.30.).

Qaxun kalahanax “Lined up Rat Islanders” (10.8.19.). Qaxun
atxatnaq “Keeps R. I. in order” (10.8. B 6.).

Kanaax tukulinaq “Deprived the Konig(s) of their chief, killed
the Konig chief” (4.1.9.). Kanaax hachihnaq (?) “Jammed the K.”
(8.1.4.). Kanaax imahanax “The K. screamed” (8.1.2.). Kanaax kitanaq
“Kicked the K.” (10.9.36.). Kanaax chuyulinaq “Cut off the K’s arm”
(10.8.2.). Kanaax ailiinanax “Cut the K. in two” (10.11.4.). Kanaax
ayulganax “Felled (?) mightily the K.” (7.3.15.).

Kanaax malinax “Appropriated (enslaved) the Konig” (10.4.11.).
Kanaax ayagalanax “Deprived the K. of women” (3.1.40.). Kanaax
huglinax “Took the K’s net” (7.4.6.; 10.14. B 12.). Kanaax sigilanax
“Robbed the K’s provision” (8.6.). Kanaax itxalinanax “Took the K’s collar (17.1.37.). Kanaax tununinax “Made the K. talk” (11.1.14.).
Kanaax igyanaq “Konigs’ baidarks” (3.1.12.). Kanaax angali “K’s
(mammal) blood” (3.1.12.). Kanaax angali “K’s daylight” (3.1.15.). Kanaax taguuchaa “K’s string (?)” (10.11.2.).

Many of these names belong also to the next section.

5.4.7. War.

5.4.7.1. Preliminaries.

Tayağulux “Fighter” (11.4.11.). Tayağunanka “Robber (or fugitive)”
(13.1.4.). Tayağunaqagisax “Means for fighting men” (7.3.5.). Latxaq
“Killer” (10.12. T 3.). Chuhnidanax “Stabber” (10.7.2.). *Satam “Wound-
ing” (10.1.7.). Layuqan “Beating for a while” (17.1.21.). Tayaqusiitux
“Wants to get (kill) men” (13.2.11.). Alituxm saa “Warrior’s face” (7.3.3.),
perhaps with war paint. Tumganin ignaxagax “His tusks to be feared”
(10.3.1.). Chuyukik qichxagax “His arms have weapons” (10.8.3.).
Alituxm anagacha “War axe” (10.3.12.). Alituxm qagalx “Warrior’s
claw” (10.14.10.).

Tayağum alitxuq “Man’s war party (or crew)” (7.3.18.). Tayağugan
“Has men” (10.8.5.). Chakik tayağugan “His hands have men” (2.1.35.).
Alitxuq tayağugan “His army/crew has men” (10.3.19.). Alituxu
kayugan “His army is strong” (8.1.7.). Kayugin tayağugan “His
strength is in his men” (4.1.4.). Alitxuqan ilan huulagax “Brought
strength into his army” (8.1.2.). Tanagan-ngaam kayusiquax “Got (?)
strength for his place” (8.3.6.). Tanagan irganax “His places (or islands) are
terrible” (10.11.4.). Alituxu alquax “Needed army/crew” (10.14. B 25.).
Tayağunin uyaqax “His men were sent for” (3.1.13.). Tayağun-ngaam
uyaaxas “Means for fetching/sending for a man” (2.1.10.). Alitxun-
ngaam uyaqax “Was fetched for the army” (7.3.9.). Alituxu hasixtanaq
“Thought the army to be numerous” (11.1.7.). Alituxu anqatigaq
“Added a half to the army” (10.15.17.).

Tayağun qaguninaq “Made the men fierce” (7.4.8.). Alituxu
qaguninaq “Made the army fierce” (10.3.4.). Qaguchxinaq “Made the
army” (1.1. T 4.). Qaguyadyax “Tries to make the army” (7.2. T 3.).
Qaguyaxtaq “Good at making (the army) fierce” (10.3. T 4.).
Qagutxaxihidax “Still makes fierce” (10.9.6.).

Alituxu kalahanax “Line up the army” (10.2.15., 19.). Alganiqisax
“Means for inspiring awe” or Alganiqisax “Means for making jealous”
(3.1.33.). Alitux(um)naa haqisuxas “Lifting of the (his) army” (?)
(10.3.20.). Iganam iguduchaa “Removal of danger” (?) (2.1.39.).

5.4.7.2. Campaign, fighting.

Tukuukalituxanax “His chief waged war / made an assault”
(15.1.19.). Alituxuualix “Fighting (the enemy)” (10.9. T 3.). Tukuux
kayulinaq “Gave his chiefs strength” (8.2.4.). Tukuun agusax “Pass-
ing with his chief” (10.14. B 24.). Tukuux iganilinaq “Took his chief
(11.1.5.). Tukuun haqininaq “Encouraged (?) his chief” (9.1.16.). Tukuun ayugniitanaq “Caused his chief to go out” (10.4.18.).
Tukuun suganinaq “Hurried his chief” (7.3.16.). Tukuun hinax “Called his chief” (5.2.23.). Tukuu aqtiqaq “His chief was hard to deal with” (3.2.5.). Tukuu chagliquqalunga “His chief was not cut” (2.1.1.). Tukuun nagaan uqalutaq “Spear for the chief” (10.6.8.). Tukuux sigaamiq “Tried to recognize the chief” (7.3.7.; 10.13.7.). Tukuun nagaan suussuk “Means for taking the chief” (2.1.30.). Tukuun nagaan unusiiq (unaasiaq) “Means for hitting (cooking for) the chief” (7.5.17.). Tukuux chuhniquq “Stabbed the chief” (7.5.11.). Tukuux uqataxiq “The chief was brought” (8.1.11.). Tukuux ngaan uyaxaq “The chief was brought to him” (7.2.20.). Tukuux tumganaq “Struck the chief with his stick” (10.3.16.), cf J 72:34-35. Tukuux isinaq “Cut the chief” (10.3.24.). Tukuux itzaqiqaq “Took the chief’s collar” (10.3.8.). Tukuux qamglinax (or kamglinax) “Deprived the chief of his sleeve (or head)” (3.1.25.). Tukuux qalinaq “Deprived the chief of fish” (11.7.8.). Tukuux makinaq “Chief’s lighteningings” (10.14. B. 24.). Tukuux maayay(ax) in alasaanaq “Was at loss about the chief’s belongings” (?) (7.3.25.). Tukuun tunuxtaasiaq “The chief talked about (or argued with) them” (7.2.15.).

Alituxux alaxsiq “The army went into the tundra (= Konig’s territory?)” (3.8.7.). Alaxsiq ngaan ayuqas “One stayed for a long time in the mainland for him” (3.2.11.). Alaxsiq (or Alaxsiq) tkuxunax “Pulled out the mainland” (6.1.4.). Alituxux qiiqat “His army is hidden in grass” (3.2.3.). Tuyaqum ngaan aqatux “Means for revealing a man” or T. haqitudi “Lifting (salvation) for a man” (8.5.7.).

Amiqanagis uqatux “Those he watched were found” (14.1.31.). Qulutat “War cry” (18.3.7.). Tuyaqum(n) tunuxinax “Made the men talk/sound (raise war cry)” (11.5.9.). Tunuxun alituxusanaq “Fighting with his voice” (7.7.10.). Tuttalgaq iqanax “Terrible to hear” (11.5.3.; 17.3.15.).

Iqanax higaq “Threw fright” (?) (10.11.28.). Iqanax halasaalunaq “Turned around terribly” (10.5. B 3.; 10.13.9.). Tuyaqumukunax “Caused the man to turn” (10.11.29.). Iqanax suluxanax “Made noise with the blade” (17.1.34.). Umgisicha tunuxinax “His knife has noise sound” (10.6.5.). Uknife yaganaq “Ordered with his knife” (16.1.12.). Alituxux siqaq “Being (or mammal) in front of the army” (7.7.5.). *Kadaminax “Was in front” (19.1.12.). Tuyanun aqatux “Uses aqatux in front” (3.1. T 1.). Tuyaun nagaan hangaasax “Was taken up to his place?” (?) (1.1.50.).

Alituxux-naga ngadusiaq “Smashing the army” (7.7.14.). Tuyaqum kayalinaq “Weakened (vanquished) men” (10.3.26.). Tuyaqunax “Got (killed) men” (13.1.30.). Tuyaqum(n) suyax “Trying to have men taken” (3.2.27.). Tuyaqum takhadan pl. “Tear off (eliminate) a man” (2.1.43.). Alituxux maqsiq “Worked on (killed) the army” (3.3.21.). Kayuqilqat uqatux “His strong one was pulled” (18.2.7.). Kanatuxaq “Trying to make fall headfirst” (1.1.3.). Chakinaqalunaq “Fought with his hands” (10.3.18.). Chakinaqaluxa “Has his hands as tusks” (10.2.4.), cf J 72:34. Qaaxa “Hit exactly” (10.12.8.). Chueniqaq “Stabbed” (10.9.17.). Tuyaqunax kalunaq “Shot a man” (3.3.1.). Iqanax qaxunax “Hit the terrible one” (6.1.16.). Nanasaq “Was hurt” (10.14. B 17.). Qilinax yaguq “His brain was shaken (?)” (10.7.6.). Saaxuq “Pulled” (14.1.27.). Qagnaaq uilax “His bone was bent” (19.1.10.). Tuyaqum ngaan qansiquq “Means for bending a man” (8.4.3.). Alan tadaq “Stepped on in the middle” (10.11.7.). Tuyaqum(m) kugan tadaq and gurun nutax “Having stepped on the man he went down to the shore” (7.2. B 3.). Tuyaqum kugan tagaax “One sighted (landed) upon his man” (7.7.4.). Aytaxunax tadaq “Trod on the one to fall” (10.11.10.). Tanaqamulun kugan uludaniq “Caused to be red (bloody?) on an island not his own” (7.2.27.). Tanaqamulun kugan chaluxat “Was handled badly in his place” (7.5.2.). Chaliququlux “Was not laid hands on” (10.4. B 4.). Kamglinax “Was not beheaded” (2.1.17.). Isiigulaq “Was not cut” (1.1.8.). Tuyaqum chaluxa “His man was not cut” (2.1.5.).

Saaxuqagaq “Was not handled with bow” (2.1.31.). Qachqa “His skin was not hit” (10.14.16.). Tuyaqum tadaq “The man was burning” (10.9.32.), cf J 84:1 ff. Hunaq aqnax “Hit his wound” (17.2.4.). Hunaq(n) suyax “Pulled his wound” (?) (17.1.31.). Hunaq saqatux “His wound was pulled” (10.11.13.). Hunang aqatux “His wounds were counted” (10.4.7.). Aamagnuax “His bleeding” (1.1.15.). Akyagim humaluga “Inflating tube of torture” (?) (8.1.5.). Agitablex “Means for intercepting” (1.1.11.). Qayaqingax iqanax (or iganax) “His means for being tall fell down (or were terrible)” (?) (3.2.13.).

Aataqan uqaluax “Having one spear” (10.10.2.). Ugaluqun iqanax “Was terrible with his spear” (7.5.5.; 8.3.3.). Ugaluqun yagulax “Walked with his spear” (7.2.38.). Ugaluqun nagaqax “Lived with his spear” (10.2.9.). Ugaluqun aqatux “Together with the spear” (10.16.3.). Ugaluqun aqatux “Landed with his spear” (10.1. B 3.). Ugaluqun aqatux “Landed with his spear” (10.1.13.). Ugaluqun chulaq “Stabbed with his spear” (10.14.21.). Ugaluqun higax “Threw the spear” (10.11.3.). Ugaluqun hunudax “Wounded with a spear” (10.15.18.). Ugaluqun kugax “Cut with his spear” (10.11.32.). Ugaluqun suqatux “His spear was pulled” (5.1.6.). Ugaluqun aqatux “Destroyed with his spear” (2.1.20.). Ugaluqun aqatux “Used his spear as finger” (10.15.28.). Ugaluqun chulluax “Used his spear as arm” (10.8.32.). Ugaluqun kayugulax “Worked hard
with his spear” (7.4.11.). **Ugalun angadatanax** “Defended his spear” (5.1.10.). **Ugalun tunugax** “His spear swears (?)” (2.1.26.). **Ugalun igim qayanisanax** “Made himself high with his spear” (3.1. T 13.). **Ugalun uninisiyanax** “Frightened with his spear” (7.1.10.). **Ugalun qanaqlax** “Did not eat (swallow ?) his spear” (17.1.36.). **Igana salichxinax** “Let his blade be made dull” (10.4.8.). **Igana taduhnanx** “Knives surprised“ (?) (10.4. B 4.). **Qasixisunax** “Was good at raising his arm for stabbing” (10.9.11.).

**Unglux ugalunax** “Speared (people on) the pinnacle” (11.1.8.). Unglu ugaluqax “His pinnacle’s people were speared” (7.1.7.). Unglux aamagninax “Made (the people on) the pinnacle bleed” (5.2.17.). Unglux qagnaqix “His pinnacle has bones on it” (8.3.7.). Unglugan kugan aamagniqtaxaq “Was made bleeding on his pinnacle” (8.5.6.). **Hasagin sunax** “ Took strongholds” (10.10.9.). **Hasagin ilagisinanx** “Made friends (peace with the strongholds)” (7.2.26.).

**Tanax iqanaansaqax** “His place was intimidated” (7.2. B 41.) **Ulaanluxu chaqgunhxax** ”Damaged a house other than his own” (10.1.2.). **Igana** (or **Iganaq** isinax “Cut the cliff (the terrible one)” (7.7.8.).

5.4.7.3. Fight at sea.

**Iqyaayqax** “Looking for baidarkas” (14.1.36.). **Tanangan kukian ayugayqax** “One went out from his two places” (2.1.28.). **Iqyan samusanax** “Counted baidarkas” (10.12.20.). **Kadan ayyaadaasanax** “Used to travel with points” (10.14.14.). **Hunatxin iqagisinanax** “Paddled with his wounds” (7.2.3.). **Xasixin anaqiqtanax** “Used his paddle as club” (3.1.17.). **Iqyaq tugagix** “His baidarka is hit” (3.1.10.).

**Iqyan-ngaang axsidudaxa** “His means for perforating a baidarka” (7.2.19.). **Iqyan gulginax** “Pierced baidarkas” (10.9.5.). cf. J 57.6.

**Tayaqum gulgiqax** “The man pierced it” (10.9.38.). **Tayaqum qasanax** “His man surfaced” (11.4.6.). cf. J 72.28. **Iqyaq[n] hunax** “Reached his baidarka” (10.14. B 13.). **Iqyan-ngaang uyayqax** “Was sent for to the baidarka” (3.2.16.). **Iqyatx malihaqanax** “Appropriated a baidarka” (3.2.7.).

**Niigin alitxusuanax** “Fought baidars” (6.10.6.). **Amaqun ugalunax** “Spearied the racer” (6.1.5.).

**Aaliissiqagulux** “Didn’t get a landing place” (1.1.10.). **Alitxun tagaacha (or tagaacha)** “Army’s alighting (or testing)” (7.9. T 1.).

5.4.7.4. Gain and loss.

**Ulagan silan kayuulaqax** “Was waited for to his house” (1.1.47.).

**Tanaaqaatuax** “Wants to come back to his place” (3.2.4.).

**Qichxitsin tanaaqaasanax** “Brought his weapons back to his place” (10.8.23.).

**Tayaqun hyaag(al)inaqax** “Deprived the men of wood” (11.2.7.). **Aalax lagilax** “Deprived two of geese” (?) (10.5.4.).

**Tayaqun anaasqaxax** “Marked men” (10.2.26.). cf. N.M. 3.77.

**Tanana tayaguligidaq (-nax)** “Brings/Brought men to his place” (2.1.38.).

**Alitxun uqiguligax** “Provided his army with hides” (5.2.30.). **Alitxun qaaxtaligax** “Provided the army with caught fish” (3.3.18.).

**Alitxun qangataxax** “Provided the army with means for cooking” (3.3.5.).

**Alaq malihaqanax** “Appropriated the mammal” (10.4.1.; 10.5. B 8.).

**Aataax malinax** “Appropriated the fur seal bull” (10.14.3.). **Malinax** “Usually appropriates (something)” (10.14. B 37.).

**Algamaa malidix** “Means for appropriating mammal (s)” (10.4. B 2.).

**Algamaan malitaqinax** “Means for appropriating mammal (s)” (8.2.1.). **Iglaga malitaxax** “His harpoon was taken away” (7.2.30.). **Qaxuu qanag malitaxax** “His butt (or Rat Islander ?) was taken away for him” (7.2.2.). **Malitxasinaqax** “Got something appropriated” (10.14. B 6.). **Malitxasigaqanax** “Had a good appropriated thing” (10.5.6.). **Algax mali[q]tanax** “Mammals were appropriated” (10.4. B 1.). **Chingaa malitaxax** “His/Her/Its body hair was taken away” (10.14. B 43. a woman).

**Agalingin suqax** “The ones behind him were taken” (3.2.2.). **Iganganissuqax** “His cliffs were taken” (14.1.6.). **Kayungin suqax** “His strength was taken” (2.1.52.; 11.7.6.). **Tanangan halgi suqax** “The root of his land was taken” (8.4.4.). **Alqaga suqax** “His mammal was taken” (17.1.4.; 7.2. B 2.; 18.3.2.). **Chahmaa suqax** “His dish was taken” (1.1.55.). **Tunuu suqax** “His voice was taken” (10.9.28.). **Kiyugun suqax** “His jaeger birds were taken” (10.9.8.).

**Tayaqum qidaasqaxax** “His man was mourned” (10.11.6.). **Tayaqunin qichxilqax** “His men were deprived of weapons” (7.2.29.). **Qichxix suqax** “His knife was taken” (6.1.24.). **Sangin suqax** “His blades (or ducks) were taken” (2.1.48.; 11.7.5.). **Qichxix igasaanax** “Flew off with his knife” (?) (15.1.14.). **Chadqunaliqax** “Was deprived of blubber” (10.15.10.). **Tukux agilinax** “Deprived the chief of jingle stone” (10.14. B 20.).

**Akiqagulux “Did not retaliate” (10.12.22.). Akidan pl. “Used to retaliate” (11.3.13.). **Akiisanaq “Revenge” (13.3.15.). **Ikalamagax** “Means for greatly revenging” (?) (6.1.13.).

**Alitxun (m) qaduqunuca** “Warrior’s way of having many scabs” (?) (10.3.3.).

5.4.7.5. Women involved.

**Ayagadun “Means for getting women” (14.1.12.). Ayagalix** “Woman robber” (10.8.4.). **Ayaga[n] ukudax “Watches women” (11.4. T
5. Ayaganya unukna = "Found women (his wife)" (3.1.44.). Ayaganya hixtaduusana = "Was quick to call on women (his wife)" (13.2.1.).

Angajina takayax = "Trying to take a woman loose" (1.1.52.). Ayaga axtusana = "Took a woman over" (2.1.9.). Alida ayagalinax = "Took A's wife" (4.1.10.). J 14.1. Ayagaliqax = "Deprived of women / his wife" (14.1.8.). Ayagaadaliqax = "Deprived of young women" (9.1.2.).

Ayagangin suqa = "His women were taken" (10.11.33.). Ayagatagiyam atxagha = "Straightness of trying to get women" (10.14. B 45.).

Ayagalinax = "Brought women to his place" (10.9.3.). Tanaan ayagalinax = "Brought women to his place" (7.6.4.). Tanaan ayagalinax = "Removed women from his place" (7.6.4.).

Ayagamaa an ayugusaqax = "Was taken out for a woman (his wife)" (1.1.46.). Ayagagoanalux = "Were not taken by women" (3.1.38.).

Ayaga ugalu = "Spear a woman" (10.12.29.).

5.5. Various names.

Uluudax = "Red" (1.1. T 3.). Quhmanax = "Was white" (13.2.18.).

Aatuunax = "Was fast to want to be (something)" (?) (10.15.21.).

Tayagum aatuucha = "Man's wanting to be (something)" (10.15.13.).

Maqulasiqulu = "No reason for being idle" (11.1.9.). Malgadax = "To be done" (10.14. B 6.). Mazigatasiq = "Means for doing much" (1.1.11.).

Angilamaniq = "Passed the day too" (16.2.11.).

Kadan aqax = "Was put before him" (10.9.1.). Sila aqax = "One was close to him" (5.2.28.). Agachinax = "Led (someone) away" (10.4. B 4.).

*Kahmadux = "Fast" (18.3.1.). *Kahmataq = "Fast" (17.1.11.).

Achigaisaaq = "Moving fast with (something or somebody)" (10.15.14.).

Aatamaniq = "Causes to be fast" (3.2.14.).

Chatanax = "Slid" (17.3.13.). Chatatnax = "Was made slide" (17.2.20.).

Chiduniq = "Means of sliding down" (16.2.6.). Kinmiq = "Made descend" (17.1.30.).

Kimiyax = "Trying to take down" (16.1.6.). Uchadax = "Going leisurely down" (16.2.11.). Angamitix = "Lying down" (10.4. B 13.).

Hangayanaq = "Tried to lift up" or Angayanaq = "Tried to make breathe" (1.1.33.). Chitiq = "Tearing off" (3.1. T 1. 6.). Sulaq = "Picking up" (10.15.20.).

Tagaquatatux = "Has much jamming" or Tagaquatatutux = "Tends to be jammed" (8.3. T 3.). Kuu tataq (or tataq) = "Its surface is cracked" (10.2.18.).

Ummalqaq = "Wants/Tends to be bound" (15.1.5.). *Qyanni = "Tight" (7.1.6.). Qichiisanaq = "Were surrounded" (2.1.33.). Tanaq = "Piled up (a great) place" (10.8.12.). Qitqatnax = "Were made crooked" or Kitqatnax = "Were drained" (10.12.31.). Kichaadax = "Draining a little" (19.1.13.).

Ayqinaq = "Difficult" (11.3.6.). Ayqidanixaq = "Forcing / Blocking" (10.15.32.). Angqatiqyuanax = "Had a difficult time with people" (10.9.37.).

Tayagum angyuuchax = "Man's difficulty" (7.8. T 3.).

Qayqayax = "Forced" (1.3.1.).

Luhmaasax = "Trying (attempt)" (10.9.23.). Tayaqum tagaa (or taaq) = "Man's attempt (or alighting)" (9.1. T 5.).

Ukuqax = "Usually finds" (18.4.1.). Ukuuxax = "Getting/Finding" (1.1. T 8.; 10.12.33.).

Ukulaasax = "Finding many (things) by means of (something)" (11.2.10.).

Analgiqanulux = "Got nothing" (3.1.36.). Maknaadax = "Little result" (15.1.12.).

Ginas nanaq = "Did attractive things" (11.4.3.).

Aaladax = "Need" or Alaasax = "Being at a loss".


gayazgax = "One to get aid from" (11.7. T 1.).

Agazax = "Gift" (2.1. T 3.). Sigalix = "Giving gifts" (10.8. T 3.).

Azatnax = "Counted" (2.1.53.). Samusax = "Counting" (10.12.26.).

Chuganan = "Were all there" (1.1.25.). Sanatatnax = "Made suffice" (10.15.9.).

Chxiaasax = "Full of (something)" (10.5. B 4.).

Chxiaasax = "Means for trying to fill" (10.9.22.).

Alitadax = "Substitute" (18.4.5.).

Alitadax = "Substitute" (10.11. T 6.).

Aqilax = "Being left" (18.1.5.).

Agilaxaqalux = "Was not left" (1.1. T 2.).

Agataq = "Bare" (10.8. B 7.).

Digilix = "Being sooty" (10.14. B 8.).

Chigix = "Dampness" (10.5.9.).

Manux = "Good smell" (10.9. T 5.).

Qilukichax = "Little teaser" (2.1.6.; 3.4.1.).

For the rest see 3.2.6.

5.6. Survey of women's names.

The interpretable women's names are repeated here, with references to the sections where they are listed together with the men's names above.

5.1.: Ayagakuchax = "Little woman" (10.14. B 32.).

5.1.4.: Ayaginaluq = "Badly disrespectful ones" (10.4. B 14.).

Ayagatgax = "Woman's straightness (correctness)" (10.14. B 45.).

Ayagamanq aqatxiganulux = "Hide nothing for the woman" (10.14. B 37.).

5.1.9.: Tukum aligdaachax = "Chief's vomiting means/place" (10.14. B 38.).

5.2.3.: Amiuunq = "King salmon" (10.5. B 10.).

5.2.4.: Ayagam ingalaziaq = "Woman's means for having good nits" (10.4. B 11.).

5.2.8.: Chiqix = "Mud" (10.5. B 11.).

5.3.5.: Igalguu chiyaxaq = "Her big woman's knife was held out (handed over)" (10.14. B 36.).

Asxuulux = "Place for nailing" (10.14. B 48.).

Ayagatgalax = "Gave the woman a canter" (10.14. B 39.).

5.3.5.: Kayayax agiinalix = "Missed the pass" (10.14. B 41.).

Ikaqinax
Introduction

“Was over there” (10.14. B 35.).


5.3.7.3.: Saadakin achxuzigaasanaa “Shared nicely his (her?) two long bones” (10.3. B 2.).

5.3.8.: Ayagaat salginax “Gave the woman duck(s)” (10.14. B 31.).

5.3.9.: Kuliga cha(a)yalginax “Put fish pots (a drum) on his baidarka deck” (10.1. B 4.).


5.4.3.2. Ayagaan attax “Gives his own wife” (10.14. B 34.). Algam ayagata(a)naa “Mammal to be taken as a woman” (10.14. B 44.).

5.4.4.: Ayagaat salisxinaa “Put a dancing shawl on the woman” (10.4. B 12.).

5.4.6.: Niiguvin “Andreasof Islanders” (10.4. B 13.).

5.4.7.4.: Chngaa malixtax “Her (His?) body hair was taken away” (10.14. B 43.).


References


Introduction


The Corpus

Aleut names are listed according to island and village of residence, as in the Census. (Islands are numbered, villages also, following the first decimal point.) For each village, the names are listed here in up to five groups. The first three groups are from the Census, with a single numerical order of names: first those men who paid fur tribute, second “non-tributary” (those who did not pay, with an explanation of why they did not pay), third “minor” (those too young to pay). Fourth are those names, if any, listed on Tax receipts, numbered and with years for which they are listed for paying fur tribute. Fifth are those names, if any, listed on Baptismal records (see Introduction pp. 32-33). Names both on Census lists and Tax receipts or Baptismal records are cross-referenced accordingly.

Preceding each name or variant spelling thereof is an indication of the manuscript source: a, b, c, d (see pp. 30-32 of Introduction), then the name as spelled in the sources, with Bergsland’s interpretation, where possible, in Aleut and English. — M.K.

1. Alaksxa, Alaska Peninsula (3 villages) .................................. 97
2. Sanagax, Sanak Island (1 village) .......................................... 99
3. Unimax, Unimak Island (5 villages) ....................................... 101
4. Ugangax, Ugamak Island (1 village) ..................................... 107
5. Qigalga, Tidalta Island (2 villages) ....................................... 107
6. Awatana, Avatanak Island (1 village) ................................... 110
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8. Akutana, Akutan Island (5 villages) ..................................... 119
9. Unalga, Unalga Island (1 village) ......................................... 122
10. Nagun-Alaksxa, Unalaska Island (15 villages) ................. 123
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14. Atxa, Atka Island (1 village) ........................................... 153
15. Chiigula, Chugul Island (1 village) ................................... 154
16. Adaax, Adak Island (2 villages) ...................................... 155
17. Kanaga, Kanaga Island (3 villages) .................................. 156
18. Tana, Tanaga Island (4 villages) .................................... 158
19. Ilia, Ilak Island (1 village) .............................................. 159
1. Mainland Alyksa: **Alaxsxa**, Alaska Peninsula


1. Census 1792.04.22, a pp. 42-42; b pp. 22-22; c pp. 106-107; d pp. 143-144

1. a- chief Mazhigatesx, d- g, Mazagatesx: *Mazigatesxix 'Means for doing much', also called a-b Iulyuda Gadagalyuk
2. a-b anekdokoxe: *Anigusixxix 'Childish'; Tax 5.
3. a-b kanagayax possibly **Kanagayax** "Trying to make fall"; Tax 1.
4. a-b kayuxtanox possibly **Qayuxtanax** "Retrieved with his hook"
5. a kayuktin, b kayuktin: *Kayuktin "His own strength"
6. a-b alyuga *Isik* possibly **Alugaa hisix** "His black lily is growing"
7. a-b kadan kudak perhaps **Kadan qudx** "Fire ahead"; Tax 8.
8. a-b Ishika ulyuk: **Isiquagyulux** "Was not cut"
9. a-b koguyax, d kogux, kogryax: **Quguyax** "Young puffin"
10. a alixixa ulyuk, b alyassa ulyuk perhaps **Aaliixiqaqulux** "Did not get a landing place"
11. a-b aglutisik perhaps **Agliatasix** "Means for intercepting"
12. a-b alegna xasik perhaps **Alignaagasix** "Way of nearly vomiting"; Tax 6.
13. a-b kegeguk: **Qigiyutix** "Krenitzin Islander"; Tax 9.
14. a-b chim kayuk: *Chiimkaayux* "Periwinkle"
15. a-b amagna: **Aamagnaa** "Bleeding"; Tax 7.
16. a-b alixukax algagix: **Alixukax algaqix** "His two crews (or warriors) have mammals"
17. a-b atxasxe kalix ulyuk perhaps **Atxaasxiqaqulux** "Did not get means for cutting a chunk"
18. a al'gan atxanax, b. a. atganax perhaps **Algaa atxanax** "Cut a chunk of his mammal"
19. a-b Ik’ya kayuxig: **Iqyaa kayugix** "His baidarka is strong"
20. a-b chankushax: **Chankusix** "Hammer"
21. a-b angatix gaiyugin perhaps **Anggtax (or Angagin) hayugin** "The people (or Half of them) are in their sleeping places"
22. a-b kitak: **Kitax** "Foot" or **Kitax** "Feet"
23. a-b cham lashin perhaps **Chaamhlaasix** "His own means for knocking (striking fire)"
24. a-b kodgo lisak: **Qudguliisix** "Means for taking off top part of whale (?)"
25. a-b chuganan: **Chuganex** "Were all there"
26. a-b alik Ik’yaqix: **Alix qiyagaqix** "The old man has a baidarka"
27. a-b angagaqix ayugasax: **Angagaqix ayugasax** "Went out (in his boat) with a person"
28. a-b kamgi Sigaqix possibly **Kamgsisaqsiix** "Means for having a good head"
29. a-b kad’ynak apparently Kodiak Island
1.1. Ałasxa, Alaska Pen.

Non-tributary (30-41 working at Kodiak for the Shelikhov Company; 42-45 old, sick and unreliable)

30. a kalyachik, b kalyasik: Kalaasik “String for stringing fish”
31. a sukaklyan, b-k perhaps suka- “baidarka skirt”
32. b-a chunan possibly Chunax “Chunak Point (Bechevnik Bay, Alaska Peninsula)” or else Chunax “Point (or Piercing)” or Chunax “Backbone”
33. b-a angayanok: Angayanax “ Tried to make breathe (or blow)” or Hangayanax “Tried to lift up”
34. a-b Isuk: Isux “Harbor seal”
35. a kachu chuyax, b kagu chuyax
36. a-b ayetkazhak
37. a-b tanagun possibly Tanagun “Have many places”
38. a-b ankynak: Anqanax “Stood up” or “Set out”
39. a chan katxausanok, b chan kaktausanok perhaps Chaan qahta-gusunanax “Caught many fish with his hand”
40. a uyuzadok, b ayuzadok perhaps Ayuzaadax “Falling over very much”
41. a b tagaga txagulyuk
42. a-b ayegadok: Ayagaadaax “Girl” or “Co-wife”
43. a-b hyunok: Lunan “Reliable ones” or “They believed”
44. a-b kilikik
45. a-b suganan: Suganan “Carpenters, handicraft workers”

Minor

46. a-b ayegaman ayugusaqax: Ayagamaan ayugusaqax “Was taken out (in a boat) for a woman”
47. a-b alyagan sylan kayulqax: Ulagan silan kayuulqax “Was waited for (hopefully expected) to his house”
48. a-b chuhushik: Chahuusik “Grease”
49. a-chan an kaashanak: Chaan anqasananx “Stood up with his hand”
50. a-b tanagan anasakanx possibly Tanaa-nqaan hangasasaxax “Was taken up to his place”
51. a-b uygadak conceivably Uuyqadax “Little opening”
52. a-b angagynax takkayax: Angaginax takayax “Trying to take loose woman”
53. a-b ayain kuzhan
54. a-b tayak: Tayak “Man”
55. a-b chama shokax: Chhamax suqax “His dish was taken”

Tax receipts pp. 248 (kagadax), 248” (kagadax), 264 (kagadax)
1. 1782-1799 kagayax presumably Census 3. Kanagayax, son of uchxadan
2. 1783-1790 Axishaka gulok perhaps Agiisagadax “Was not left”, son of axax: Axax “Dancing”
3. 1777-1791 chief Ulyudag: Uludax “Red”, son of Igazugadax
4. 1778, 1780-1799 kauch’chxin perhaps Qaguchxinax “Made fierce”, son of ayetxax

1.2. Village Akayuda: *Akayuuda “Its little strait”
Tax receipts p. 248
1. 1778, 1782-1791 kugadax: Qugadax “Little assistant spirit” or “Mask”, son of kuku perhaps Qux “Young of eider duck”

1.3. Village chishuk: 1910 Chisung (J 32-1, east of False Pass)
Tax receipts pp. 248, 251
2. 1787-1791 algan asik: Algan (or Algaan) asik “With mammals (his mammal)”, son of kanugagnasagish

2. Island Sannax: 1983 Sanagax, Sanak Island

2.1. Village Kasis: 1952 (Atka) Kaasaax (at the east end)
Census 1792.04.22, a pp. 41-42; b pp. 22-23; c pp. 106-106; d pp. 143-144
1. a-d chief tsuku chaglakogulyuk perhaps Tukuu chaglqagulux “His chief was not cut”; Tax 2.
2. a-b ogalox: Ugalux “Spear”
3. a-b alyugungan tanazikak, ca. tanizikak, da. tanazak perhaps Alaguu ngaan tsangasiqax “He was brought a drink on the ocean”
4. a tongidax kanuluk, b.t. kunulyuk perhaps Tunggidaax qanulux “They did not eat the bought [food]”
5. a-b toyeo chaglakogulyuk perhaps Tayaguu chaglqagulux “His man was not cut”
6. a biliyakichax, b, d kiliyakichax perhaps Qilukichax “Little teaser”, baptized Fedor Kazanin
7. a-b ayegagushalik: Ayagagushalik “Only woman”
8. a-b eyegan kugalginax: Ayagan (or Ayagan) qugalginax “Provided women (or his wife) with assistant spirits”, baptized Ivan Serebrennikov
9. a-b eyegax axtusanax: Ayagax axtusanax “Took a woman over”
10. a b tayam gan uyasik: Tayagum-ngaan uyasis “Means for sending for a man”
11. a b aleksiak: Alisisiix “Leptarrhena pyrolifolia (medical plant)”, baptized Gavrila Lanin
2.1. Sanaga, Sanak

12. a-b algan snaluknax: Algan sngalugnax “Observed mammals”
13. a Ik’yan kak’kiyanax, b I. kan’ kiyanax: Iqyaan kakiyanax “Made his baidarka raise the bow”
14. a-d algaman tugaskix: Algamaan tugasix “Means for striking mammal(s)”
15. a-b algan signinaz: Algan (or Algaan) signinax “Made mammals (or his mammal) come up (from the shore)”
16. a-b ayagazak: Ayagazax “Taking for wife”
17. a-d kamylx kagulak, d also k. kogulik perhaps Kamgiliqalugluk “Not beheaded”
18. a ‘eganam xayega alyuk, b ye. guga u.
19. a-b xassiga amagix: -a’magix “is bloody”
20. a-bogalun siganotak possibly Ugulun siganox “Destroyed with his spear”
21. a-b tunkixalgix: Tunkalix algix “His harpoon head has (is in) a mammal,” baptized Fedor Klimovkskoi
22. a-b Kiesax, cf. Kixsan akayun Unimak Pass
23. a-b ayaga kuyak perhaps for Aquagakuchax “Little woman”

Non-tributary (24-26 old and sick; 27 with Shelekhov’s Company at Kodiak Island)

24. a-b siknuq Igunax: Sikuq igunax “Took out deciding fish”
25. a-b sngin uyaqax: Sngin uyaqax “His ducks (or blades) were brought”
26. a-b ugalyu tunuxag perhaps Ugulun tunuxag “His spear (is) wearing”
27. a-b maxis perhaps Maxix “Butcher”, baptized Dmitrey Ocheredin

Minor

28. a-b tanagan kukiuy uygakax: Tanangan kukiuy uygaqax “One went out from his two places”
29. a-b al’gan kumalida perhaps Algam qhux laida “Mammal seeming bright”
30. a-tukam ga yusix, b tukam gan yusix: Tukum ngaan suusix “Means for taking (a) chief”
31. a-b saigage sakagyuluk: Sayqagaasqalugluk “Was not handled with bow”
32. a-b al’gan kylechxinax: Algan (or Algaan)-chixinax “Let/made mammals (or his mammal)”
33. a-b kichi Isakan perhaps Qihiisaqan “Were surrounded”
34. a-b’eganam Isyuga perhaps Iqanam isiga “Danger’s seal”
35. a-b chakix tayugulik: Chakax tayagulix “His hands have men”
36. a-b tol’loax perhaps Tulax “Upper arm”
37. a sugan gusadax, b s. gusadax: Suganagaasadax “Very young person”
38. a tanan tayaguldidax, b tanan tayagulginax: Tanana tayagulgidax “Bring/brought men to his place”
39. a-b’eganam Igudchax perhaps Iqanam igudchax “Removal of danger”
40. a-b tanak algainax: Tanax algadax “Brought mammal(s) to the place”
41. a-b Ek’ya al’gagix: Iqyaan algix “His baidarka has (a) mammal in it”
42. a-b Sidorko “little Cedar”

3.1. Unimak, Unimik

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3.1. Village, western, Chingangalyuk (tax receipts 1775 Chumgaluk, 1780 Cheangaluk, 1781-1782, 1790 Chmanalug), 1796 Chnanalyuk: *Chingana(a)luk

Census 1792.04.22, a p. 40°; b pp. 20°-21; c pp. 106-106°; d pp. 143°-144

1. a-b galluq Ek’yagyisannok, c g. ek’yagyisannok, Ek’yagyisannok, d gal’lyuk Ek’yagyisannok, galluq Ek’yagyisannok (1791.09 Galok Ek’yagisannok, Alekseyev et al. 1989:301) perhaps Halux iyqagisanaan “Paddled with a river otter”
2. a-b Galluyshik: Halaaxix “Place for turning the head (lookout)”
3. a-bahun akkalisanok perhaps Chaun hakalisanan “Removed feathers with his hand”
4. a-b Immagnax perhaps Imagnax “Exhausted” (word known from Atkan)
5. a-b tananayax perhaps Tanayux “Landward”
6. a-b tanan chadunax: Tanaan chadunax “Oiled (brought oil to) his place”
7. a-b koyax ayunok: Qayax ayunax “Knocked down the hill” (cf. J 71:181)
8. a-k ganak adugganok, b Igkan a.: Iqanak adgunan “Lived in a cave by the cliff”
9. a-b Ikagatux possibly Iqaagatux “Wants/Wanting to get across “
10. a-b Ik’ya tugagix perhaps Iqaa ayagagix “His baidarka is struck”
11. a kanaxtuxen, b-k : Qanaxtuxisi “Wintering place”
12. a-b kangin alga :- alga “-‘s mammal”
13. a-b tayagonin uyekax : Tayagungin uyax “His men were sent for”
14. a-b ayegam Iganganin : Ayagam Igangan “Terrible women”
15. a-b kannagin angali : Kanaagin angali “Koniags’ daylight (?)”, Tax 11
16. a-b Sisxada : Sisxanax “Ithmus”
17. a-b xaashikin annagikanax perhaps Xaaakin anagnatanax “Used his paddle as club” (variant anagi- for anag- doubtful for 1792)
18. a-b aslaga ogusik
19. a-b alga txaygix : Algatxagisix “Means for getting mammals”; Tax 9
20. a-b agachayax
21. a-b uyugidax perhaps Uyugidax “Has (= craning his) neck”; Tax 14
22. a-b tukkusi : Tukkusi “Riches”
23. a-b achchayax perhaps Achayax “Trying to make burn”
24. a-b adang : Adang “My father”
25. a-b tukx qamglinax “Deprived the chief of his sleeve(s)” or perhaps Tukx qamglinax “Beheaded the chief”

Non-tributary (26-32. old, sick; 33. at Kodiak)
26. a-b chalik gan shuzhakax : Chalix ngaan suusaqax “Was taken with a fishline”
27. a-b chigan ayagagix : Chiganay ayagagix “His river has a woman (or women) in it”; Tax 4 or 8
28. a olax akkyakun, a. akkayuk perhaps Aalax akayux “Two straits”
29. a chug’iuk, b chu’iug perhaps Chhuq(a)yux “Poor fur parka”
30. a-b kyshkin aisaxtanox possibly Qisikin agisaxtanax “Used his palms for hollering”
31. a-b. manu nuluyuk
32. a-b alaksinin uluy : Alaxsininulux “Not landholders”
33. a-b algunisik : Algunisix “Means for making jealous” or Algunisik “Means for inspiring awe”

Minor
34. a-b xalnyugix atixtax perhaps Qaalungin atixtax “His urine was stopped”
35. a-b sosghikin galaasanox : Sagikin galaasanox “Turned his blades (dual)”
36. a-b annaligix kannuyuk perhaps Anлагiginulanux pl. “Got nothing”
37. a-b Iganax ayuganox : Iganax ayuganux “Went out alongside the cliff” or Iganax a. “Went out terribly”
38. a-b ayegalga kannuyuk : Ayagalgaayanulanux “Were not taken by women”
39. a-b chasuxtax : Chasuxtaqax “Old yolk”
40. a-b kanag ayagalinax : Kanaax ayagalinax “Took away women from the Koniag”
41. a-b malin tayagalginok

42. a-b chan shukagyisanox : Chaan suqaqisananax “took with his hand”
43. a-b angakulukdax possibly An’gaakulukdax “Little darned line”
44. a-b ayagan ukunox : Ayagan (or Ayagaan) ukunax “Found women (or his wife)”

Tax receipts pp. 239-240°, 242°, 244-244°, 246-247
1. 1773 chieftain Gaakalux, 1774 chieftain’s brother Gaakalux, 1777-1778 chief Gaakalux, 1779 chief Ignalux, perhaps Angalalux “Looks usually in front (against)”, son of 1777 chieftain, 1778 kaxgaxalesax, 1779 chileg perhaps Chilgix “Tearing off”
2. 1775 chief Ugand xaledak
3. 1776-1780 chegudactax : Chugudactax “Expert chaser”, son of Kuxsunax : Kuxsunax “Chopped (or chopped)”
4. 1776 segani yegax, 1776 seganadax, 1779 chegina ayegax, Census 27; son of alyulidax : Aalyulidax “Papers in swells”
5. 1777 alyuex, 1778 alyax, 1779-1780 alygax, 1781, 1783-1790 alyzhek, 1783 alyzhek perhaps Alasax “Need” or Alasax “being at a loss”, son of 1778 kaxgax alyax, 1779-1780 kaxgax alyaz, 1781 kaxgax alyzhek, 1783 kagnalyax, 1784 kaxgax alyzhek, 1785-1790 kaxgax alyzhek, x- k perhaps Qigaax (Qigaax) alasax “Being at a loss for fire (bone)”
6. 1777 chiyuktukan, 1778, 1782-1784 chikutukan, 1779, 1781, 1785-1786, 1789-1790 chikutukan, 1787-1788 chituktukan perhaps Chuqutan “Clothes”, son of 1777-1778 chelgeg, 1779-1780 chileg, 1781 chileg, 1782 salgax, 1782-1783, 1785-1790 chalgalax, 1784 algalax (algagix has mammals)
8. 1780 chegana regan, 1781 chiganaayagagix, 1782 chigana ayegax, 1783 chigana ayegax, 1784 kigana dax, 1785-1790 chigana ayegag, Census 27; of 1780 algyugix, alegesek (?), 1781-1790 kaguyuk : Qaqadux “Men’s dancing”
9. 1781 alqagagishek, 1782 almgyagishek, 1784 algagagishek, 1785 aqatgalashik, 1786-1788 algagagishek, Census 19; of 1781-1782 sugolok, 1784-1786, 1788 sugolok, 1783 sugagok perhaps Sulgix “Thunder”
11. 1781-1783, 1786-1789 kanagin anali, 1784-1785 kanagin a., Census 15; of 1781-1783-1784 nagan algax, 1782 kanagin amga (aamga) blood, 1783 k. amga, (aamgix) has blood) 1784-1785 kanagin algax, 1786-1789 kanagin algax : Kanaagin algax “Koniag’s mammal”
12. 1781, 1786-1790 kanagin Ekg'ya, 1782-1785 kanagyn Ekg'ya : Kanaagin igqaa "Koniag's baidarka", son of 1781 kanagyn(al)ga, 1782kanagyn, 1783-1785 kanagin amgo, 1786-1790 kanagin alga : Kanaagin algaag "Koniag's mammal"

13. 1781 Ugalyun iggin kayaniichanok, 1782 U. i. kanyan...sanok, 1783-1784 U. i. kaiasanok, 1785 U. i. kiyaisanok, 1786 U. i. katinisasonok, 1787 U. i. kaytanisakon, 1789 U. i. kiyatnaisaonok, 1790 U. i. kayaniianisakon: Ugaluu qim iggan yanisanaax "Grew taller with (by means of) his spear", son of 1781, 1783-1790 kagshynok, 1790 kagogishinok

14. 1781-1790 yugidak, Census 21; son of 1781-1782, 1785 shushagashik, 1783 shashugishik, 1784, 1786 shashagashinok, 1787 shashugashinok, 1788-1790 shushaghashik: Susugisix "File"

15. 1782-1785 alex unalgynok, 1786-1787 alex unagnok, 1788 alex unalgynok: Alix unalginaax "Gave the old man cooked food", son of 1782 amakten, 1783-1788, 1790 amakten alegax : Amatxin "His braided intestines -"

16. 1788 alakusainok [son of] alukadzhix

3.2. Village Kougadax, Kougadok (Tax lists 1777-1791 Kugadax) 1796
Kougadax, possibly Qugaadax "Opposite the spirit (of the volcano)" in Russian Pogromny, 1840 Pogromskoye (west of Pogromni Volcano) Census 1792.04.22, a p. 41; b pp. 21-21'; c pp. 106-106'; d pp. 143'-144'.

1. chief a-b angalek tigusanax, c angalelex tigusanak, angalek tigusanok, d angaleleg tigusanax, angalek tigusanak : Angalix tigusanax "Landed by daylight", Tax 7

2. a-b his son ag'galin suvak : Agalingin suqax "The ones behind him were taken"

3. a ugixta tutkax, bu. tutax perhaps Uqixtautuxaax "Wanted to be had as a husband"

4. a-b tanagutuk possibly Tanaagatux "Wants/Wanting to come back to his place"

5. a-b tuku atkisakax : Tukuu ayqiisaax "His chief was hard to deal with"

6. a-b allyaksin at'ga' : Alaxxsin algaal "Mainlanders' mammal"

7. a-b Ik'yax malinax : Iqyx malinkaax "Appropriated the baidarka", Tax 3

8. a-b kugam alugyo : Qugam alaqgu "Spirit's sea" or "Spirit with many whales"

9. a-b chinnatu txatxin uluyk : Chngatxaixinulux "The sea otters he himself did not catch"

10. a-b oygam kushagycha possibly Ayagam qusaagichax "The one above the/a woman"

11. a-b allyaksan gan ayukakax : Alaxxsa nqaan ayukaax "On stayed a long time on the mainland for him"

12. a ayukazhigax, b -g : Ayukazigax "Good long stay"

13. a-b kayashinin Iganon : Qayaasingin i ganax (or i ganax) "His means for being tall fell down (or are terrible)"; Tax 6
3.3. Village Shishaguk: Sisagux (or Sisagux, also the name of Shishaldin Volcano), in Russian Maksimov (on the north side)
Census 1792.04.22, a pp. 41-41; b p. 21; c pp. 106-106; d pp. 143'-144
1. chief a, c-d tayaku (c also tayakuk) kalunak, b t. kalunak: Taya\n    gukalunak: "Shot a man"; Tax 2
2. a-b algasx igunax: Algasx igunax (or igunax) "Pulled out (or left) the
    mammal"
3. a-balga chizhuh perhaps Alga(m) chisuucha "Mammal's vulva (chisu-
    ucha)"
4. a-b Ivan Lanin
5. a alitux xanaxynok, b a. kanasxynok perhaps Alitux xangasxina
    "Provided the army with means (food?) for cooking (or boiling)"
6. a-chituxalak
7. a-b alitux alyaksxina: Alitux alaxslnax: "The army went inland"
8. a-b uyaksxin perhaps Uyaksxin "His own two openings"
9. a-b tayaktuachachin; Tax 3. Taya\n    gu - "Man -"
10. a Igana kaninak, b I. kaninan
11. a  aet’h gugutrax, b a. xugutrax: Achnuguxat: "Was asked for shares"
12. a-balgalganachcha perhaps for Algam iganaacha "Mammal's frightfulness"
13. a-b aytuxalak: Ayuxgalilax: "Used for bringing down"
14. a-b kalkadak conceivably Kaal(i)kadaax: "Little paper (letter)"
15. a-b Igaysx: Igasyx: "Wing" or Igasyx "Wings"
16. a-b chan kagilaganax: Chaan: " - his hand"
17. a achagulok, b -x, perhaps Aachagulux: "Not best friend"
18. a-balatux xatxalinax perhaps Alitux xatxalinax: "Provided the army
    with caught fish"
19. a-b  In’lal: Inglaax (or dual -x) "sea lion whiskers, vibrissae"
20. a-b ayeqatpak perhaps "Ayagataq: "Made into a woman (transvestite)"
21. a-b alitux masxlnax: Alitux masxalinax: "Worked on (killed the army"

Non-tributary (22 old; 23 in work at Kodiak Island for Shelikhov's company)  
22. a-b olyxun anga perhaps Alugen angaa "His side"

Minor
24. a-b Igana Ulitok: - ulitux "bending, keeping stringed ."
25. a-b aleksinax: Aliksinax: "They grew old"
26. a-b kaiyu: Kayuu "His strength"
27. a-b tayagul suyax perhaps Taya\n    gu suyax: "Tried to have men taken"

Tax receipts pp. 260' (shishag), 261 (shishax)
1. 1776-1781 tugux: Tuguxat: "Trying to become rich", son of [ ... ]
2. 1782-1791 tayagu kalyunok, Census 1; son of sunuk kalegonok
3. 1777-1790 tayaxichnisazhen, Census 9; son of Algasinax: Algasinax: "Gd
    mammals"

3.4. Village in the strait Isanok: Isanox, False Pass  
Tax receipts pp. 261 (under Sanak Island), 264
1. 1778, 1780-1781 kelyukachxa perhaps Qilukichax "Little teaser", son of
    Ilagidak: Ilagidax: "Has friends"
2. 1782-1789, 1791 newly baptized Fedor Kuzyaki[n]
3. 1777-1791 chishuk: Chisux: "Hard roe" or Chisux: "Vulva"

3.5. Village not indicated
Tax receipts p. 241
1. 1788-1791 aledelkulga, son of aledekuxuta igalin
2. 1781-1791 guxuknalgadax, son of guxugun

4. Island ugamon: Ugangax, Ugamon Island

4.1. Village same name
Census 1792 01.20, a p. 43; b pp. 23-23'; c-d missing
1. chief a chaluasudak, b chaluasadak
2. a neogogni tunusin Igim ogota, b neogogin tunusin Igim ogota-sanak: Ni\n    gignin tunungin igim ugtuaasanak: "Enjoyed the Andreanof
    Islanders' words", baptized Stepan Cherepanov
3. a-b alitux amugnachak: Alitux amug: "Army's - go out"
4. a-b kayuyguy tayagogix: Kayunguy tayagogix: "His strength has (is in
    his men)"; moved to Spirk Island
5. a-b suganigx: Sugangix: "Young man", baptized Gavril Pankov
6. a-b neogok kaguxak: Nigux gaguusa: "Mad at the Andreanof Islander"
7. a-b lyagada: Laga\n    da: "Young goose (Canada goose)"
8. a-b Ik’ya mushak: Iqya: "His baidarka -"
9. a-b kanag tukulinok: Kanaax tukulinax: "Killed the Konig chief"

Non-tributary minor
11. a-b Saajinok: Sagimaax: "Face" or perhaps Saajamanax: "Eagle"
12. a-b kunok: Kuunuax: "Horse"
13. a-b nugin tankok: Nugin: "Bird dart -"
14. a-b katnik Igim ugtuaasanok: Qatnix igim ugtuaasanak: "Enjoyed the
    razor clam"
15. a-b chikkinax koyak

5. Island kigal'ga: Qigalga, Tigalda Island

5.1. Village kimalog, kimalox: Kimaluga (1893) "Its place of descent"  
Census 1792 04.30, a p. 37; b p. 17; c pp. 35 (1791.10.22), 111; d p. 118 (1791.10.23), 145
1. chief a kal’'nag kininag, b-d kalnag kaninax, c also kalnax k., d also kalgax
5.1. Qigalga, Tigalda

k. perhaps Qalngaax qaninax “Had raven eat”; Tax 1
2. a-b tukox kalganax : Tukux ~ “Chief”.
3. a-b sitiknaax Isinax : Sitiknaax isinax “Cut birch bark”
4. a-algan gan chhalosin, c-d a. g. chhalosik : Algan ngaan ~ “Mammals for him.”
5. a-b tixlyax, c-d tixlyax : Tiitlaax “Eagle”
6. a-usxalyu sayuqax, c-d usxalyu s : Ugalun sayuqax “His spear was pulled”
7. a-d saucalynax perhaps Sax ugalunaax “Spared a duck”
8. a-d yaglun
9. a, c sag'ikin xachixinax, b s. xachixinax, d s. xachikanax, s. xachikanax: Sagikin -naax “ed his two blades”
10. a-d ugalun ayadatanax perhaps Ugalun angadatanax “Defended (?) his spear” (angadat- known from Atkan)
11. a-d kulitasekax

Non-tributary (old and incapable)
12. a-b kanag kanasninax : Kanaax qamasmixax “Provided the Koniaq with (a) slit, slit the Koniaq”

Minor
13. a-b algogan zakasik perhaps Algae-ngaan haqasix “Bringing his mammal to him”

Tax receipts p. 220
1. 1773-1790 Kalna Kaninok, Census 1

5.2. Village at the east end of the island kagalga : Qagalga Census 1791.10.20, a pp. 37-37; b pp. 17v-18; c p. 35; d p. 118
1. a-d chief kamgayaax; see Tax 2.
2. a-b koch-chox : Kuchuk “Upper lip”; Tax 1
3. a-b atxanad anita
4. a-b gux gogikax : Hux-qax “The net was -”
5. a samgalyagin uylun, b s. uyluk
6. a-b uylutak
7. a-b kalyaxax perhaps Kalaaxiix “String for stringing fish”
8. a-b tayauon agusaxax : Tayugon agusaxax “They passed men with him”
9. a-b tukuulay possibly Tukuulan “What to be rich by”
10. a-b kidax Iglokalginax : Qidax igluqalginax “provided the weeper (?) with hide(s)”
11. a-b tayegn Iyln koyaxax perhaps Itxangin ilan quyuqax “Was put to bed in his collar”
12. a-b ungan possibly Ungan “In between”
13. a taya um”so, b tayum Sa : Tayugon saa “Man’s face (or blade)”
14. a-b uylak Iglokalginax : Ulaax igluqalginax “Brought hides to the house”
15. a-b agali ugotikax uyluk

16. a-b ugalun algaliisanak : Ugalun algaliisanax “Killed mammals with his spear”
17. a-b unqex amagninax : Ungluu amagninax “Made (the people on) the pinnacle bleed”
18. a-b tayaguxisik perhaps Taqaguxisik “Efficient man”
19. a-b katxanin sayuqax : Qatxangin sayuqax “The fish he caught were pulled”
20. a-b algam gan kalidusik perhaps Algama-ngaan kaladusix “Means for dragging mammal(s)”, baptized Vasilei

Non-tributary (old and incapable)
21. a-b Iglukan: Iglukan “Hides”
22. a-b agasmagin

Minor
23. a-b tukkun ginax : Tukux(u)n hinaax “Called chiefs (his chief)”
24. a-b tukkun qigqalalnix: Tukux qingqalalnix “Deprived the chief of cold (warmed the chief)”
25. a-b taiyun (tayyun ?) perhaps Tayugun “Men”
26. a-b alyaksin alega: Alaxixin aliga “The old man of the mainlanders”
27. a-b sitak agnaq : Sitaax agnaq “Passed the isthmus”
28. a-b silya akax : Sila agaax “Was close to him”
29. a-b malyax (-k?) perhaps Malax “Seed, pod” (word known from Atkan)
30. a-b alixun Iqoq kaloginan : Alixunx igluqalginax “Provided his army (or crew) with hides”
31. a-b Lax chanoyukax : Hitxa - “His tail” -
32. a-b chitxagisik: Chitxagiisix “Means for grabbing (or sticking)”
33. a-b chigdadak: Chigdadak “Little gut parka”
34. a-b ayega: tun, b ayega tun perhaps for Ayagutux “Has a big wife”
35. a-b anga xin sayuqax, bangatax s.: An’gatxain sayuqax “Pulled his lines”

Tax receipts pp. 219, 221 (kagalga), 222 (village kigalga), 201 (no village)
1. 1776-1791 kachiki, Census 2
2. 1775-1788 chief kamgayaak mayagach igatagakulok perhaps (connection obscure) Kamgayaax “Preparing feast” (Census 1.) mayagach igataqagulux “his hunting tool was not scared (?)”, son of tukum ayasik : Tukum - “Chief’s -”
4. 1782-1791 chahtuk : Chahtux “Savannah sparrow”, son of kazhum perhaps Qazum “Good eater’s” (elliptical)
6. Island avatanak : **Awatanax, Agutanax**, Avatanak Island

6.1. Village same name
Census 1792.04.18, a pp. 43-432; b p. 23; c pp. 35 (1791.10.22), 105; d pp. 118, 142-143
1. a-d chief algax ityxnax : **Algax itıyxınax** "Pulled out the mammal"; Tax 1.
2. a-d algan kiyainax perhaps **Algaan kyağnaax** "Sent out his mammal (probably by magic)"
3. a-b Tagın Iggañaxa : nging ıgaş tantalaxaq "His - were flown with"
4. a-B axg'gyın ukustakax perhaps for Axsıgn uksıtəxəq "As his amulet's were seen"
5. a-b amaxuk ıgułunax : **Amaxux ıgułunaax** "Speared the race(r)"
6. a-b algaxın xayuțaxanax, c-d -x : **Algaxın qayuxtanax** "Hooked his mammals"
7. a-b saguyax : **Sağuyax** "Vertebra"
8. a-d algainenisasax, d also algaisakax : **Algäginisaqax** "Expected to have mammals"
9. a-d tugasitxin ayagın'ınax, c, d also -n- : -txin ayagıhnax "Put to shame his-s"
10. a-l'gągo Carey, b-d algaxo : **Algağuuış[x]** "Means for having many mammals"
11. a-c ulasix tigusanaax, d u. tagsanax : **Ulasıx tıgusanaax** "Took the tent ashore"
12. a-d tanımadax : **Taamıdax** "Shiny" or "Flounder"
13. a-c tıla'magoxis, d-k perhaps **Ikalamagoxis** "Means for greatly avenging"
14. a-c alyksax tıyxınax, d alyksax t. perhaps **Alaxısxı (Alaxısxa?)) itıyxınax** "Pulled out the mainland"
15. a-b tanakınınukuk sukiskinaax : **Tanakınınxux -sxınax** "Provided two places not his own with -"
16. a-b Isxanax zaxonax perhaps **İganax qoxuñax** "Hit the terrible" (verb known only from Atkan)
17. a kalatajul, b kagulayın

Non-tributary (18-19. in work on seafarer Shirokiy's ship; 20-21. blind; 22-23. sick)
18. a-d algan agatəksinax, b al"gon agatəksxinax : **Algan (or Alganpa) -sxınax** "Provided mammals (his mammal) with -"
19. a-b alyx suygatygax : **Alix** - "Old man -"
20. a-b sisədaqoxuğ : **Sısadaqoxuğ** "Never breaks in two"
21. a-b taq'uyux
22. a-ch ıg čuñax ułax, b ch. ułaxqikax u. perhaps for **Čuğanux ulaxqiqaxulux** "What was put on him was not turned outside out"
23. tukum mayagoch : **Tukum mayagouch** "Chief's hunting (tool)"

7. Island Akun : **Akungan, Akun Island**

7.1. Village agarax : ** Ağidanax**
Census 1792.02.07, a p. 38; b p. 19; c pp. 34 (1791.10.16), 69; d pp. 118, 129-1292
1. a-d chief tayaum Inuch perhaps **Tayaqm inuucha** "Man's fright"
2. a-b almak ogalyunak, c a. ogalyunak, d a. ogalyunak, -nak perhaps **Aalgaxı ıgułunaax** "Speared an oldsquaw"
3. a-d kummiyax, d also kummmıgax
4. a-b ogalyun kalyuni kagasanak, c-u. kalyunikagasanak, d u. kalyunikagasanak : **Ugaluun kalunikagasanax** "Did (some sort of) shooting with his spear"
5. a noyek kalyaganak, b neok k. perhaps **Niğuxqaalağax** "Mocked the Andreanof Islander"
6. a-b kiyasek perhaps **Qyaasax** "Means for being tight"
7. a umlu (corrected from umlu) ugulakax, b umlu u., c Umlyu Ugaluyux perhaps **Ungluu ugulaqax** "His pinnacle (the people on his pinnacle) was spared"
8. a chakin Igata xiganax, b ch. igatqiganax, c ch. igatqikaganax, d ch. igatqaganax, ch. igatqıgınaxaq : **Chakin igatqıgınaxaq** "Used his hand to find knives (slate)"
9. a asık kagagininakanak, b -x perhaps **Asık qagagininıxanak** "Was practicing shamanism together with [him]"

7.2. Non-tributary minor
10. a-b galayun Inuniukanax perhaps **Ugaluun inuniukanax** "Frightened with his spear"
11. a tudal'gidaq, b tutalgidax
12. a-b yuqakax : **Hılaquchax** "Little boy"
Tax receipts pp. 150, 163, 236 (Seretkina, Veniaminov 1840 I 197 Seredkinskoye).

1. 1781-1790 ogalukin : Ugulukin "His own two spears", son of Tanakigak
2. 1781-1787 tayagu [...]kucha : Tayagun...kuchan "Man...small"
3. 1781-1790 tayagom anyuch / tayago anyuch perhaps Tayagum
   anyyuucha "Man’s difficulty”

7.2. Village chulkas : Chulkas
Census 1792.01.05, a pp. 38v-39; b pp. 19-19v; c pp. 34, 53; d pp. 118, 122; 123

1. a-b chief saxida algalix probably for Saxtidaa algalix “His harpoon
   head is in the mammal”; cf. Tax 7.
2. a-d kaxogon malitaxa : Qaatun ngaan malitaxa “His butt (or Rat Islanders) ?
   was taken away for him”
3. a gunetxan Ik’ayigisaniok, b g. Ik’ayigisaniok, c.g. Ik’ayigisaniok, d.g. ik’ya
ginisninok : Hunxatin iquiyisaniok “Paddled with his wounds”, baptized
   Nikita Buylov
4. a-b uyuchgizak : Uyuchixizak “Nice neck”
5. a-b allocga amgaix : Aliga aamgaix “His adult male is bloody”
6. a-b aixtakagui perhaps Aixtakagui “Apt to vomit”
7. a-b igan akaliyuk, baptized Larion Klimshin
9. a-d Ichakoohidoxa
10. a-c ulyakichax saxichakax, d u. xaxichagax, baptized Larion Klimshin
11. a suxkix, b suskik perhaps Nuxtix “Storing storms”
12. a allaygum uluk Iyiyigasanak, b o. u. aiyigasanak : Alaguanunul
   ayigasanak “Went out to sea not his own”
13. a-b chiyam, baptized Tikhon Bakulun
14. a akkayux, b ikkayux : Akayux “Strait”, baptized Nikita
15. a-b tukum tunuxxa sakxanin : Tukum tunuxxsaa (is the chief talked
   about them (or argued with them))
16. a-b kinaumgan Xtagostik
17. a-b tanagan kachxanax ayegasasakax : Tanagun qachxanaax
   *ayaga(n)stasauk “Was - for the upper layer of the soil (?)”
18. a-d alga amgai : Algaa aamgaix “His mammal is bloody”
19. a-b ik’yan nan asidchuxa, c-d -chik perhaps Iquyam ngaan asidchua
   “His means for perforating baidarka[?]”
20. a-b tuxxun ngaan uyaxax : Tukux ngaan uyaxax “The chief was brought to
   him”
21. a-d agachalokukalax : Agachax tukkaladax “One gets most rich by him”
22. a-b anagak
23. a-b tangan
24. a kozhox kaxhok, b k. kozhok

Non-tributary (old, incapable)
25. a-b Igloka ayugasaax : Igloqua ayugasaax “His hide (decoy ?) was taken
   out”

Minor
26. a-b ogagan uluyik kusun ulyudaniktekaska perhaps Tanaganulux kungan
   uluudanixaax “Caused to be red (was wounded ?) on an island not
   his own”
27. a-b anikdu chishoax : Aniquestquxaadax “Nice little child”
28. a-b tayainin kichiklihkax : Tayagunin qichxilaalax “His men were de-
   prived of weapon”
29. a-Igalya maalixuax, b -x : Iglaga malitxax “His harpoon was taken away”
30. a-b akukanuuluyuk
31. a b agaday axiyenox, b agaday axiyenox : Agaday axiyiyanuax “Tried to lift
   up the sun” (cf. J 17.5-6, 31)
32. a-b sagan gan uyuxax
33. a-b tuukiq Iginok okuxtach, b t. I okuxtach : Tukum igim ukuutachuk
   “Chief’s means for looking at himself (a mirror)”
34. a-b Antin Grigor’ev
35. a-b Petr Popov
36. a-b axsidiga apparently Axsidiga “His proper perforation”, perhaps for
   labret or nose pin
37. a-b ugalun uigagasanax : Ugalun uygagasanax “Walked with his spear”
38. a-b tayunyuxdax : Tayagunuxqidax “Having usually some men” or
   Tayagunuxqidax “Just some men”
39. a-b Ilyuk ilakax perhaps Iglakax “Without patching” or “Patchin it in
   several places”
40. a-b bukilux axigadi probably for Ugalun aamgaix “His spear is bloody”
41. a-b tayagun tanga : Tayagum tanga (or taangu) “Man’s islet (or wa-
   ter)”
42. a-b alyax : Alak “Wale”
43. a-b tayaguchglyumakax : Tayagu- “Man/Men -”


1. 1770, 1778-1789 ulazak / ulazak perhaps Ulahsakuk “Took it for house,
   settled there”, son of asogar sugish
2. 1785-1791 tayagudax / tayagudax : Tayagudax “Little Man”, Census 8;
   [son of] shalyuchina perhaps Sgalaxuk “Gathering of men -”
3. 1773-1790 chief kaguyak / kaguyak perhaps Qaguyuq[?] “Trying to make
   fierce”, son of aliqgok / alyqgok
4. 1781-1788 aleaqam agayax
5. 1781-1790 algaman Unagysik : Algamaa unagtisikax “Means for having
   cooked (food) for a mammal”, son of ulgax unagtisik perhaps Algax
   unagtisikax “Gave the mammal cooked (food)”
6. 1770 aigalyuk : Aygaalax “Time for travelling”
7.2. Akungan, Akun

8. 1776 chief axixilguk : Agigilgux “Big round stone”
9. 1777-1778 chief Saig ukak
10. 1779 yeelgux
11. 1780, 1782 saxayugunax perhaps Saxsagaada “Savannah sparrow”,
   son of ugalu unagaax : Ugalu “His spear”
12. 1782-1790 E. mgux

Baptismal records Male 58-62; all listed as non-tributary
1. achachen Engagnynax perhaps Achachen iganaagnax “Your friend
   had cruelty”, son of Ulasik : Ulasik “Tent”, baptized Tikhon, 19 years
   old
2. algw suqax perhaps Algga suqax “His mammal was taken”, son of dakin
   Ilyagi asanok : Dakin ilagiisanaax “Was friendly with his eyes”,
   baptized Tikhon, 22 years old
3. tayagukuran tada-kagunu utanok : Tayaqum kugan tadaqalgalgun
   utanak “After having trodden on a/the man, he went down to the
   beach”, son of kudatagax, baptized Ioann, 23 years old
4. negux aganaasanaax perhaps Niigux iganaasanaax “Intimidated the
   Androonof Islander”, son of tanu Egnasaxak : Tanaa iganaasanaax
   “His place was intimidated”, baptized Ioann, 20 years old
5. saguyax : Saquyax “Vertebra”, son of ullilax : Ulilax “Barge, kind of
   baidaka” (Zapiskii 2:128), baptized Andrey, 27 years old

7.3. Village sax : Saagux, Saag(um) tanaguchu
Census 1792-02-12, a pp. 39-39; b p. 19; c pp. 71, 78, 119 (1792.04.9); d pp. 118; 131;
132, 138
1. a-d chief kuganok ayuuxat, c-d also kuganok ayuuxtak : Quganax ayuuxat
   “The stone tumbles (?)”
2. a-bbixan algaliisanaax, echon a, d echon algaliisanaax : Chaan algaliisanaax
   “Killed mammal(s) with his hand”, baptized Fedor Kuznetsov
3. a-d alitiumsa : Alitium saa “Warrior’s face (perhaps with war paint; or
   blade)”, baptized Ivan Chumovitskoy, Tax 6.
4. a-b sagiminax kumsanak, c-d -nax : Sagimax kumiinax “Lifted face”
5. a-b tayagunagisak, ctayagunagiax, dtayagunagisak : Tayaqumagisasi
   “Means for fighting (killing) men”
6. a-d asik kugeskax
7. a-c tukux sigayenok, d t. signenok : Tukux sigayenax “Tried to recognize
   the chief”
8. a-d gookoxan
9. a-c tayauk kagduki, d t. kagduki : Tayaqum qagdukix “Man’s parks”;
   Tax 2.
10. a-balgonanalisak, c-dz. alisixak : Algaan aalisaqax “His mammal
    was taken ashore for him”
11. a-b killya tugdak, c-d killyatugdak

7.4. Akungan, Akun

32. a-d atxan ulyuk
33. a-b tayauk Ignagycha ulyuk, c tayau i. u., d tayagu i. u. : Tayaqum
    ignagichalux “Man’s lightness”, baptized Nikivor Svin’in, has been
    at Kodiak with merchant Shelekho

Non-tributary (old)
14. a-b alogan anktanak axax : Algagan angtaz-ngaagaqax “Was given
    half (the transversal half) of his mammal”

Minor
15. a-b kanagin ayulgunax perhaps Kanaagin ayulgunax “Felled mightily
   the Konigs”
16. a-b tukan shugarinax : Tukunu suganinax “Hurried his chief”
17. a-b ayaga dalginax : Ayagaag dalginax “Provided his wife with [an
   eye]” (cf. J 20:13)
18. a-b tayagu alitxx : Tayaqum alitxx “Men’s war party”, baptized Ivan
   Chumovitskoy, Tax 6.
19. a-b algan alitxx : Algan alitxx “Having mammals as crew”, baptized
   Vasiley Shutagin
20. a-b buyalxan : Luulaalan pl. “Kind of reliable”
21. a-b angagitaadax : Angagitaada “Stop(ed) breathing”
22. a-b kuttut (a adds 23, then repeated as follows)
23. a-b tayauk chasgizhinok : Tayaqum (or Tayaqum) -nax “-ed men (or his
   man)”
24. a-b alkay
25. a-b tukan mayun alayzhinok perhaps Tukan mayun[ng] in alasaanax
   “Was at a loss about the chief’s belongings”

Tax receipts pp. 153-154 (village Stepayakina), 155-157 (village Sukhovskoye),
159, assigned to 7.3. because of 2. and 6.
1. 1781-1789 tayagom kodg / tayagom zadgisa. Tayaqum - Man - (= 2. ?)
3. 1780-1787 tagayag, son of alga kutagach perhaps Alga(m) qutagna
   “Mammal’s means for being carried by the wind”
4. 1781-1790 tuk : Tukun “His chief” [son of] kizagikin / kizagakin
   1779-1790 chief kuyagik sagimagag perhaps Qawagix “Has sea lion(s)
   [son of] Sagimagah “His face”
5. 1788-1790 baptized Aleut Ivan Chumovitskoy, Census 18.

7.4. Village kadan linagux perhaps Kadan linagux “Having many mats in
   front” (Tax lists) 1774-1790 Inunax perhaps Inunax “Spooked”; location
   unknown.
Census 1792.02.12, a p. 39; b p. 20; c pp. 34(1791.10.16), 71; d pp. 118, 131-132
1. a tayam kagucha, d tayam k. : Tayaqum qaguchu “Man’s fierceness”;
   Tax 2.
3. a-b algak samishak, c-d algak samishax, d also a. simashax: Alga samiisax “Flinging mammal”, baptized Yakov Smirennikov
4. a-b sakutukik, c-d -kin, d also -kan
5. a-d tukkayuxchi: Tukkayuxchi “Your front walls of barabara”
6. a-b kanag uglina, c-d kanax u.: Kanaax hugina “Deprived the Koniag of his net”
7. a kuglik yaganok, b-d kiglik y., d also k. yahonok perhaps Qiglut hyaaganax “Struck (with a stick) the knot”
8. a-d taygun kaguninak, d also -nikax: Taygun qaguninax “Made the men fierce”

Non-trubatory (old)
9. a-b?extayuk

Minor
10. a-b Amitzin salginok: Amitzin salginax “Provided his maternal uncles with ducks (or blades)”
11. a ugaluny kayuga sanok, b ugaluny k. s.: Ugalunyu kayugusananax “Worked hard with his spear”
12. a-b naguya: Naguya (= Nawaya) “That’s the one”
13. a-b al’iyagugicha: Alagugicha “His means for sea hunting”
14. a’engaqik gakkasok, b anåqik g.: Anagiq haqasax “Bringing a person”

Tax receipts pp. 164-164°, 166-166°, 167°, 168° (village inunax)
1. 1780-1790 iganok alaxa / iganok alaska
2. 1774, 1779-1790 chief taygoy / taygoyom kugacha, Census I; son of ashix: Asxinax “Girl”
3. 1782, 1785 chief’s brother tayago askinugich, Census 2.

7.5. Village kashik: Kaax
Census 1792.04.14, a pp. 39°-40; b p. 20; c pp. 34 (1791.10.16), 99; d pp. 118, 130°, 140°
1. a-d chief chalysak: Chalaax “Landing with (something or somebody)?”, Tax 3.
2. a-c tanagn kugan chaloktokax, d t. k. chaloktokax perhaps Tananan kugan chalutaqax “Was handled badly in his place”
3. a al’gum tunu, b-d algam t.: Algam tunu “Mammal's voice”
4. a-d tukum akhlyuga: Tukum akaluga “Chief's path”
5. a-bugulyun eganna sittix, c.u., 'e. sittax, d u. 'e sakax perhaps for Ugaluny iganna-sanax “Was terrible with his spear”
6. a-c tukux chuuninak, d -x: Tukux chuuninax “Stabbed the chief”
7. a-b Innugax Ek’yagisano, c l. Ek’yagisano, d -k: - iqyagisax “Paddled with -”

7.6. Akungan, Akun
8. a-d ogalyu kagyx: Ugaluq qa’it “His spear has fish (or food) on it”
9. a-d tayqok gan lidakax: Tayguq ngaan liidax “A man likened to him”
10. a-d tiushokax: Tisusax “Was taken ashore”
11. a-d lyudaxin: Ludaax “His own elder brothers”
12. a, dxalakayog, b balkayog, c calkaik: Qalqaqayog “Magpie (or raven)”
13. a-b, d anktaalik, a anktaalik: Angtaalix “Means for removing the half (or the end)”

Non-trubatory (old)
1. a-b chadum uga: Chadum uga “Oil bag”

Minor
15. a-b kayuga
16. a-b anakutam
17. a tukum gan ansuk, b t. g. unasik: Tukum ngaan ansuk’ / unasik “Means for hitting the chief / for cooking the chief”
18. a-b angaquisin: Angaquisin “Subsistence”

Tax receipts pp. 160 (kashik), 161 (kashig), 162 (kashik)
1. 1780-1790 shiliqog, son of gayegatuk
2. 1781-1789 taikog kuguehalaqanax
3. 1780-1790 chaalshik, Census 1.; son of tukok ulak

7.6. Village sannog: Sananog
Census 1792.04.14, a p. 40; b p. 20; c p. 94 (1792.04.11); d pp. 139-139°
1. a-b chief chixtin algalginax, c-d chixtin a.: Chixtin algalginax “Put mammals (foxes) in dens”; Tax 2.
2. a-d chimixtux alga: -m alga “-s mammal”; Tax 1.
3. a-b, d galiyuchak (c missing)
4. a tagan ayegalginok, b tanam a., c-d t. algalginok, d also t. ayegalginok: Tanaan ayagalginax (algalginax) “Brought women (mammals) to his place”
5. a-d kigida kutalik

Non-trubatory, Minor
6. a-b aqnakax: Aqnakax “Chief (or host)”

Tax receipts pp. 233, 234 (sannog)
1. 1780-1790 chinitchum alga / al’ga, Census 2.; son of ulax: Ulax “House”
2. 1780-1790 chixtin algalginak, Census 1.; son of sy. g. ilitux perhaps ilitux “Has a large anus”
7.7. Village a nukaginax, b-c nuksxinax, c-d nuxsinax, d also nukazinax perhaps *Nuxsxinax (location unknown)
Census 1792.04.15, a p. 40; b p. 20; c pp. 34 (1791.10.16), 100; d pp. 118, 140v-141v
1. a chief Alitxum algax, b-a. algag, c-d. algag, perhaps Alitxum algachaa
   "Crew's/Army's means of catching mammals"
2. a-c akkayu kazizakax, d a. kazazakax : Akayuu qasiisaqax "His strait
   was fished in"; Tax 1.
3. a-d achchanak
4. a-d tayagyugun kugan tagakax Tayagyugan kugan tagaqax "One landed
   (?) upon his man"
5. a-d Alitxum shilan algx : Alitxum silan algax "The mammal in front of
   the army" or "Being in front of the army"
6. a-b, d algax anunax, c algag a : Algax anunax "Hit the mammal"
7. a-d ugaluyun kazisanak : Ugaluun qasiisanax "Used his spear for mak-
   ing fish supplies"

Non-tributary (in work on the ship of seafarer Shirokiy)
8. a yaganax Isanax, b iganax Isinax perhaps Iganax (or Iganax) isinax "Cut
   the cliff (or the terrible one)"

Minor
9. a-b Alitxum gan uyuqax perhaps Alitxum-ngaana uyuqax "Was fetched
   for the army"
10. a tonun Alitxum ussanax, b-ox : Tunun alitxusanaax "Fought with his
    voice"
11. a-b susham
12. a-b Vasilev Pivintsov
13. a-b gunagalshak
14. a-b Alitxum gan ungadosik : Alitxum-ngaana ungadosik "Smashing the
    army"

Tax receipts pp. 149 (moskinok), 152 (nuochinox)
1. 1782-1789 alagokazizak / akayu..m zazyak.../ akayukazizak...; Census 2
2. 1781-1789 chnatusagalukov : Chngatuax "Sea otter" son of Sagaaluut
   "Sleeping place"

7.8. Village zaxarkina (cf. Russian zakhar‘at 'to start spitting'); location unknown;
Tax receipts pp. 151, 235
1. 1781-1789 chnatusagalukov : Chngatuax "Sea otter" son of Sagaaluut
   "Sleeping place"

7.9. Village alitxu (?) ; location unknown
Tax receipts p. 157
1. 1780-1790 alitxu tagacha son of alitxu / alitxum tagach : Alitxum tagacha
   (or tagacha) "Army's landing (or trying)"
8.2. Akutanax, Akutan

8.2. Village ugoyuxtak; location unknown
Census 1792.04.01, a p. 38; b pp. 18-188; c p. 89; d p. 136
1. a-d after the chief’s death, assistant chief Algaman malitashik: Algaman malitaastak “Means for killing mammal(s)”; Tax 2.
2. a-b, d algagin shugotkax, c-g perhaps Algangan sugatxa “His mamals were chased” (verb known from Atkan).
3. a agidakadax, b agidakadax, c agidakadax, d agidakadag.
4. a tukudgan kayulginax, b tukudgin k., c tukudgin k., d tukudgin k.
5. Tukuitxan kayulginax “Gave his chiefs strength”
6. a-b ityagechyaq, c-ityagechyaq, d ityagechyaq
7. a-xasxhigian syuqutanax, b-xasxhigian, c-d xasxhigian s.

Non-tributary (old)
7. a-b asxhagian syuqutanax

Tax receipts pp. 253-254
1. 1774-1789, 1791 chief chan aguk perhaps Chaang hagux “Five burdens”
2. 1782-1790 Algaman malitashik/malataashik, Census 1.

8.3. Village Qixtax
Census 1792.02.18 & 04.22, a p. 38; b pp. 18-188; c pp. 73, 108; d pp. 139, 143-1438
2. a chief’s son Ilitxunun ityan gulyyaq, b alitxunun ityan gulyyaq (c missing), d.i.g. possibly Alitxunun ilan hulaqax “Brought into his army”, baptized Fedor Malivinskoy (a, c), b, d Malevinskoy, been absent from his village for nine years, taken by different companies such as that of sea-farers Korrelin and Nagaev and others.
3. a-b ugalyun Egunasok, c. u. Egunasoc, d. u. Egunasok Ugalyun iganaasanaq “Was terrible with his spear”; Tax 2.
4. a-c algam chayenok: Algax chayanax “Hooked mammal from the fish trap”
5. a-c algam gunnagizin uluk: Algam hungimininuluk “Mammals without wounds”
6. a-c tanagan gan kayuzikax: Tanagan-nagaan kayusiqax “Got(?) strength for his place”
7. a-b umlyu kagnaquin, c-d u. kagnaquin: Ungluu qagnaqin “His pinnacle has bones on it”
8. a-c algayuk: Algayuux “Poor mammal”

Non-tributary (incapable because of sickness)
9. a-b takatuk: Takatux “Has a big bladder”, baptized Kirila
10. a-b tayagulik perhaps *Tayagulik “Darned man”

Minor
11. a-b sogan Illin golokax perhaps Sagan ilan huluqax “Snared in his

8.4. Village Sissonax: Sissonax
Census 1791.12.15, a pp. 38-388; b p. 18; c p. 47; d p. 121
1. a-b chief Izanykiyan shuneqax, c-d Izanykiyan sh., d also Izanykiyan sh.
2. a kaugak sedik, b k. ledik perhaps Qawax lalix “Killing sea lion”
3. a-b tayamgan kanyqishik perhaps Tayagun-ngaan qangisik “Means for bending a man”
4. a-b tanagan algishokax conceivably Tanagan halqii (or algaa) suqax “The root (or mammal) of his land was taken” (halqii A’root’, E 1812 ‘tobacco’, baptized Tikhon Bakulin.
5. a-b daktushuk kugon taganux perhaps Daqtusux kugan taganux “The crimson one (bird?) alighted upon him/it” (partly ungrammatical)

Non-tributary minor
6. a-b ochkaikudax
7. a-b chaakluodax: Chaakluudax “Little darned hand”

Tax receipts pp. 176 (Sisson), 259 (Sisson), 177 (village kruchnimca), 256 (no name of village), 258 (kruchisina)
1. 1779-1780, 1782, 1784-1790 chief chuukuk: Chuukuk “Dust”, son of tayagu-chuulisaax: Tayagu(n) chulaassenax “Slided ashore with his man”
2. 1779-1782, 1784-1790 chief tayagu chulaasa naax father of 1.
3. 1769, 1773-1790 manasxyaga Unacha son of algax: Algax “Mammal” (or m. son of U. a.)

8.5. Village Yagilok: Yagilok
Census 1792.04.06, a p. 38; b p. 18; c pp. 34 (1791.10.16), 91; d p. 118, 138
1. a-d chief algaxin gogoloqtax, d also a. gogoloqtax: Algaxin - “his own mammals”
2. a-b tana gogolok, c-d tanagogolok perhaps Tanaa huugdugix “His place is mossy”
3. a-b algam gan gunegesin, c a. g. gunelgesik, d a. g. gunelgesin: Algama ngaan hunalgisik “Means for wounding mammal(s),” moved from Akun
4. a-d tukun kaniixtatuu “The chief who tends to be pleased” (word known from Atkan)
5. a-d tukun tanan alganinak
6. a-b unlyugan kugan amagniktakax, c Unlyugan kugan a magniktakax, d Unlyugan kugan amagniktakax: Ungulgan kugan aamagniktax “Was made bleeding on his pinnacle”
7. a-b tayagum gan agadusik, c-d tayum gan agidusik: Tayagum-ngaan agadusik “Means for revealing a man” or T. hagidusik “Lifting (salvation) for a man”

Tax receipts p. 260
1. 1780-1790 algathin uguqax, Census 1.; son of xachxa xuugdunok possibly Qachxa hugdunax “His skin was soft”

9. Island unalga : Unalga, Unalga Island

9.1. Village same name
Census 1792.04.14, a pp. 36v-37; b p. 17; c pp. 53 (1792.01.05), 99; d pp. 123, 140-140v
1. a chief algax takanax, b-d a. tokanax perhaps for Algax takahnax “Let the mammal go”; Tax 10.
2. a-d tukkustishak probably Tukkuchisax “Nice chief”
3. a-d ignachix : Igaachexiix “Reedgrass”, baptized Feodor
4. a-b anna anikachen, c annainikachen, d anna anikachen
5. a Ixanak oloxtak, b-c -x, d -g : Iganax uluxtax “Has a terrible body (or hatch, cockpit)”
6. a-c toyuq’yak tokanax, d t. tokonax
7. a-d agalgin algaa possibly Agalgin algaa “Darts’ mammal”
8. a-d Ek”yan gachimanok : Iqyan hachihmanax “Finally tied (?): his baidarka”

Non-tributary (in work on seafarer Shiromiy's ship)
9. a-b kagishak; Tax 8.
10. a-b ailmok perhaps Aalngaax “Oldsquaw”
11. a-b alyugucha ’Egaaxta ulyuuk

Minor
12. a-b algaman takkadushik : Algamaan takdusik “Means for / Way of letting go (or taking off) mammal(s)”
13. a-b allix sakkadox
14. a-b anaksayax
15. a-b tukun agninax : Tukuun hagninax “Encouraged (?) his chief”

10.1. Village Il’lyulax, c-d also Il’lyulax, in Russian Gavanskoye : Iluulux, Iluulax, Unalaska Village
Census 1792.01.07, a p. 30; b p. 11; c pp. 45 (1791.12.03), 55; d pp. 119v-120, 124-124v, 126-126
1. a-b, d chief tanagulisin, c tanagullas, tanagulasan perhaps Tanagulisin “Means for visiting people with many places”
2. a-b Ul’tan ulyuk chagunak, c un’lan ulyuk chagunak, d unlan ulyuk chagunak, Ul’yan u. ch. Ulaanlux chaguhnu “Damaged a house not his own”
3. a-d neogok udalinok : Niigux udalginax “Put the Andreanof Islander in the bay”; Tax 2.
4. a-b neogok chimikxanak, c neogok chimakxanok, d neogok chimikxinok, neogok chimikxanak : Niigux chimikhahax “Took the whole Andreanof Islander”, called Filka by the promyshlenniki
5. a-b neogok Isshinax, c -k -k, d neogok neshinok, neogok ishinok: Niigux isinax “Cut across the Andreanof Islander”
6. a-b Ikanok aggikok, c l. agatok, d i. agatok, i. aggalok
7. a-b Ugal’yn amtagagisanak, c agallyyn amtagagisanok, d ugallyyn amtagagisanok, u. amtagagisanak: Ugaluun-isanan “Used his spear for -”
8. a-b, d neogok aguninok, c neogok a., d also neogok agunin : Niigux aguninax (or perhaps hagninax) “Caused the Andreanof Islander
to work (or to pack, carry)”, baptized Tikhon Batakov; Bapt. 2.
9. - b ugal’lyun udeadisnañok, c u. udallisanok, d u. udeadirsiñok, u. udeadissanok: Ugal’lun udeadissanax “Was in the bay with his spear” or U. hudagiisnañok “Had dried fish with his spear” or U. udeadissanax “Was on this side with his spear”
10. - c acted as kaqynak, d. kaqynak, adtxa kaqynak perhaps *Hadsugaqstisix “Means for piling up”
11. a - b Samidan umliusalinak, c. s. zilaralinak, d. Simadak zilaralinik, Simidak umliusalinok perhaps *Samidan -linax “Deprived the Semichi Islands of”, perhaps cf. unglo “pinacle”
12. a. c - d kannax chaqynak, b. kannak ch., d also kann ch.: Kannañ -nañ “Cut the Koniaq”; Bapt. 3.

Non-tributary (hopelessly sick)
13. a - b ugal’lyun alisaniok: Ugal’lun aalisinax “Landed with his spear”
14. a - b kuiktak al’galginok: - algalginax “Provided with mammal(s)”

Minor
15. a - b al”golitasaix: Algalitaasix “Means for getting to (killing) mammals”
16. a - b alitxuun alich: Alitxuun alichka “Army’s landing place”
17. a - b “b” gax nduluyuk chaqynakok perhaps Algaanulox chagañnañ “Wounded a mammal not his own”

Tax receipts pp. 203-204 (Il’lyyax), 212 (Il’lyyax)
1. 1780-1791 tagayum satxa: Tagayum satxaxa “Man’s net for catching sea otter”, son of sattax perhaps “Satxa “Wounding”
2. 1781-1790 negokox / negok adalgin, Census 3; son of almata

Baptismal records Male 56-66 (non-tributary), 63; Female 28
1. tukum ayugacha: Tukum ayugacha “Chief’s equipment for going out”, son of algalchikatgax: Algaana chikatgax “His mammal was taken whole”, baptized Tikhon, 43 years old
2. negux aguinax, Census 8.; son of agunalkul: Aquniqagulox “Was not caused to work” or Haguuniqagulax “Was not caused to pack”, baptized Tikhon, 38 years old
3. Kannañ chaqynax, Census 12; son of uagullun alisinax perhaps Ugal’lun alisnisanax “Used his spear for landing”, baptized (by common man) Avram (age not indicated)
4. kuliga chaqynax possibly Kuliga chaqynax “Put fish pots (or a drum) on his baïdaraka deck”, daughter of tayaguligitchina possibly Tayagum (m) kuligichixina “Man who makes (people) have a deck load”, baptized Marfa, 30 years old

10.2. Village Imagna; 1796 Umgasinin: Umgasingan, Morris Cove Census 1791.12.10, a pp. 30-30; b pp. 11-11; c p. 46; d pp. 120-120
1. a - d chief toktta anatok perhaps Tuktuu anatax “His chief makes (things) his own (with property mark)”, baptized Aleksy Lukin, left on ship as hunter with sea-farer Lukinin.
2. a - d now acting chief, the commission’s interpreter (c - d), baptized Yelisya Pupysheva; Tax 2.
3. a - d chakín anatax, d also stokin a. possibly Chakín hangatax “Holds his hands up (as sign?)”
4. a - c chakín agaluytuxax, d chikin a, chikin agaluytuxax: Chakín agaluytuxax “Uses his hands as tusks” (cf. J 7:24)
5. a - b vice-chief kalok Inixox, c. kalak I., d kalek i., kalok atanax: Kaalax isinanax “Cut the mat”
6. a - d ayaga salka, d also anyaga k. conceivably Ayagaqa qalka “Eating its female”
7. a - b, d tanan sugasinox, c - d tanasanox: Tanaan sugasinox “Complained about (or slandered) his place”
8. a - d tayam chegana, d also t. chegini: Tayame chipanaan “Man’s river”; Tax 3.
9. a - b ugal’lyun taganasinox, c. u. tanagisinox, d u. tanagisanox u. taganasinox: Ugal’lun tagasисanax “Lived (had his abode) with (or by) his spear”
10. a - d tana tayaghox: Tanaa tayaghox “His place has men”
11. a - d kamlan sulsilisanox, d also kamlan s.: Gamlan susilisanox “Disen-tangled with his knife”
12. a - d tumox, d also tumox: Tumox “Tusk”
13. a - d tanilox: Taniilox “Lighting place”
14. a - d baptized Semen Bakov
15. a - b, d alitxuulan kaalox, c - x, d also kialox possibly Alituxulakalox “Lined up the army”
16. a - b kiima tawgix, c kalma tawgix, d kalma tawgix, kiiimu tawgix: Kilmataqasix “Means for having (getting) stomachs (or bladders), Providing of stomachs”
17. a - d goyuq chiy, d also gonyo ch.: Huyuu “Her brother.”

Non-tributary (old)
18. a - b kuttata perhaps Ruo tatax (or tatx) “Its surface cracked”

Minor
19. a - b alitxuulan kaalox: Alituxulakalox “Lined up the army”
20. a - b al’gani chutux: Algangin chutux “His mammals were plugged up”
21. a - b “b” gax nduluyuk amkisinox, bai gnu “ai” k. : Algaanulox (or Algaanulox) amquisanax “Was angry because of [getting] no mammals (or because of a mammal not his own)”
22. a chodognanok, b chadognanok possibly Chadugnanaux “Smelling or tasting of blubber”  
23. a-b algax kaalinaux : Algax qaalinaux “Scraped the mammal”  
24. a-b anitan kalakax  
25. a-b algax anissinanux possibly Algax anissinanux “Marked the mammal (with property mark)”  
26. a tayagun anissinanux, b t. anissinanux : Tayagun anissinanux “Marked men” (cf. N.M. 3:77)  

Tax receipts pp. 180° (Umagna), 213 (Imaxnivskoye), 214 (ima magna)  
1. 1766-1768, 1771-1772, 1777-1779 chief Umaganak  
2. 1781 interpreter Yermashok, 1782-1790 baptized Yelisey Pupyshov; Census 2.  
3. 1769-1770, 1773-1777, 1779-1782, 1784-1790 chief taluzhaxa; Census 8.  

10.3. Village Kalyaxta : Qalixtax (in Kalezta Bay)  
Census 1792.03.01, a pp. 80°-31; b p. 11°; c pp 34 (1791.10.16), 74; d pp. 118, 133-134  
1. a-d tumgani regaxtaga, c also tumgana ‘e. possibly Tumgangin igaxtaga[x] “His tusks to be feared”  
3. a-b, d alitgu xadu gocha, c alitgu x. possibly Alitxu(m) qaduguxuxa “Warrior’s way of having many scabs”; Tax 6.  
4. a-d alitxux xaguminax : Alitxux qaguminax “Made the army fierce”; Tax 2.  
5. a-c algax xalusanax, d. xa laxusanax, algaxix galusanaxx perhaps Algax qalusanaxx “Used the mammal for providing food”; baptized Fedor Kozlov; Tax 5.  
6. a-d algax kayuninaxx probably for Algax kayulinaux “Weakened (killed) mammal”  
7. a-b tayagun aikoganinax, c tayutuk a., d toyatuk ankoganinax possibly Tayagun ayku ganinaxx “Caused men to be had as dogs”; Tax 1.; father of Baptist 2.  
8. a-d tukux Ethelinax : Tukux itxalinax “Took the chief’s collar”  
9. a-d anu algalginax, d also anu a. perhaps Anux algalginax “Put mammals in the stream”  
10. a-b alakix kimax, c alakig kimakax, d alakax kimakax, alakix kamakix perhaps Alakix kimaxax “His two whales were sunk”  
11. a-d tukux augacha, d also t. agacha possibly Tukux(m) haguchaxa “Chief’s towline”  
12. a-b, d alitxum anagoya, c a. anigeycha : Alitxum anagoya “War axe”  
13. a-d ugalux algagixi : Ugulux algagix “His spear has on it (is in) a mammal”  

Non-tributary (abducted by seafarer Shirokiiyli)  
14. a-b chagudan xagudusanax : Chagudan qagudusanax “Was happy with his wooden hat (visor)”  
15. a tukux tumganax, b-g : Tukux tumganax “Struck the chief with his tusk” (cf J 72:34-35)  
16. a-b ugalux xalusanax : Ugalux qalusanax “Used his spear for getting fish (or food)”  
17. a-b tanax xalginax : Tanax qalginax “Provided the place with fish (or food)”  
18. a-b chokix allitgusanax : Chokix allitxusanax “Fought with his hands”  
19. a-b alitxu(t) tayagugiix : Alitxu(t) tayagugiix “His crew/army has men”  
20. a-b alitxumman agidugiix perhaps Alitxu(m) amaan hagidusiix “Lifting (or saving) (his) army”  
21. a-b agu gnaux : A gu gnaux “Sea urchin”  
22. a-b algax Ishkashiginax : Algax istxasxinax “Put a/the mammal in (a/the) basket”  
23. a-b xagux : Qagux “Fierce”  
24. a tukux Izhshinax, b-nag : Tukux isinax “Cut across the chief”  
25. a-b Iguxa xiguxax : Iguxa xiguxax “His hide was laid away”  
26. a tayagun kayulysax, b t. kayulinaux : Tayagun kayulinaux “Weakened (vanquished) men”  
27. a-b algam ngaan Igamashiix : Algam-ngaan igadusiix “Frightening (or Means for frightening) mammal(s)”  

Tax receipts pp. 209-211, 215-217 (Kalexkinskoye)  
1. 1781-1782, 1784-1786, 1790-1791 aikuganiik, Census 7.; son of aik : Aykux “Dog”  
2. 1780-1781, 1783-1785, 1787, 1790 alitux / alitux kagulino, Census 4.; son of kagadung perhaps Qagadux “Men’s dancing”  
3. 1774-1790 malagaxsa son of alichuxanux  
4. 1781-1791 aigagaix, Census 2.; son of kuguyexta possibly Qaguyaxtax “Good at making fierce”  
5. 1780-1790 aileg anagunax, Census 5.; son of tamgaxiax perhaps Taamgax “Cross-strap on baidarka deck”  
6. 1780-1781, 1783-1784, 1787, 1790 alitux kagudogux, Census 3.; son of kagudung, see 2.  

Baptismal records Female 25, 29 (kalexkinskoye)  
1. tunuganitxix - ulisix : Tunugani - ulisix “Make swear - tent (?)”, daughter of amsganini kulaisik : Amsganini - ulisix (?) “Make be bloody - tent (?),” baptized Marfa, 22 years old  
2. sa adykix akhuqzixisanax perhaps Saadax akhuqzixaasaxan “Shared nicely his (her?) two long bones”, daughter of aikuginiil, Census 7.; baptized (by common man of the village) Nadezhda (age not indicated)
10.4. Village *uch'yug, c uchuyug*: Uuchyuux < Uuchuyux, in Russian Bobrovskoye

Census 1792.01.11., a p. 31; b p. 12; c pp. 34 (1791.10.16.), 56; d pp. 118, 125-126
1. a-d chief *algax malinax*: Algał malinax “Appropriated a/the mammal”, baptized Dmitriev Sivtsov; Bapit. 1.
2. a-d *kidginan*: Qinganinał “Causing to be cold” or (or.) “Growing cold”, baptized Kirila Chuloshnikov
3. a-d *algax amagininał*: Algał amagininał “Made the mammal bleed”, baptized Kirila
4. a-d *shokin angușinał* possibly *Sakin angusinał* “Got (spilled) the lamp on his bird parka”
5. a-d *ugalygin amagiz*: Ugalungin aamagiz “His spears are bloody”
6. a-d *tanaman tununax*: Tanamanañ (or Tanaamanañ) tununax “Spoke to the (or his) land (place)”, baptized Leonty
7. a-bgunungin azekał, egunungan azekał, d Gunungan / Gunungan azekał: Hunangin azaktał “His wounds were counted”
8. a-c *Igkan shalichinax, d Ixki shalichinax*: Igaan salichinax “Let his blade be made dull”, baptized Ivan

Non-tributary (9-10. taken by seafarer Shirok[ikh]; 11. senile)
9. a-b *tuku kagugunanał*: Tukuu - “His chief”.
10. a-b baptized Nikolai
11. a-k *kanag malinał*: Kanał malinax “Appropriated (enslaved) the Koniag”, baptized Dmitriev Sivtsov menshei ‘the smaller’; Bapit. 3. (?)

Minor a-b
12. a-b chief’s son baptized Ioan
13. a-b *algax kayulinał*: Algax kayulinał “Weakened (killed) mammal”
14. a-b *angagix kumadužanax*: Angagix kumadañ huusanał “Brought the person outside”
15. a-b *aguka dugloyek*
16. a-b *chichegin shagig*, bchichegin shagig: *ngin sagiț “His -s have edges"
17. a-b *tayagudadał*: Tayaguluddadał “Little man”
18. a-b *tukun ayugnitakał* perhaps for Tukun aygunntanał “Caused his chief to go out (in his boat)"

Tax receipts p. 202 (Bobrovskoye)
1. 1767-1770, 1772-1773, 1775-1790 chief *algax ayuanak*: Algax ayuanak “His mammal fell over”, son of *aluyukshuk* apparently *aluxchux* derived from *alux* ‘spot’, cf. *aluğağix* ‘dog salmon’ lit. “has spots”

1. chief *algax malinał*, Census 1.; son of *allan* [for *algan*] malixan perhaps *Algian mali(t)xan* “Mammals were taken away (?)”; baptized Petr; 50 years old, tributary

10.5. Village *Chalyuknał*: Chalyuknał, in Russian called Sechki (Sechkina, Sechkinskoye)

Census 1792.02.14., a p. 31; b p. 12; c p. 73; d pp. 132*-133
1. a-c tukku nasaglnax, dukun nasaglnax, takun asglanax Tukunum - “his chief”, baptized Larion Sivtsov; Tax 1., Bapit. 7.
2. a-d *Saggyax*: Sakkuyax “Vertebra”, baptized Andrey Chuloshnikov
3. a-b *algaman sauuktasak*, c-d *Xalamañ sauukttaasix* “Pulling rope for mammal(s)”, baptized Ivan Sivtsov; Bapit. 9.
4. a-al *lagagin, b algag 1.*, c-d *alax 1.* perhaps *Aalax lagalinał* “Deprived two of geese (Canada g.)”, baptized Larion Sivtsov
his baidarka with - ("amdat-")
2. a-d neogok kigananok : Niigux qinganahnax "Froze the Andreanof Islander", baptized Gavrila Kostin
3. a-c kanag Sigalanak, d k. Sigalanak : Kanaax sigalinarx "Robbed the Konig's provision"
4. a-b ugaluq kaxu, c ugalaxu, d ugalakaxu : Ugal(um) qaxu "Butt of spear"
5. a umgasiichun tunigix, b-d-k possibly Ungisiichu tunigix "His (bait) knife
has noise (sound)"
6. a-d negin alitxu sanok : Nigin alitxusanaq "Fought baidars"
7. a-c toukuyax, d toukuyax perhaps *Tuguquyax, cf. tuguyax 'eel-like fish'
8. a-d tukum gan ugaluyxuk : Tukum-ngaana ugaluqax "Spearred for the chief"
9. a-d neog amagninak : Niigux amagnaxnaq "Made the Andreanof Islander bleed"

Non-tributary (incapable because of age and sickness)
10. a-b chimkaayax : Chimkaaxax "Periwinkle"
11. a tanak, b tanan : Tanax "Land, place" or Tanan "His own place"

Minor
12. a-b kalayan sigalginax : Kaalaan sigalginax "Put provisions on his grass
mat"
13. a-b amdanin azhik
14. a-b chatunugax perhaps Chatnagax "Ready to be chipped"

Tax receipts pp. 223-224 (Natykinskoye)
1. 1783-1789 Neegux : Niigux "Andreanof Islander", son of neegug possibly
2. 1790-1791 skik (?) adamax ogynok, son of taymagdax perhaps
Taymagdax "Great trader"

10.7. Village Igognax, d Ikoogax, -k : Igugnaq (also Igunax), in Russian called
Petryakovsky (Petryakov's Dwelling)
Census 1792.01.05, a p. 32; b p. 12; c p. 35 (1791.10.22), 54; d pp. 118, 122-123;
146 (1792.05.13)
1. a-d chief Ik'yam Ighagii : Iqyam ihxagii "Filled baidarka"; Tax 3.
2. a-b chudax, c-d s'chudax : Chumidax "Stabber"
3. a-c ogal'midax, d ogalmadax, ogilmadax
4. a-d xaskin chumlyginaqan perhaps : chumlaganaq "Ate - raw"
5. a-b, d yagax chuninax, c yachax ch., d also yagix chunanaq : Hyagaq
chuninaq "Stabbed the log"
6. a-d kil'gin yagvakax perhaps Qiligin yaagiqux "His brain was shaken"
(yagixi known only as vi.)
a-d tanekox : Taniqux “Head”
8. a-b, d kuchchada, c-d kuchgada perhaps *Quchxaadaa “The middle one”
9. a-b, d ogalyu kagyk, c ogali k : Ugailu qagix “His spear has food (or fish) on it”
10. a kamligiisanak, b kamligisanak, c kamliy gisanax, d kamlya Gisanax, kamliy Gisanak : Qamligiisanax “Handled (something, somebody) with his knife”

Non-tributary (old, old and blind)
11. a-b chin nagukax
12. a-b annigasisx : Anigasisx “Hatchet”

Minor
13. a-b takkanuk apparently Takanux “Smell of codfish bladder”
14. a-b ogalyun oyasadusanok perhaps for Ugaliun ayadgadusanax “Got woman/women with his spear”
15. a-b azatosgolyuk
16. Kalashnikov
17. Semen Kochutin

Tax receipts pp. 205-208 (Pestryakovskoye)
1. 1781-1783, 1785, 1787-1791 ugalochana : Ugaliu “Spear”
3. 1780-1783 Ek’ayam yanchiga (probably miscopied for Igchagi), Census 1.; son of xeiga (?)
4. 1780-1791 Chikkedesh (or -sk) perhaps Chikadusix “Means for winding up (guts)”, son of kymchakak

10.8. Village tachikalla : Tachiqala, in Russian called Veselovskoye
Census 1792.02.02, a pp. 52-53; b pp. 52-53; c pp. 52-53; d pp. 52-53; e pp. 52-53; f pp. 52-53; g pp. 52-53; h pp. 52-53; i pp. 52-53; j pp. 52-53; k pp. 52-53; l pp. 52-53; m pp. 52-53; n pp. 52-53; o pp. 52-53; p pp. 52-53; q pp. 52-53; r pp. 52-53; s pp. 52-53; t pp. 52-53; u pp. 52-53; v pp. 52-53; w pp. 52-53; x pp. 52-53; y pp. 52-53; z pp. 52-53

7. a-b tanaxax, c-d tanax : Tanaax “Great island (or Tanaga Island)” and/or Tanax “Island, place”, baptized Ivan Sivtsov; Bapt. 3.
8. a-b amamaxadak, c-d -x possibly Hamamaqadax “Stops being so”
9. a-b kalichuk, c-d kalchuk, baptized Petr; Bapt. 5.
10. a-d kaukax, d also koidax : Qagudax “Usually fierce”
11. a-d ulyasin chikamakan, d also c. chimakax : Ulasin chimikahnax “Took his whole tent”
12. a-b, d tanagex adgunax, c tanax adgunax, d also tanag adgunax perhaps Tanax(ax) hadgunax “Piled up a (great) island/place”
13. a-b tunu kichxatanak, c-d -x perhaps Tunu[n] qichxata “Sharp-ened his voice”
14. a-b katta sxdolyuyn, c.kat’a s’xadaulyuyn, d.kat’ a sxdolyuyn perhaps Qataxaxadatulux “Is never split (?)”
15. a-b Itii sakkayax, c-d i. Sakkayak, d also -x
16. a-b tukun chigidalginax, c-x, d. chigadalginax, t. chigadalganax : Tukun chigidalginax “Provided his chief with ornaments (ornamental triangles)”
17. a-b uiki xadan, c-d -k, d also -x : Uyqigaadax “Little old woman”

Non-tributary (old, hopelessly sick)
19. a-b kaxon kalyanax possibly Qakun kalanax “Lined up (or dragged) Rat Islanders”, baptized Petr; Bapt. 6.
20. a-b kum algaqix conceivably Kuun algaqix “You have mammal(s) upon you”, baptized Petr
21. a-b kattax : Qatax “Lateral half” or “Sheath” (known from Atkan only)
22. a-b chxayasisix : Chhayaasix (or Chhayaasix) “Means for trying to fill (or steal)”, baptized Dmitrei

Minor
23. a-b kichxitisx tanagaoasax : Qichxitisx tanaagaasax “Brought his weapons back to his place”
24. a-b kugak ayugasanax : Quqax ayugasanax “Went out (in his boat) with a spirit”
25. a-b uyaxkin apparently Uyaxkin “His own two openings”
26. a-b Ek’yan kalananax : Iqyana kalahanax “Dragged his baidarka”
27. a-b katuushak perhaps Qaatuxax “Usually hungry” (xa- known only from Atkan)
28. a-b tayaxun kayguninax : Taygun kayguninax “Made the men work hard”
29. a-b baptised Stefan Shishov
30. a-b tanax tadanax : Tanax tadanax “Trod the ground”
31. a-b alesinax perhaps Alaksnnax “Went hunting inland”
32. a Ugaliun chuyusanax, b -k : Ugaliun chuyusanax “Used his spear as arm”
Tax receipts pp. 161-184, 186-188, 190-191
2. 1773, 1780, 1782, 1784-1788 Igeltiyish son of chuyugux kugalt (or l.ch. son of k.) perhaps Chuyugux “Has many jackets -”
3. 1780-1782, 1784-1791 shigaligig perhaps Sigaligix “Giving gifts”, son of Uigadatx
5. 1781, 1783-1790 taisxu : Tayagu[ ] “Man”, son of Sak : Sax “Duck”
6. 1780-1782, 1784-1786, 1790 chigkagak, son of chokaduk
7. 1780-1791 Ichak(a) adgauk [son of] xekak(a) adgugik
8. 1766-1789 tukuma cheuk, probably Census 1.

Baptismal records Male 45-52 (kachikal’la, in Russian Veselovskye)
1. chief tukuma chuyuk, Census 1., son of chuyuk : Chuyux “Arm”, baptized Ioann, 63 years old, tributary
2. chix[i] exagaliq : Chatiix- “Gall bladder” -“, son of Chutkuttxalx, baptized Ioann, 40 years old, tributary
3. tannax, Census 7., son of sofuxan perhaps Saqan “Points of fishing spear”, baptized Ioann, 35 years old, tributary
4. kumalqig, son of keluyxan, baptized Petr, 50 years old, tributary
5. kalichu, Census 9., son of chanadak : Changadaq “Does fast”, baptized Petr, 40 years old, non-tributary
6. kaxux hakanax, Census 19., son of kaxux atxastx : Qaxun atxastx “Keeps the Rat Islanders in order (?)”, baptized Petr, 60 years old, non-tributary
7. axastx perhaps Agatx “Bare”, son of agalaladagulx : Agalaladagulux “Never harpoons”, baptized Petr, 25 years old, non-tributary
8. chxanxhik, son of tanntukuxag perhaps for Taangaatatkuchax “Little drunkard”, baptized Petr, 30 years old, non-tributary

10.9. Village magusieh : Magusiix, in Russian called Makushin, Makushin Village Census 1792-02-03, a pp. 32-33; b pp. 13-13; c p. 65; d pp. 128-129
1. a-d kadax okax, d also -k : Kadax aqax “Put before him” or “There was one before him”; Tax 1.
2. a-d akax algax : Akan algax “His mamasimal out there”
3. a-c uglyak ayegiliginok, d.u. agglagilokin, u. ayegiliginok : Ulax ayegilginax “Brought women to his house”, baptized Ivan Khramov
4. a-b anul’gik, c analigik, d anulgak : Anulgik “Cormorant”
5. a-d Ek’yan gulginax, d also E. gulsinax : Iqan gulginax “Pierced baidarkas” (cf J 57:6)
7. a-d son’ingag
8. a-b kiyugin sokax, c-d kyuyugin s. perhaps Kiyugin suqax “His jaeger birds were taken” (kiyux known only from Atkan)
9. a-d yosax
10. a-d anya alkax, d also anya siku possibly Ayagaasaksu “Took her as wife”
11. a-b, d kazhushkanak, c-nok, d also -nax perhaps Qastisunax “Was good at raising his arm for stabbing”
12. a-d ogoluyuk kiax apparently Ugulux qyax “Spear tight”
13. a-d shushiya
14. a-d analigudan
15. a-d chunakax, d also chunakax : Chuhuniqx “Stabbed”
16. a-d alimaqseax
17. a-d starik (Russian: ‘old man’)
18. a-d anastayxan
19. a-b, d tunuxtax ayruga sanak, c t. ayrugi s. d also t. aniga s. : Tunuxtax ayegasanax “Went out (in his boat) with talking”
20. a-d lyalyu : Lalu “His cedar”
21. a-b, d agagasiq, c igasik, d also igasik : Igagiisix “Saw”
22. a-d sigayak : Sigayax “Trying to recognize”
23. a-d liyamisik : Luumaaxix “Trying”
24. a-d akayun Imanok : Akayun (or Akayun) imahnaq “Shouted over his strait (or the straits)”
25. a-b asaakin algalginax, c-d nok possibly Hasakin algalginax “Provided his two reefs with mammals”
26. a-d talikuk perhaps Talikux “Consoles (now)”
27. a-d chan ayegagisanax : Chaan ayagagisanax “Copulated with (by means of) his hand (masturbated)”
28. a-d tunuxhokax possibly Tunuq suqax “His voice was taken”
29. a-d algaj chishinan : Algachxianax “Were nice mammals”
30. a-d ankta anaxas : Anqtan “Was - at the end”

Non-tributary (31-33. incapable of paying because of age and sickness; 34. taken for work by seafarer Shirokikh)
31. a-b Igdagagnak : Igdagignax “Result of drilling (fire?)”
32. a-tayno akaxax, b tayakon atanax perhaps Tayaxux atanax “The man was burning” (cf J 34:2 ff)
33. a-b tuma : Uma “Here, back here”
34. a-b ‘Eganok kuchhixinax perhaps Iqanok kuchhixinax “Had the terrible one fished out from boulders”

Minor
35. a-b ginnakitum
36. a-b kanak kitanaq : Kanaax kitanaq “Kicked the Konig”
37. a angugin ayusakax, bankagik a. perhaps Angaqin angyusunax “Had difficulties with people”
38. a-b tayaum gulgika : Tayagum gulgiqaa “The man pierced it”
39. a-b gum tasik : Humtaasix “Means for inflating”
40. a-b iyachi : Hlachi “Your (pl.) son(s)”
41. a-b kannuk axehaginok : Kanux-nax “ed a/the heart”
42. a-b ayegak : Ayagax “Woman”
43. a-b agachi perhaps Angachi “Your adversary” (word known from Atkan)
44. a kichix shaaxinax, b kichig sh.
45. a-b ayegachxizhak : Ayagachxizax “Nice woman”

Tax receipts pp. 176v-176v, 177
1. 1761-1791 kadanaak, Census 1.; [son of] anu . . .
2. 1791 Ek’yagulgy, Census 5.; . . . .
3. 1791 alitkuusaliq possibly Alitxusaliq “Fighting with (somebody)”, son of sanuchag
4. 1779, 1781-1783 tumgikin possibly Tumgakin “His own foreshaft (of spear), son of lang : Hlang “My son”
5. 1784-1785, 1787-1790 tuman perhaps Tumam “We”, son of manux : Manux “Good smell/taste”
6. 1770, 1773-1774 chief’s relative (no name)
7. 1775-1780ik uqutqaliq, Census 6.
8. 1781-1791 kushuq(a) [son of] taguq(a) : Tayagux “Man”

10.10. Village akxman, b akxman, d also akxman : Iiq(u)m-angan
Census 1792.01.11, a p. 33; b p. 13; c pp. 56, 75 (1792.05.07); d pp. 125-126, 145
1. a-d tayaum maya, c-d also, maya : Tayagum mayagaa “Man’s hunting”, Tax 3.
3. a-b xalyuk, c-d xalyuk, d also xiyuk : Qalux “Fermented Urine” or “Eating place”
4. a-b xaykin, c xaykan, d xaykin : Xaykin pl. “Dog salmon”
5. a-b at’gax atakanax, c-c atkanax, d.a. ataksinax, algix atakanax : Algux atakanax “Got one mammal”
6. a-b Iglagin ayugga sanax, c-d I. : Iglagin (or Iglagin) ayugasanax “Went out (in his boat) with his harpoon (or harpoons)”
7. a-c (1792.05.07) ogasigadux, d Igasigadux, baptized Aleksandr Pan’kov, according to information given by the chief (his relative) through the commission’s interpreter, he had been in January at Atka with chief Sergey Pan’kov, escorting him (c-d)

Non-tributary (old)
8. a-b Iga magin perhaps Igamagin “Big woman’s knives”

Minor
9. a-b assagin sunax perhaps Hasagin sunax “Took strongholds”

Tax receipts pp. 193v, 196
1. 1766, 1769-1771, 1773-1776, 1778-1780, 1782-1786 Tainyuspan(a) [son of ?] Ulyonok(a)
2. 1786-1790 atakan, Census 2. [son of ?] Ugalututan possibly Ugalututan “Skilled spearers”, if not Ataqaq ufmalututan “Has one spear”
3. 1789-1790 tayagama’ix, Census 1.

10.11. Village Ikkalga Ikalga, in Russian called Chornovskoye, c Chornovskoye; Chernoiski Village.
Census 1792.02.11, a p. 33-333; b pp. 13-14; c pp. 70, 101-102 (1792.04.17); d pp. 129, 130, 140, 141, 142
1. a, c-d chief algan anaktanax, b a. sanaktaxonax : Algaa anaktaxa “Clubbled mammals”, Tax 4.
2. a-b, d kanagin taguch, c kanagin taguch, c-d kanagin : Kanaagin (or perhaps Qanaagin) taguuxa “Konig’s” (or Fisherman’s) string”, Tax 7.
3. a-b, dugaliq axi Hgina, c Hgalux i., d also qalux Iqanaq : Ugalux higina “Throw the spear” (higil known from Atkan) or U. highinax “The spear jumped”
4. a-b kanag alilinan, c kanax aalinax, d kanax aalinax, kanax alilinan : Kanaax aalinax “Cut the Konig in two (in the middle)”
5. a-d angagisik : Angagisix “Subsistence”
6. a-d tayagu kidasax : Tayagux qidaasax “His man was mourned”
7. a-d alan tadakax, d also a. tidax : Alan tadaax “Stepped on in the middle”
8. a-d kakkyuk shunan perhaps “Qakurryuq sunax “Took the inner one (the one inside the house)"
9. a-d Imaxtun sunax : - sunax “Took.”
10. a-d ayakkolex tadanax possibly Ayaquilix tadanax “Trode on the one to fall”
11. a-d killaxax possibly Kilakna “Beaten (surpassed in race)”
12. a-d akax shunan possibly Hakax sunax “Took the feather”
13. a-d guina ayuq takax : Hunaay sayuttaqax “His wound was pulled”
14. a-d tannagin ‘eganan, d also tannagin ‘E. : Tanagin ignax “His places (or islands) are terrible”
15. a-d kakhux : Akayux “Strait”
16. a-d anachhen perhaps Anachan “Of his property mark”
17. a-d chanunax
18. a-d kouagation : Qurag alga “Spirit’s mammal”
19. a-b, d tayax xodax, c tayaxo[. . .] : Tayagudax “Little man”
20. a-c shoklochxax, b -kax, cf. sukliux “bone ornaments worn in the nasal cartilage”
21. a-c ulya ayagagix, d u. ogagix, u. ayagigax : Ulaa ayagagix “His house has women in it”, baptized Nikolay Tarasov
22. a-c akitaq, d akataq perhaps Akitaasix “Means for going as far as (somewhere)”
23. a-d ayakushik : Ahaqunisix “Means for spearing fish”
Non-tributary (24-27. old; 28-30. taken by seafarer Shirokiy to work on ship)  
24. a-b akkagnagan, Tax 5.  
25. a-b allega ayagagix : Aliga ayagagix “The (or His) old man has a wife”  
26. a-b tayagum aliga : Tayaqum aliga “Old man”  
27. a-al’gan taganax, b-a tanganax perhaps Algan taganax “Checked (or Tried) the mammals”  
28. a-b’Eganax Iganax perhaps Iganax higanax “Threw fright (?)”  
29. a-b tayagox okuninax : Tayaqox okuninax “Caused the man to turn”  
30. a-b neogok al’galinax : Niiguq algalinax “Deprived the Andreaden Islander of mammal(s)”  

Minor  
31. a-b attakan alqatnas : Ataqan alqatnas “One mammal gotten”  
32. a ugalyun kigigasanax, b ugalyu k. : Ugalyun qigigasanax “Cut with his spear”  
33. a-b ayagagin shokax : Ayagagin suqax “His women were taken”  
34. a-b kita koyax : Kita- “Foot-”, perhaps suffix -quya-  
35. a-b maykalan  
36. a-chikkuinidax, b chikku inidax  
37. a-kil’naligix, b kilna ligix  
38. a-b angin chagadusanax : Angiin chagadusanax “Went out to sea with his breath (or voice)”, baptized Andrei Mezhhevskoy  
39. a-b tayam anga : Tayagum an’gaa “Man’s line” or T. anqa “Man’s call or life or spirit or breath”  

Tax receipts pp. 197, 231, 243-243*5, 250-250*  
1. 1760-1783, 1785-1791 aleyagax, son of igazkalok  
2. 1773-1776 chief anassseyak, son of imichax  
3. 1774-1779 chief’s brother xayidukuchakh / xalyudukuchakh : -kuchax “Little.”  
4. 1762, 1785-1789 alganextanox, Census 1.; son of anassseyak = 2.  
5. 1780-1784, 1786-1788 okagagax, Census 24.; son of tumlix  
6. 1774-1776, 1778-1790 aletadax perhaps Alitadax “Substitute”, son of ogigeayak  
7. 1782-1783, 1785-1790 kanaga tauci, Census 2.  
8. 1765-1767, 1769-1790 chief’s brother ugagalonak/ ugagalgonik  

Census 1792.03.29, a pp. 33*-34; b pp. 14-14*; c pp. 56*-57 (1792.01.11, 82; d pp. 125-125*5 (1792.01.07, 12), 134*-135  
1. a-d chief kuxas tunuchxinaq : Quxas tunuchxinaq “Made the spirit speak”; Tax 1.  
2. a-d kugal’gitok : Qagulgitux “Has big nails (or claws)”  

Non-tributary (24. old; 27. taken by seafarer Shirokiy to work on ship)  
24. a-b umnigisak, c umnigisak, d umnigisak : Umnigiisix “Step-nephew”  
25. a analayak Il’gu Isanaq, b-a Il’guissanaq, ca. ilgu isanak, da. ilguqananak : Angaliix iguissanaq “Stayed with (in) light (daylight)”  
26. a-kilma ayagagix, d k. ayagagix : Kilmaa ayagagix “His belly has a woman on it”, baptized Naum  
27. a-kitaki ayagagix, d k. ayagagix : Kitakix ayagagix “His feet have a woman on them”  
28. a-d kaqoxuqax perhaps Qaxqoxax “Hit exactly” (verb known from Atkan)  
29. a-d algax anax : Algax anax “Was a mammal”  
30. a-kimox, d kamog : Qihmx “Cross-eyed”  
31. a-d tayam saakali : Tayagum saaqali “Man’s bedding”  
32. a-d shugangix : Sugangix “Young man”, baptized Vasiley Popov  
33. a-d kouqax anignax : Quxas aniignax “Chopped (?) the spirit”  
34. a-d kychuchiknagyn  
35. a-b ogegax taloqax, c ayegax tegaqax, d ayegax taleqax : Ayagam taligacha “Woman’s means for (way of) dancing”  
36. a-b al’gan uganon, c-d algax u. : Algax (Algax) ughanax “They cured the mammal (or mammals)”  

These two (15-16) live in a separate village called Mokrovskoye but bring the tribute together with the people of Kashiga  
37. a-c annigisak, d annigisak : Aniigisix “Axe”  
38. a-b, d akulsax, c akulixis; Tax 5.  
39. a-c ananan kuchan, d anon k.  
40. a-d Ek’yan samusanax : Iqyan samusanax “Counted (?) baidarkas”  
41. a-b, d ukicha zanin, c ukachi z.  
42. a-c akinax uyu, d akanax Ulyu : Akinagulux “Did not retaliate”  
43. a-d ukkuxazax perhaps Ukusuxax “Finding”  
44. a-d umnin : Umnin “His own nephew”, baptized Vasiley Lytkin  
45. a-c allegosok sayunax, d allegosox s. : sayunax “Pulled -”  

Non-tributary (24. old; 27. taken by seafarer Shirokiy to work on ship)  
24. a-b samusis : Samusis “Counting” or “Number”  
25. a-b linan kamuxtanax : Linan kamuxtanax “Had roof of mats”, from village Mokrovskoye  

Minor  
28. a-b al’tax : Algax “Mammal”  
29. a-b ayagax ogalyunax : Ayagax ugalunax “Speared a woman”  
30. a-b Yakun’ka “Little Jacob”  
31. a-b kitaxan : Qitoxan “Were made crooked” or Kitoxan “Were drained”  
32. a-b kouqax algagincog : Quxas algalginax “Provided the spirit with mammal(s)”
10.12. Nagun-Alaxxa, Unalaska

Tax receipts pp. 263-263v
1. 1771,1773-1781,1783,1790 chief kugax tunukenox, Census 1.
2. 1773-1780 anakagnan
3. 1779-1790 chief laxtax: Laxtax “Killer”, son of kakuskashunuk
4. 1782-1784 an’alex tanaxtanax, Census 3.
5. 1790 akuilx, Census 18; son of kaluskashunuk perhaps Kaluxax sunax “Took the plate”, but cf. 3.

10.13. Village Sedankin, in Aleut umshalug: *Umsalux
Census 1792.03.29, p. 24; b p. 14; c p. 22; d pp. 134-135
1. a-d chief alitxum alicha: Alitxum alicha “Army’s landing place”
2. a-b ayegyn shegonax, c -nax, d -nax possibly Ayagin siginaix “Smashed
Makushin Volcano”
3. a-d taganax: Taganax “Lighted” or “Slowly”
4. a, c chigulkyeg, d -yex (b illegible)

Non-tributary (taken by seafarer Shirkoiy for work on ship)
5. a Igel”kug (b illegible)
6. a-b ogoliog agita: Ugalux agitaix “Together with spear”
7. a tuuk shegonax, b-nax: Tuxux sigayaanax “Tried to recognize the chief”
8. a-b agaxa perhaps Angax “Match” or “Enemy”
9. a-b eganax alashenax possibly Iganax halaasanax “Turned around terribly”
Both of these (8-9.) visiting from Atka Island

Minor
10. a-b aukudatix algetix: - algaix - has mammal(s)
11. a-b chudulax: Chudulax “Hits several in one shot”
12. a chugax shunax, b -nax: Chugax sunax “Took the/a fur parka”

(with Biorka Village, Qakilux)
Census 1792.03.29. & 05.13, a p. 34; b p. 15; c pp. 35v(1791.10.22), 81, 82v-83; d pp. 118, 134-135, 146-146v
1. a-d chief akuyaxdax: Aquyaakdax “Wart”
2. a-d algo kayuxx: Algaa qayuxx “His mammal was hooked”
3. a b atax malinax, c d atak m.: Aataax malinax “Appropriated a fur
seal bull”, baptized Andrei Frolov
4. a tayagun igigikananx, b t. Igiginanxanx, c-d t. agiginankanx perhaps
Tayagun (or Tayagun) anjiginaistanax “Had men (or his man
as woman”, baptized Tikhon Bakulin; Bapt. 29.
5. a-b kayun uganax, c-d -nax, d also kayun uganox: Kayun ughanax
“Cured his strength (muscle)”, baptized Tikhon Bakulin; Bapt. 28.
6. a-b chunitalax, c chunitalik, d chunatalik, chunatalik possibly
Chuunitsalax “Poked with (?)” or Chuhnitilax “Poking”, baptized
Ilarion Klimshin


7. a-d talizuk, d also talazuk possibly Talux “Good at consoling”, baptized
Fedor Kozlov; Bapt. 7.
8. a-b tanan yagai’ginok, c-d t. yagilganok, d also t. algilginok: Tanaan
hyagalinax “Brought wood to his place”
9. a-d tayagum dagich, d also t. daich possibly Tayagum daich “Man’s
substitute eye(s)”, baptized Petr Kozyrev; Bapt. 8.
10. a, c-d alitzum kagalga, b tayagunukix k. (confused with the following)
perhaps Alitzum qagalga “Warrior’s claw”, baptized Petr Kozyrev; Bapt.
11. a tayagunukix, b tayagunukix, c-d tayagunukix: Tayagununqix “Some men”
12. a-d kokax kayugnak perhaps Kukux kayugnax “Grandmother is hard
(difficult)”, baptized Ivan; Bapt. 18.
13. a sialignok, b sili yaginok, c-d siliyaginok, d also silignok possibly
- yaqinaix “ - shacked”, baptized Ivan; Bapt. 21.
14. a-kadan anxadasak, b k. aixadasak, c-sax, d, k. aixadasanax, k. kaxadasax
possibly Kadan ayxadasanax “Used to travel with points (spear
heads)”
15. a-b kayun kayakogix, c-d kayugin k., also kasogin k., kayugin
kayogogix possibly Kayunin -giix “His muscles (or strength) has”

Non-tributary (old)
16. a-b kachxa aglixax: Qachxa agliqax “His skin missed (not hit)”,
baptized Fedor Kozlov; Bapt. 16, 41.

Minor
17. a gomnisux, b gomnisuxk perhaps for Humnisux “Made swell”
19. a b kalkaygix: Qalkaaygax “Maggie (or Raven)”, baptized Ivan; Bapt. 23.
20. a-b axolix: Aquliix: “Hawk (falcon)”, baptized Ioann (not in Bapt.)
21. a agaluyun chunisaban, b agaluyun ch.: Ugalux chunisinaax “Stabbed
with his spear”, baptized Ioann (not in Bapt.)

Tax receipts pp. 194, 195, 245 (Unalaska, eastern end Spirkina town); 229, 230
(island Sedanka, Borkina town), 245-245v, 264v (Unalaska, village Sedanka)

1. 1780-1783, 1785-1789 chinktalik Ugaluy: - ugalux “- spear”, son of
yagatang
2. 1780-1781, 1783, 1785, 1787-1790 agakayakak, son of kayagk
3. 1781, 1785-1789 kayalin tagayo conceivably Qayahlin tagayo
“Man of just hills”
4. 1782-1790 utak Umnak apparently - umnan “ - rope”
5. 1779-1785 igelix perhaps Igalix “Faints from bloodletting”, son of kochidik
6. 1781-1790 kitaki todax: Kitakix tadaix “His feet step (tread)”
7. 1782-1790 (no name)
18. kukanayugigax, Census 12; son of algakayug perhaps for Alg(a)m kayungin “Mammal’s muscles”, baptized Ioann, 17 years old, non-tributary
19. anachya, son of algagayunax : Algax ayunak “The mammal fell over”, baptized Ioann, 12 years old, non-tributary
20. tukux asiglinax possibly Tukuk asiglinax “Deprived of the chief of juggling stones”, son of yagazhag perhaps Hyagaaxax “Little tree”, baptized Ioann, 10 years old, non-tributary
21. Siliginax, Census 13.; son of algaman uayaksax possibly Algamaan uigayaasix “Means for healing mammal(s)”, baptized Ioann, 17 years old, non-tributary
22. kukanayugigax : Qugana(m) tayaqgu “Man of stone”, son of dagychan perhaps Dagiichan “His substitute eye’s [something]”, baptized Ioann, 4 years old
23. xal’ch’gtkan ganagasagax, cf. Census 19; son of xach’ga aqikhak (or -g) = (or namesake of) Census 16., Bapt.16.; baptized Ioann, 3 years old
24. tukutaninax : Tukum(t) taninax “Chief’s lightenings (or foreheads?)” son of tukunaqsaq : Tukum aqusax “Passing with his chief”, baptized Ioann, 15 years old, non-tributary
25. alitukul alamanaq : Alituxal alanax “Needed army/crow”, son of ayag kalnsan, baptized Pet, 25 years old, non-tributary
26. chamag’ax (or -ix), Census 18; son of allaloginax perhaps Halaaluqginax “His (or Their) places for turning the head” (cf. J 3:24), baptized Ioann, 30 years old, non-tributary
27. Ek’yax Exannanax possibly for Iqyaa ikananax “His baidarka was terrible”, son of agolluginax : Agaluginax (or -ix) “The last ones (or one)”, baptized Ioann, 30 years old, non-tributary
28. kayun Uannax, Census 5; son of kayunikax, baptized Tikhon, 18 years old, non-tributary
29. tanagun agagnaktanok, Census 4; son of aqydon perhaps for Agidigix “Wide open (his eyes)”, baptized Tikhon, 17 years old, non-tributary
30. ayagagnakax : Ayagag(a) nalakax “Future bride”, daughter of alix : Alix “Old man”, baptized Agrupina, 30 years old
31. ayagax - sal’ginax : Ayagaax salgilinax “Gave the woman duck(s) (or blade(s))”, daughter of algagaxtugan, baptized Akilina, 25 years old
32. ayagasyax kuchax possibly for Ayagakuchax “Little woman”, daughter of algam kitax : Algazam kitax “Mammal’s two feet”, cf. Bapt.1.; baptized Agrupina, 28 years old
33. ayagixiux - tagakax, daughter of unalku tututak, baptized Agrupina, 33 years old
34. ayagaananatok perhaps Ayagaan axmak “Gives his own wife”, daughter of Ek’yaxanagax : Iqyaa “His baidarka -”, baptized Agrupina, 40 years old
35. gkaining (or-ngay) possibly miscopied for Ikaining : Ikakining “Being (?) over there”, daughter of xaliligax perhaps Qaligax “Material for food”, baptized Akilina, 35 years old
11. Island Unmax : Unmax, Unmax Island

11.1. Village adun : Adus (1796, 1840, 1950), in Russian called Yegorkin
Census 1792.03.30, a p. 35; b p. 15; c p. 85; d. p. 135
1. a-b, d chief kagadakik algagix, c-d kagadakak a. : Qagadakik algagix
   “His braids have mammals (in them?)”
2. a, d tanan ugasinax, b-c t. ugasinax perhaps Tanaan uguusanax “Was glad
   for his place”; Tax 5.
3. a, c akinadan, b akinadan perhaps Akidanan “They used to retaliaate
4. a-b’egana kiguluyuk, c-d’e. kaguluyuk
5. a-c tuhux Iganalinax, d -lanix perhaps Tuhux iganalinax “Took fright
   from the chief”
6. a-d shushugasik : Susugasik “File”
7. a-b aliuxx asextanax, c-d a. asextanax possibly Alituxx hasixtanax
   “Thought the army to be numerous”
8. a-d unlyuk ogalyunax : Unglux ugalunax “Speared [the people on] the
   pinnacle”, baptized Aleksandr
9. a-d makhulya siguluyuk : Maqulasiugulux “No reason to be idle”
10. a-c sikkinaq, d sikkinaq perhaps Sikinan “Toothless”
11. a-d oklogoyukatiq : Uququayukatix “Disliked for a long time”
12. a-c’eganaq amgaxa, d’e. amgaxa possibly Iganam amgaxa “The
   terrible’s fishing place”

Non-tributary (old)
13. a-b kuggagix : Qugagix “Shaman”

Minor
14. a-b kanaq tununinax : Kanaax tununinax “Caused the Koniag to speak”
15. a-b tanaxax : Tanaxax “Big island (Tanaga Island)”
16. a-b kugax : Qugax “Spirit”
17. a-b ogalyu algagix : Ugalu algagix “His spear has is in a mammal”

Tax receipts pp. 237-238
1. 1762, 1785-1790 shoshyugichik, Census 6.
3. 1762-1789 achikizhigax : zigax “Has a good -”
4. 1781-1782, 1784-1785, 1787-1790 sausinadaki
5. 1778-1778, 1783-1790 tanan ugasinax, Census 2.
6. 1780-1791 ingayer possibly Ingayax “Trying to throw”
7. 1761-1770, 1772-1777, 1779-1785, 1787-1790 chief akayak : Aqayax “Hiip”
8. 1782-1790 gunix possibly Hungix (for Uhngix) “Sister (of man)”

11.2. Village at the eastern capechipichalixtax : Chichxaliixtax (modern Chichilixtax)
Census 1792.04.01, a p. 35; b pp. 16-16; c p. 89; d. p. 136
1. a-d chief takkayananax : Takkayananax “Tried to let go (or to tear up)”

11.3. In the same village chichxaliixtax moved from village uyyu : Uuyux
Census 1792.04.01, a p. 35; b p. 16; c. p. 89; d. p. 136
1. a-c chief Ik’ya agikax, c-d i. agakax : Iyyaa agikax “His baidarka was
   rubbed”
2. a-c Ek’yagix aginax, d E. aganax : Iyagix haginax “Raised (saved) the
   paddler”
3. a-c agnax akatxaq, d augaxan a. : Awangin haqatxaq “His workers
   were brought (or found)”
4. a tananux kichax, b tananuk k., c tanigux k., d tsiagux k. perhaps for
   Tayaqukichax “Little man”, baptized Aleksey Musakov
7. 1783-1786, 1788-1790 baptized Semen Kipriyanov  
8. 1780-1783 agd... manayak, son of Ginge, perhaps Ihngit “Dipnet”  
9. 1784-1789. ch.na

11.6. Village oglagax : Aglagax (Tax receipts also Pashkovskoye)  
Census 1792.04.17, a p. 36; b p. 16v; c p. 101-101v; d 141-141v, 142v  
1. a-d klagissax, d also kolgassax, cf. klax’ plug”, baptized Luka Kozhevnikov  
2. a-d tanakanku  
3. a-d tutalg Iganok : Tutilgaa i ganax “Is terrible to listen to”  
4. a-d Egya keg’ya possibly Igan(zn)m qixya “House platform of fear”  
5. a-b kixin, d-kixik possibly Qixix “Steering”  
6. a-d tunuk possibly Tunuuch “His talking”  
7. a-d tayagux “Tayagur” “Man”  
8. a, d angyn eyegeyusanax, b-d -nak : Angin ayagidusanax “Made (some- 
body) ashamed by his call”  

Non-tributary (in work on seafarer Shirokiy’s ship)  
9. a-b tayagu tununinax : Tayagu[n] tununinax “Caused men to talk”  

Minor  
10. a angagy akasanak, b angagyn akasanax : Angagin haqaasanax “Brought 
people”  
11. a igutax, b agutax : Agutax “Fugitive”  
12. a angalyasan  
13. a-b asegadysy  
14. a-b tanag salginax : Tanaq salginax “Brought ducks (or blades) to the place”  
15. a angatin kayumisanak, ba, kayumigasanak : Ang’gatxin qayumigasanax “Hooked with his lines”  

Tax receipts pp. 249 (aglagax), 249 (Pashkov), 249v (Pashkovskoye)  
1. 1766-1770, 1772-1780 chief called Bakunan : Takenax “Smell of codfish 
bladder”  
2. 1784, 1787-1788 chief tanakkak  
3. 1776, 1780-1781, 1784, 1786 tato.lchak kam.. son of a.x.ogun (the page is 
barely legible)  

11.6. Living in village Chaluykax : Chaluykax (11.4.), moved from island yunaksx : Yunaksxa, Yunaska Island, from village tanamala : Tanam Al “The 
middle of the island”  
Census 1792.04.17, a pp. 36-36v; b p. 16v (barely legible); c p. 101v; d pp. 141v, 
142-142v  
1. a-d chief ayagan alga : Ayagan algan “Women’s mammal”  
2. a, d kagcha magnakak (b illegible), c kacza magnikak, d also kacza 
magnakak perhaps for Qachxa magnfaq “His skin was soaked”
11.6. Unmax, Ummak

Non-tributary (in work on seafarer Shiroykiy's ship)
3. a-b tukun auchasanax : Tukuun -nax “ed his chief”
4. a-b chakin aligasanax apparently Chaan aligasanax “Vomited with his hand (put fingers in the throat to vomit?)”
5. a-b, c-d (tributary) anygan : Anigigan “Adze” (= later anigasik)

Minor
6. a-b kamganinast perhaps Kamganinas “They caused (people) to feast”
7. a-b kaschihanok

11.7. Island Samalga : Samalga, Samalga Island, village ulilax : Ulilax
Census 1792.04.17, a p. 36; b p. 17; c p. 101; d pp. 141-142
1. a-b, d tukuk kinaagnak, c-d tukuk k. : Tukuk -nax “ed the chief”
2. a-d Ek’yagiidusik, d also -sak : Igyaqusikuq “Start of paddling”
4. d attinin : Atingin “Their lower part” or “The area below them”
5. a-csanisukak, d sanaukak, sanasukax possibly Sangi[n] suqax “His ducks (or blades) were taken”
6. a-d kayauni Sukak, d also -x : Kayugin suqax “His strength was taken”
7. a-b Ek’yagi Isakax, c-d Ek’yaga i. : Igqayiqusikuq “Was brought in a baidarka”
8. a-d tukuk kalinax, d also tukuk kalinax possibly Tukuk qalinax “Deprived the chief of fish”
9. a kymchik, b-d kymchin

Non-tributary (in work on seafarer Shiroykiy’s ship)
10. a lagan usanak, b-nan perhaps Hlaa-ngaun husanax “His son rolled down for him”
11. a-b lan anaxtanax : Hlaan anaxtanax “Hits his son”
12. a-b tanan osagyasanak : Tanaan -nax “ed his place”
13. a-b annichan perhaps Anicchan “Of his means for lighting”

Minor
14. a-b ukeysutuk possibly Ussutuk “Has much warming (by the fire, in the sun)”
15. a-b kitchixik perhaps Qichixik “Knife”
16. a-b agylgakin
17. a-b tadaqak : Tadaaayax “Baidarka deck”
18. a-b okayu sokax : Akayuusaqax “Was taken across the strait”

Tax receipts p. 262
1. 1773-1776, 1778 angazagaq possibly Angazagaq “One to get aid from”
2. 1779 Ik’yan ilgitanok, Census 3.

12. Islands of Four Mountains [Uniigus]

12.1. Village kynax : Qignax “Fire (of volcano)” (presumably Chuginadan Island)
Tax receipts p. 262
1. 1780 chief ayegas chalga perhaps for Ayagaa algaa “Women’s mammal”, cf. 11.6.1.; son of ik’yagaga perhaps Igqagaq “Usually paddles in baidarka”
2. 1780, 1782-1783, 1787-1789 son of Igqagaq
3. 1781-1782, 1788-1790 Ek’yan ilgitanok : Igqaaq ilgitanax “Loaded his baidarka heavily”, cf. 11.7.3.
4. 1782 tanurnaktax
5. 1782-1783, 1787-1789 oselidakx, son of ayegaduk perhaps Ayagaaduk “Has a big young woman”

12.2. chugotok Island, possibly Chiylax, Herbert Island
Tax receipts p. 262
1. 1789 changaganashenok

13. Island amylax : Amlux, Amlia Island

13.1. Village tokamix : Takaamix, Sviechikof Harbor
Census 1791.10.06, a p. 44; b p. 24; c p. 33; d p. 118
1. a chief kayunis kal’gaxak, b kayunis kal’gaxak, c-d kayunis kal’gakax : Kayunigis-qax “His strength (muscles) was” “(a qal’gaxak was eaten)”? 2. a-b angikuchan probably for Anigikuchas “Small guts” 3. a-b kaazenan possibly Qaatanaq “Was eating leisurely” 4. a tayagnulax, b -x : Tayaugunaq “Man killer” (or “Outside man”) 5. a-d chief’s brother (c) kattunax perhaps Qatanax rel. “Smelling of fillet” 6. a-b looziak : Luuxuq “Spoon” 7. a-b kuyu : Kuyuu “His sculpin” 8. a-b tayagu kizhak : Tayagukizak “Dear man” 9. a-b chaglagiigagaq, b chaglagi igagax 10. a-b ungamanok 11. a Innok kuogax [k. from 12.], b Innok : Innux “Piece of food” or Hinux “Piece of sod” 12. a-b kuogax : Qagax “Spirit” 13. a-b tayagol’gozik : Tayagulgu “Big man” 14. a-b chunnoyuk : Chungenuyux “Piece of down” 15. a-b togoqax 16. a-b chalasik : Chalasik “Means (or Place) for landing” 17. a Iglagin aiychunok, b.I. aiychunok (or ay-a-) perhaps Iglagin ayachinxak “Let his dart fall” 18. a-b kiglogotxax : Qiglugutxax “Has gotten many knots”
Non-tributary (old)
19. a-b Ichiknayax perhaps for Hiichiknaadax “Pimple”
20. a-b amlyak apparently Amlax “Amlia Island”

Minor
21. a-b lakchuchaa : Hlakuchuchaa “His little son”
22. a-b ik’yagitxinula : Iqvagitxinulax “Not his own paddlers”
23. a-b kuchukanin perhaps Kuchukangin “Its (or His) beak” (Eastern Aleut word and form)
24. a chugokesan, b chugochxan
25. a-b ankachaa possibly Anqaacha “His way of standing (or of setting out)”
26. a Igina chalagnax, b I. chilaxnumax, baptized Fedor Pan’kov
27. a allegitakax, b ullegitakax perhaps Ulqitaqax “Taken inside” or Uliigixaqax “Old boots (mukluks)”
28. a-b dattoo : Datuut “[person] Having big eyes”
29. a Egnuknuq, b Egniknuqax
30. a-b tayoogusinax : Tayogusinax “Got (killed) men”
31. a-b lyatax : Latux “Grandfather”
32. a-b tuyux : Tuuyux “Silent”
33. a-b shugangix : Sugangix “Young man”
34. a-b unaxisixix : Hunaxisixix “Means for making wounds”
35. a-b akkiisanok : Akkiisanax “Revened (or Paid)”

13.2. Village a akkunax, b Ikunax : Uqungax
Census 1791.10.06, a pp. 44-444; b p. 25; c p. 33; d p. 118
1. a-cayagan Ixatudsanax, d-sinak : Ayagan (or Ayagan) Hiixadusnanax
   “Quick to call on women (or his wife)”
2. a kunakux, b kanakux perhaps Kunakux “Is skinny (like fish)”
3. a-b kattax aixishax perhaps Qataa aqixax “His sheath comes loose”
4. a chakix yagix, b chakix y. : Chakix yaqix “His hands move”
5. a angalayaqonax, bangallyagonax : Ang’ga ilaqaqunax “His line helped”
6. a Salya, b Silya apparently Sila “His proximity (toward him)”
7. a-b ugalagix, baptized Yakov Shokotov
8. a chak agalagix, b ch. agilagix, baptized Efim Kazaginov
9. a-b tayaguchix apparently Tayaguchix “Your (pl.) man (or men),” baptized Maksim Kuymov
10. a-b chankusix : Chankusix “Hammer”
11. a-b tayagusiituk : Tayagusiituk “Wants to get (kill) men”
12. a-b achikadux, baptized Andrey Zaozerskoy
13. a-b ixchix : Ixchix “Worm”

Non-tributary (old)
14. a-b udokichegax
15. a-b unnalax

Minor
16. a-b angix : An’gix “Intestines” or Angix “Breath” or “Voice”
17. a-b koglyugdx
18. a-b kuxnumax : Quxamaax “Was white”
19. a-b akmeda
20. a-b chattatgax : Chatatatx “Made (caused) to slide”


Census 1791.10.04, a p. 48, b p. 24; c p. 33; d. p. 118
1. a-d chief Ser’gy Pan’kov
2. a-baleksha yuqunax, caleekte yuqunak, dalykzhe u. perhaps Alaxxaqunax
   “Went to the mainland”
3. a-b angat : An’gat “His own lines”
4. a-b attredul conceivably Atsidualx “Being pursued/chased with”
5. a-b aklanax : Aqlanax “Was angry”
6. a Iganishunax, b Iganishuqax perhaps Iganigis suqax “His cliffs were taken”
7. a-b agedok possibly Agidax “Guest (from another village)”
8. a-b aigalikax perhaps Ayagalqax “Was deprived of his wife”
9. a-b xallun perhaps Qalaun “Place with hot springs” (cf. Tanaga 955)
   Qalunuchax bight with hot springs in the neighborhood), baptized Kirila Bochkarev
10. a-b kegonassanax : Kiijun asanax “Crossed over Cape Kijun”
11. a-b angatuxinak, baptized Maksim Perfil’yev
12. a-b ayagadun perhaps Ayagadun “Means for getting women” (-un = later -usi)
28. a-b algamigana : Algam Ḣanaa “Terrific mammal”
29. a-b Ignaan uknax possibly Ignaan uknax “Found his cliff”
30. a-b kītunok : Qītunax “Scraped” (word known from Eastern Aleut only)

Non-tributary minor
31. a amgikamim okox, b amgikanix okox pastig for Amgikamim oquqax
   “Those he watched were found”
32. a-b tanitok : Tanitutx “Bald” (word known from Eastern Aleut 1805)
33. a al’ga gidaxtug, b -tax perhaps Algaa gidaxtug “His mammal is enviable”
34. a-b Ignaa xalliyunax perhaps Ignaan kalunax “Shot a/the flying one”
35. a-b Ignaa chutugix perhaps for Ignaan(m) chutidigaa “Pointed cliff”
36. a-b Ik’yagok : Ik’yaagux “Looking for baidarkas”
37. a-b ats’ayak

15. Island chigula : Chiğulax, Chugul Island

15.1. Village chigula uda : Chiğulam-udaa
Census 1791.10.07, a p. 44; b pp. 25-255; c p. 33; d p. 118
1. a-d chief Ik’ya kayugix : Ik’ya kayugix “His baidarka is strong”
2. a-b Isxatunugix : Is’aa tunugix “His place (bed) has voice”
3. a-b ikxax probably Ikxix “Worm”
4. a-b agadyax
5. a-b umnalagatux possibly Umnalgaatux “Tends to be bound”
6. a-b umnunox possibly Amudux “Usual lightening”
7. a-b Ikshak : Is’ax “Bail (handle)”, baptized Nikolay Lukinin
8. a-b san ayegichxinok : Saan ayagichxinok “Let his face be ashamed (blushed?)”
9. a-b shumuxshak
10. a-b al’gas : Algaa “Mammals”
11. a-b ikigisik possibly Qigagasik “Cutter (means for cutting)”
12. a-b maknaadax perhaps Makanadax “Little Result”, baptized Semen Kulikinov
13. a-b chagligis : Chagligis (Atka 652 name of point with gorges and rock slides)
14. a kichxa Igaanasonok, b k. Igaanasonok possibly Qichxa igasaanax “Flew off with his (another’s) knife (sharp instrument)”

Non-tributary (incapable because of age and sickness)
15. a-b alliyagax perhaps Ahlayagaax “Used for board”
16. a-b siks’ax : Sixs’ax “Breaking in two” or Sixs’ax “Clubbing” (known from Attu Island)

Minor
17. a lyanamxum, b lyanasokum apparently Hlanamqum “Darned boy’s”
18. a-b tulux
19. a-b tuk’u alitxunanax : Tuk’u alitxunanax “His chief waged war (or made an attack)”
20. a-b tanan qagilgitanok : Tanaan qaqlgitanax “Made his place (or island) sway”
21. a-b algaa qayumikax : Algaa qayumikax “His mammal was hooked repeatedly”
22. a-b anga algagasix : Ang’a algagasix “His line has a mammal on it”
23. a-kilgokax, b -kag perhaps Qilguxax = qilguxax “Knotted”
24. a-liga Ixixinok, b -nox perhaps Iganaa (or Iganaa) ixinax (Eastern) “Jumped the cliff”

16. Island adax : Adaax, Adak Island

16.1. Village Igalax : Igalax
Census 1791.10.06, a pp. 44-45; b p. 25; c p. 33; d p. 118
1. a-d chief annuligassanax conceivably Anguligaasax “Was taken as material for lamp”
2. a-b asxinukdaax : Asxinukdaax “Little girl”
3. a kugaa, b kugayax : Qugagiix “Shaman”
4. a-b oyyax, baptized Ivan Podkamenov
5. a-b kadaadax : Kadaadax “Little point (spearhead)” or Qadaadax “Young trout”
6. a-b kiinyax perhaps Kimiyax “Trying to take down”
7. a-b samlyax : Saaamalax “Egg”
8. a-b semmidu possibly Sahmidun “Flinging instrument”
9. a-b kayugasanok : Kayuqasaxanax “Had a hard time with (somebody or something)”
10. a-b Iganaasanok : Iganaasanax “Intimidated (somebody)” or “Was terrible with (somebody)”
11. a-b chalaxsaatux : Chalacsaatux “Wants to be met (when landing)”
12. a-b ukkinan k’yagossanox : Ukkiinan kyaqusax “Ordered with his knife”

Non-tributary (incapable because of age)
13. a lyu okunoxax, b a. akonunox possibly Aaluu hakununumaa “His swell went toward the shore (when he prepared to land in his baidarka)”
14. a-b ugix apparently Ugiix “Husband”

Minor
15. a-b chiidak : Chii’dax “Pup”
16. a-b algaa atagasanox : Algaa[x] hatagasanax “Slipped with the mammal”
17. a-b maimlyak, cf. maymina-lis (be) spoiled, play pranks’
16.2. Village a-baggis, c-d-yaggis possibly Yağagis, 1952 Yağagim tanadgucha
Census 1791.10.06, a p. 45; b pp. 25-26; c p. 33; d p. 118
1. a-d chief angalimanok perhaps Angalimanax “Passed the day too”
2. a-b chahkishuguanok perhaps Chahk “Sungasana” “Worked with his hands”
3. a-b angat tizmagasanok : An’gat tizmagasanax “Jerded with his lines”
4. a-b gamgakix : Hamgakix “His sleeves”
5. a-b kinnikudax possibly Kingikudax “Wretched younger (brother)”, baptized Timofey Ordin
6. a-b chiddon : Chidun “Means for sliding down”
7. a lachamok, b lagamok : Hiaagamanax “Real (or Favorite) boy”
8. a-b tanan ayagalinox : Tanaan ayagalinax “Removed women from his place (or island)”
9. a-b chakki lgayechgix : Chahchik higayachxi “Letting his hands freeze”
10. a-b chuuyugus perhaps Chuuyugus “Have many jackets”

Non-tributary (old)
11. a-b uchadax perhaps Uchadaax “Does leisurely down”
12. a-b agax possibly Angax “Adversary”

17. Island Kanaga : Kanaga, Kanaga Island

17.1. Village ushka : Husxa
Census 1791.10.06, a pp. 45-45; b p. 26; c p. 33; d p. 118
1. a-b chief kakkhikuk, baptized Zakhad Menschikov
2. a-b now assistant to the chief [being one] of the Aleuts gauggagana :
   Hawagnax “Towed”
3. a-b Ichgok, c-d chief appointed by Sergey Pan’kov I. apparently Ichxux “Wiping posterior”
4. a-b algasokax : Algaa suqax “His mammal was taken”
5. a-b ulatuxtanok : Ulatuxtanax “Had a large house”
6. a-b tugaasanok : Tugaasanax “Struck with (something)”
7. a-b tayagolinax : Tayagul “Man -”
8. a ichxix, b ixchix : Ischix “Worm”
9. a-b saixix possibly Saqix “Edge (blade)”
10. a-b raluytux possibly Qalutux “Has large hot springs”
11. a-b kammatax possibly *Khamatax “Is fast”
12. a-b amnax : Amnax “Stream (current)”
13. a-b katygex
14. a-b Ilok ganikatnax perhaps Iluñ hanikatnax “Made the circle (of baidarkas) stop paddling”
15. a Ek’ya axasizan, b E. axazigan (or -k) perhaps for Iqya haqazixagax “His baidarka comes properly”
16. a-b umna okokax : Ummna ukugax “His rope was found”
17. a-b ayagaginox : Ayagaginox “Had women (or a wife)”

17.2. Village agniyax : Angyax
Census 1791.10.06, a p. 45; b p. 25 (no c-d)
1. a-b chief alle ayunananok perhaps Alix ayuninax “Put the old man in motion”
2. a-b gaddgix : Hadugix “Neighbor”
3. a-b Iketoxax perhaps Iqtaxa “Crooked”
4. a-b gunnan agoxan perhaps for Hunaan agutax “Hid his wonds”
5. a-b laganax : Iqtaxagenax “Was not frightened”
6. a-b gul’tyok : Gulatuq “Has large nostrils”
7. a mutyun, b mutyuk

Minor
8. a-b agal’gin agaquinax : Agal’gin awaaqanax “Worked with his mouth”
9. a-b olikuiginax
17.3. Village kanagan Naga: Kanagan naga (1952 Kanagan kangaa)
Census 1791.10.06, a p. 46; b p.26 (no c-d)
1. a-b chief tukkusigax Tuku-“Chief”
2. a-b kanidax perhaps Kahngidaax “Bends over”
3. a-b tugukuqax
4. a-b kittaqax: Kitazax “Usually kicks” or “Kicker”
5. a-b ohqax or perhaps Ayax “Friend” (word known only from Eastern Aleut)
6. a-b nagax: Ngagux “Son-in-law and/or brother-in-law”
7. a-b kii’ and
8. a-b chayaguq: Chayagux “Has many fish pots” or Chaayagux “Has many drums”
9. a-b chuchik: Chuchik “Least auklet”
10. a-b kachkas
11. a-b knazamak apparently Qatxamak “Big penis”
12. a-b tununinax: Tununinaax “Caused (somebody) to talk”
13. a-b chatanax: Chatanax “Slid”
14. a-b umux
15. a-b tutalgaa Iganok: Tutalgaa iganax “Is terrible to listen to”

Minor
16. a-b kalanga: Kalagaan “His own sculpin” or “His own harpoon” (known from Attuan)
17. a-b Ik’ yam Igan: Iqymigan “Terrible Bairdarya”
18. a-b sitxukas

18. Island tanazax: Tanazax, Tanaga Island

18.1. Village shodok: Sudux
Census 1791.10.06, a p. 46; b p.26-27; c p.62 (1792-01.20); d p.127
1. a-b chief tayagoyuq: c-d Aleut (not chief) tayagoyuq chakuchuxin: Tayagoyuux “Poor man”
2. a-b algalax: Algalax “Has lots of mamals”
3. a-b tukkuchikax: Tukum Chikaa “Chief’s maggot” (cf. J 48:35)
4. a-b tukkuchikax: Tagukchikax “Little bundle” or perhaps for Tayaguchikax “Little man”
5. a-b agilax possibly Agilax “Being left”
6. a-b kazayayq perhaps Qasayax “Trying to make surface”
7. a-b shaman’iq apparently Saamanix “Fine grass (for putting inside boots)” (Russian loanword)

Minor
8. a-b Ixox perhaps Igux “Obsidian” (word known only from Umnak)
The other ones not mentioned

18.2. Village Igadak: Igadax, 1952 Igadagix (dual)
Census 1791.10.06, a p. 46; b p. 27 (no c-d)
1. a-b chief chakchux: Chakchux “Little hand”
2. a-b Ichadok perhaps Ichadax “Anus” (word known only from Eastern Aleut)
3. a-b katayux apparently Qatxayux “Poor penis”
4. a-b ukchegix: Uxchugix “Has puffs”
5. a-b kadamigor possibly Qaadamiqux “Fishing for trout”
6. a-b kayugisayuqax: Kayugii sayuqax “His strong one was pulled”

18.3. Village ushagosik: 1952 Usuxus
Census 1791.10.06, a p. 46-46; b p. 27; c p. 33; d p. 118
1. a-b chief kamadux, c-d-k perhaps “Kamadux “Doing fast”
2. a-b algasok: Algas suqax “His mammal was taken”
3. a-b tayagoktanax or “kat” for Tayaguxtanax “Used (women’s?) as men” (cf. J 48:3)
4. a-b shalak: Saahmlax “Egg”
5. a-b chakima
6. a-b tammanax, b tammanak perhaps Tamamaax “Doing so” (word known from Attuan)
7. a-b kooliyuqax possibly Quluax “War cry” (word known from Eastern Aleut)
8. a umgix: Imgix
9. a-b kamaly: Kamaluq “Young of rosy finch”

Minor
10. a-b mayadaq possibly Mayadaq “Is usually daring”

18.4. Village akol’ga: Akulga
Census 1791.10.06, a p. 46: b p. 27 (only 1-3 copy, the rest missing) (no c-d)
1. a-b chief ukkuxhax: Ukuqax “Usually finds”
2. a-b xal’ yuq: Qaulux “Fermented urine” or “Eating place”
3. a-b ayegachudok: Ayaga- “Woman”
4. a-b kulisax: Quliqax “Aunt (mother’s brother’s wife)”
5. a-alitak perhaps Alitak “Substitute” (Eastern Aleut alita-lix ‘to do for, instead of”)
6. a aledzhak

19. Island Ilax: Ilax, Ilak Island

19.1. Village shagudak
Census 1792.03.31, a p. 46: (b copy missing); c p. 86; d p. 136
1. a, c-d chief kayax: Qayax “High, tall” or “Hill”
2. a katignis possibly Qalignas “Left overs”
3. a kichchadax possibly Kichaadax “Draining a little”
4. a kanux : Kanuux “Heart”
5. a kalidax perhaps Qalidax “Usually deprives (somebody) of food” or Qaalidax “Usually scrapes” (word known only from Eastern Aleut)
6. a algamigana : Algam ighana “Terrible mammal”
7. a chogchok perhaps Chuxchux “Cod” (word known only from Eastern Aleut)
8. a agmagnakax

Non-tributary (old)
9. a tanagdagan

Minor
10. a kagnaulikak : Qagnaa uliqax “His bone was bent”
11. a al’gakak perhaps Algaakax “Can catch mammals”
12. a kadaminok perhaps “Kadaminax “Was in front” (cf. anga-mi- ‘lie on the side’)
13. a Ikuuchchak
14. a aluxakak possibly Alaguu qakax “The (or His) sea is dry”

Indices and Appendices

The indices are alphabetical listings of the names found in the Corpus by modern Aleut spelling where possible, in bold type, otherwise in italic type as found in the Corpus. (Names listed in Appendices 2 and 3 are not included in the indices.) Numbers following the names indicate the section of the Corpus in which the name is found, first by island number, second by village number, and third by the number of the personal name, with the numbers separated by decimal points. For the other sources, T indicates that the name is from Tax receipts, and B indicates that it is from a Baptismal record (see Introduction pp. 32-33).

Each Aleut name can also be found in Section 5 of the Introduction (pp. 62-87), which classifies the names according to meaning in ancient Aleut life. Section 5 ends with a survey of women’s names (excluding those women’s names found in folklore, for which see Appendix 3). – M.K.

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Index of Aleut Names

The alphabetic order is that of the Aleut Dictionary. Phrasal names (names consisting of more than one word) are listed in the alphabetic order and, in addition, the non-initial words are also listed in the alphabetic order preceded by a plus (+) and followed after a colon (:) by the initial word. Interpreted Aleut words are bold face. The rest are given in italics, uncertain readings in roman; illegible letters are indicated by dots.

A, HA, AA, HAA
Aachagulux 3.3.17.
ačhe bureaucrats 7.7.3.
{Achayax} 3.1.23.
ačhɑdan 1.1. T 1.
Achxugutrax 3.3.11.
achikadux 13.2.13.
achikizigax 11.1. T 3.
+ hachimanañ: Iqyaax + 9.1.8.
+ hachhinañ: Kanaax + 8.1.4.
adagysakán 10.15.25.
+ adalusanañ: Išzati(i)n + 11.3.5.
adunax ogyonok 10.6. T 2.
Adag 3.1.14.
+ hadgunax: Tanax(ɑx) + 10.8.12.
{Haguqagisix} 10.1.10.
+ hadgunusanx: Igan + 10.8.6.
Haduqigix 17.2.2.
+ aduqisanañ: Iganax 3.1.8.
+ ag-nañ: Sitañ + 5.2.27.
Agacha tukuuladañ 7.2.21.
agachayax 3.1.20.
agadykax 15.1.4.
+ agalitygix: čahkan + 13.2.8.
Agalgin algañ 9.1.7.
Agalgin awamañax 17.2.8.
agali ugotax ulyuk 5.2.15.
Agaling suqax 3.2.2.
+ agaluxtay: Cha-kín + 10.2.4.
agasidakynax 10.10.7.
+ agataksxinañ: Alga(an) + 6.1.16.
agatliginañ 10.7.6.
+ agatok / aggitok: Iqanok + 10.1.6.
Agañax 3.2. T 1.
+ azchaginok: Kanuñax + 10.9.41.
Axchigasanañ 10.15.14.
aqg..... manayak 11.4. T 8.
Agidax 14.1.7.
agidhacanax / agidadax 3.2. B 29.
+ agidusix: Iqamaan 2.1.47.
+ agig: Iqyaag akigax 11.3.1.
axgig: ukuxtaqax 3.1.4.
agyqiyax 11.7.6.
+ agisaxtanax: Qisikin 3.1.30.
+ aggitok / aggatok: Iqanok 10.1.6.
Agilitaax 1.1.11.
agmagnakax 19.1.8.
Axsidigax 7.2.37.
+ axsideuchen: Iqyam-nqaan 7.2.19.
+ axtaachax: Taiγun + 3.2.27.
+ axtusanañ: Ayagaax 2.1.9.
+ hagugachax: Tuku(m) + 10.3.11.
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Ayagachixiak 10.9.45.
Ayagachudok 18.4.3.
Ayagaada 11.1.42.
+ ayagadusanaq  Ugalun + 10.7.14.
Ayagaadatux 12.1.5.
Ayagadun 11.9.12.
Ayagaagazhiliñ 2.1.7
+ ayagagiñ  Alix + 10.15.8. Aliq + 10.11.25.
+ Chigana + 3.1.27.
Ulaa + 10.11.21.
Ayagañinax 17.1.17.
+ ayagañinaxa  Chaan + 10.9.27.
Ayagalgakanunluq 3.1.38.
+ ayagalginax  Tanaan + 7.6.4. Ulaa + 10.9.3.
+ ayagalginax  Alidaq + 4.1.10.
Kanaax + 3.1.40. Tana(a)n + 16.2.8.
Ayagaliñaq 14.1.8.
Ayagalizaq + 8.5.4.
Ayaganaa 2.1.16. Ayagaasakun 10.9.10.
+ ayaga(a)xzasqaq  Tanagan qachxanna + 7.2.17.
+ ayagataqax 3.3.20.
Ayagatux 5.2.34.
ayetux 1.1. T.4.
ayektah 1.1.36.
ayagutagagux 2.1. T.4.
Ayagín siqinaq 10.13.2.
+ ayagichxinaq  Saan + 15.1.8.
+ ayagidusanaq  Angiñ + 11.5.8.
+ ayagighinaq  takasixtin + 6.1.9.
ayain kuzhan 1.1.53.
Ayaqiliñ tadanax 10.11.10.

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Chaqixsisañ 7.1.8. Chaan kaglay- 

+ chanyukax  Hitaq + 5.2.31.
Chaun baqax 8.2. T.1.
Changaxchix 17.1.32.
Changax 10.8. B.5.
+ changaxanashenok 12.2.1.
+ changinixok  Tanyaqun + 7.3.23.
Chusurqax 11.3.9.
Chatanax 17.3. 13.
Chataxax 17.2.1.
Chatuxan 3.2. T.9.
chatxulinaq 3.2. T.9.
+ chayagnax  Kanaax + 10.11.12., B 3.
Cha(a)yagux 17.3.8.
+ cha(a)yalañax  Kuliga + 10.1. B 4
+ chayagnax  Algaq + 8.3.4.
+ chayukax  Tukan-ngaan + 10.8.1.
+ cha ... k. 9.1. T.11
Chaqix 10.5.10.
Chicheña 11.3.9.
+ chichugnínax 10.4.16.
Chixok 10.7. T.1.
Chxaxaax 10.5. B.4.
Chxayaxisí 10.8.22.
Chixís 16.1.15.
Chiduen 16.2.6.
+ chigaalasanaq  Aqagax + 10.15.30.
Chigadaax 5.2.33.
+ chigialginax  Tukan + 10.8.16.
Chixís 7.6.1., T.2.
+ chigalginax  Tayan + 10.8.2.
Chiganaa ayagixit 3.1.7., T.4., 8.
+ chigana  Tayan + 10.2.8.
Chigix 10.5.9.
Chigix 3.1. T.3.
+ chikaa  Tukan(m) 18.1.3.
Chikaduñ 10.7. T.4.
Chikkinax 4.1.15.
+ chikkinax  Koyak + 4.1.15.
Chikxinix 10.11.36.
Qugaađaș 1.2.1.
Qugaatš 11.1.13; 16.1.3.
+ qugaa'tš : Hutaix 8.3.13.
Qugaaqisaqgalux 3.2.20.
Qugaaqtšaq 9.1. T 1.4.
Quganatš : Ayaga(a)n + 2.1.8.
Quganaatšin : Ugalun 10.11.32.
Qigagashii 15.11.11.
Qigauyatqaq[an] 3.2. T 5.
Qigiquq 1.1.13, T 9.
Qigilux hyaaqanaq 7.4.7.
Qigluguxtaq 13.1.8.
Qignaq / Qagnaq alanasaq 3.1. T 5.
+ qiguqsaq : Igluqqa + 11.5-4.
*Qigluqux 15.1.23.
Qiligiš *yaqiqaq 10.7.6.
Qilikichaaq 2.1.6.; 3.4.1.
Qilmuq 10.12.10.
+ qinganalaninaq : Tukux + 5.2.24.
Qinganahnaq : Niguq + 10.6.2.
Qinganayaaaaq + 10.4.2.
Qisiq 11.5.5.
Qisikiq agaqtanaq 3.1.30.
Qittaqatan / Kitaqatan 10.23.1.
Qittuxaq 14.1.30.
*Quchaaqadaa 10.7.8.
*Quchayaxaq 10.5.8.
+ qudak : Kadan + 1.1.7., T 8.
Qudgulisixi 1.1.24.
+ saxta(a)akix : Tukum + 8.1.17.
Sagualux 7.9.1.
+ sayatšaq : Hunaq + 10.11.13.
+ skik adamaq ogunok 10.6. T 2.
Siquaša 10.8. T 3.
+ siquašinaq : Kaalaqan + 10.6.12.
+ siquašinaq : Kanaa + 10.6.3.
Sikyaxaq 10.9.22.
+ sikuq taxaqan : Tukux + 7.3.7.; 10.3.7.
+ sikuqtaxaša : Algaqan + 2.1.15.
Sixsaaq / Sixsaaq 15.1.16.
Sixsadagaluq 6.1.20.
Sixsadagaluq 6.1.20.
Saqatšiš 10.4. T 5.
Saqatšiš 10.4. 1.7.
Saqatšiš 10.4. 1.7.
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Saqatšiš 10.4. 1.7.
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Hyaagahlič 3.2.31.
+ yaag-i-č: Chakix + 13.2.4. Qiligin
*yaagiqaq 10.7.6. siyaliginok
+ yaagiligitanax: Tanaan + 15.1.20.

yaqlun 5.1.8.
yaksax 10.9.9.
+ yaxtanax : Algax + 2.1. T 3.
yang(a): amicha + 10.15.5.
ytugux 14.1.15.

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Names preceded by + are additional to Aleut names.

+ Aleksandr 11.1.8.
+ Aleksandr Pan'kov 10.10.7.
+ Aleksey Musakov 11.3.4.
+ Andrey 7.2. B 5.
+ Andrey Chulovshnikov 10.5.2.
+ Andrei Frolov 10.14.3.
+ Andrei Mezhevskoy 10.11.38.
+ Andrei Zaizerskov 13.2.12.
+ Antin Gregor'yev 7.2.35.
+ Avraam 10.1. B 3 (= 10.1.12.)
+ Dmitriy 10.8.22.
+ Dmitriy Ocheredin 2.1.27.
+ Dmitriy Sivtsov 10.4.1.
+ Dmitriy Sivtsov menshei 10.4.11.
+ Efim Kazaginov 13.2.8.
+ Fedor Kazanin 2.1.6.
+ Fedor Kilmovskoy 2.1.21.
+ Fedor Kuznetsov 7.3.2.
+ Fedor Kuzyaki[n] 3.4.2.
+ Fedor Malivinskoy 8.3.2.
+ Fedor Kozlov 10.3.5.
+ Fil'ka 10.1.4.
+ Gavril Kostin 10.6.2.
+ Ioan 10.4.12.
+ Ivan Chumovitskov 7.3.3, 18, T 6.
+ Ivan Glotov 11.4.1.
+ Ivan Khramov 10.9.3.
+ Ivan Lanin 3.3.4.
+ Ivan Pan'kov 8.1.10.
+ Ivan Podkamennov 16.1.4.
+ Ivan Serebrennikov 2.1.8.
+ Ivan Sivtsov 10.5.3; 10.8.1, 7 (=)
+ Kayak 1.1.29. Kod'yak 10.15.31.
+ Kalashnikov 10.7.16.
+ Kirila 10.4.3; 10.5.5-7.
+ Kirila Bochkarev 14.1.9.
+ Kirila Chuloshnikov 10.4.2.
+ Larion Klimshin 7.2.7, 10.
+ Larion Sivtsov 10.5.1.4.
+ Luka Kozhevnikov 11.5.1.
+ Maxim Kuymov 13.2.9.
+ Maxim Per'fil'yev 14.1.11.
+ Naum 10.12.6.
+ Nikifor Svin'in 7.3.13.
+ Nikita 7.2.14.
+ Nikita Buylov 7.2.3.
+ Nikolai 4.10.
+ Nikolay Tarasov 10.11.21.
+ Petr 10.4. B 1, 3; 10.8.9, 19-20, B 4-8;
Appendix 1
Corrections of Names in the Aleut Dictionary

The dictionary is quoted by page, column and line from the top of the page. When the Aleut form is corrected, the translation is not quoted. When only the translation is corrected, the Aleut form is not quoted. The correction follows the >. (Not listed here are numerous additional attestations and earlier dates of attestation of words that are names or parts of names that were interpreted after the publication of the Aleut Dictionary in 1994. These attestations would have been included if they had been received somewhat earlier.)

84b51 Beat (?) The Army > Added one half to the army (10.15.17.).

78b36 Anqachaa > Anqachaa “His way of standing (or of setting out)” (13.1.25.).

78b44 anqayaasanax (whole subentry to be deleted) > Chaan anqayaasanax “Stood up with his hand” (1.1.49.).

108a9 Atatanisax > Atatanizaax “Caused to be fast” (3.2.14.).

158a46 Ayagaadalgianax > Ayagaan[n] dalginax “Provided his wife with an eye” (7.13.7.).

165a66 Tayagum Gulginaa > Tayagum gulqianax "The man pierced it” (10.9.38.).

176b28 Chakix Iqachiguix > Chakin higayachxiix “Letting his hands freeze” (16.2.9.).

211b26 Iriqagulux > Iriqagulux “Was not cut” (1.1.8.).

223a10 Kaadaxtaqax > Kaddaxtaqax “Worn spearhead” (11.2.11.).

255a22 Likenen to a Man > A man likened to him (7.5.9.).

269a36 Mayam Ilan > cf. mayminialix “(be) spoil(ed), play pranks” (16.1.17.).

305a3 Qalutux > Qalutux “Has large hot springs” (17.1.10.).

312b2 Qataa agizax > Qataa aqizax “His sheath comes loose” (13.2.3.).

339a8 Woman’s Upper > The one above the/a woman” (3.2.10.).

389b30 Tanagatux > Tanaagaatux “Wants/wanting to come back to his place” (3.2.4.).

430b44 Chief’s Means For Looking For Himself > Chief’s means for looking at himself (a mirror) (7.2.34.).

440a59ff Ungasinax is Morris Cove, Unalaska 54.

443b44 Hunaan Agunax > Hunaan aqutax “ HID his wound” (17.2.4.).

Appendix 2
Aleut Personal Names in Earlier Sources 1747-1792

References:


Polonsky, A.: ms. of about 1850 as quoted in Jochelson 1933 (see Appendix 3, References)

Ogoblin, N.N., 1892: Putevya zapiski morekhoda I. M. Solov’eva. Russkaya Starina 76:183

Makarova, R.N., 1968: Russkiye na Tikhom Okeanie oo II polovine XVIII v. Moscow: Nauka

Andreyev 1948 (see References p. 88)


Aleksyev 1989 (see References p. 88)

Black, Lydia: unpublished readings of manuscripts

Krauss, Michael, 1990: transliteration of TsGAVMF, f. 913, op.1, d. 93, 129-132 (Levashov 1768), St. Petersbourg.

Names in the sources are given in italics, uncertain letters in Krauss 1990 in roman. Proposed interpretations, most of them very uncertain, are bold face. Seven of the names (nr. 5, 6, 8, 61, 83, 92, 97) occur also in the Census 1791-1792 or in earlier Tax receipts.

Deer Island (south of Cold Bay)
1. Samwell 1778 Kooshcooat, chief of Aneman: Animno (modern Animin), conceivably Qusun “Wedges” or Qusunu “His Own Wedge”, if not Qusunax “Chopped” (cf. Census 3.1, T. 3.).

Alaska Peninsula (Census 1.)
2. Samwell 1778 Adhagach, chief of Aloc: Alaxas or Alaxasik, conceivably Agadax “Arrow”, if not Adagax “Being fried”

Sanak Island (Census 2.)
3. Samwell 1778 Adhackshadan, chief of Shanachagen: Sanaxagin, perhaps adag - ‘roast, fry’
4. Samwell 1778 Kamhadoc, chief of Kashe: 1792 Kasix, A Kaasax (Census 2.1), perhaps Qamxatux “Having Large Sleeves”
Unimak Island (Census 3.)
5. Samwell 1778 Anganacededch’ in, chief of Oonemac: Unimak, same as Census 3.1. T 1. Angadalidax “Goes Usually in Front (Against)” (?)
6. Sarychev 1791 Galok Ek’yagnisana Aleksyev 1899:301, same as Census 3.1.1. Halux Igqaqisnaax “Paddled with a River Otter”
8. Ibid. Tukkuik, same as Census 3.3. T 1. Tukuyax “Trying to Become Rich”

Ugamak Island (Census 4.)

Tigalda Island (Census 5.2.)
10. Levashov 1768 Chagushik, chief of Kagalga: Qaglaga (Census 5.2.) Krauss 1990; Solovyov 1770-1775 Tschagussan, Tschaguscan Pallas 1781:326 f., Chagugyak Ogolino 1892:194; Samwell 1788 Tchagooseh, chief of Kagalga: Qigalga (Tigalda), probably Chagusix “Digging Stick”
11. Levashov 1768 Chagushik, chief of Kagalga: Qaglaga (Census 5.2.) Krauss 1990, perhaps Tayuggan awwaasaaq “Working with Men”
12. Ibid. Chel’lyasaqag, Chel’lyasanag, Chel’lyasaqag, chief of Kagalga, possibly Chalaasasaaq “Was Sled Ashore”
13. Ibid. Kachchur (Russian name Stepah), conceivably Qachchaax “Black”
14. Ibid. Kanayaliaqduq (probably -l’-), kanitl’gux, kamil’gux, chief of Kagalga
15. Ibid. Taina ayaginugulax, Tanna anginugulax, Tanna ayaginugulaq (Russian name Luka), perhaps Tanaa ayaginagulux “His Place was not Ashamed”
16. Ibid. Kuchichiksidax, Kuchichiksidax, Kuchichiksidax, chief of Kagalga, perhaps Kuchichiksidax “Makes (somebody) Fish out of Boulders” (cf. Census 10.9.34.)
17. Ibid. Algagachkagi, Algagachka. (Russian name Matvey): Alga- “Mammal”

Avatanak Island (Census 6.)
19. Ibid. axsikin (also axshkin) agadanax (also agadanx) brother (of X), perhaps Xasikin aqghdanax “Used to Show his Paddle (as a sign, for example to a Russian ship)”
20. Samwell 1778 Kemaioon, chief of Awetanan: Awatanan, cf. qihma- “to put one’s head to one side”

Akun Island (Census 7.)
21. Levashov 1768 kanna mayagich (Russian name Gavrilka) of island akunan [probably akungan] Krauss 1990: Akungan, - Mayaagacha “- his Hunting Tool” (cf. 5.2. T 2.)

22. Ibid. Kayuhtax, Kayuktak father (of 21.) of island anungan (akungan), probably Kayuhtax “Sinker for fishline”
23. (source?) Kalaganimak interpreter from Akun Pallas 1781:326, 330
24. Samwell 1778 Hatach cloo goo goog (also noog), chief of Agoonan: Akungan, conceivably Hayaquluugan “Asked (in marriage) Clumsily (or the like)”

Akutan Island (Census 8.) 31-34, 37-44 without indication of island
25. Levashov 1768 Sutok, chief of Kexta: Qixix (Census 8.3.) Krauss 1990, apparently Sutux “Grass-mat”
26. Ibid. Amichudax (Russian name Leonbye) son of 25: Amichudax “Stalk of Cow Parsnip”
27. Ibid. Yakunagusix chief of Kexta, perhaps Takanaagusix “Means for Trying to Get Loose”
28. Ibid. Kanamagotu (Russian name Nikita) son of 27
29. Ibid. Anidadok chief
30. Ibid. Ulakhek (or Ulahekh) Kissinan (Russian name Danilo) son of 29
31. Ibid. Gaxax (or Chadax) chief of village Anadok (unknown), perhaps Chadax “Little Hand”
32. Ibid. Udaa Kakunauk (Russian name Elisey) son of 31, perhaps Udaa Qaki “His Bay In There -”
33. Ibid. Yukun (Russian name Petrushka) chief: Yukun “Chief”
34. Ibid. Sutok (Russian name Petrushka) chief: Sutok “Chief”
35. Ibid. Laxatux uncle of 33, conceivably Laguxtaasix “Way of Respecting”
36. Ibid. Kunnu (Russian name Semen)
37. Ibid. Chinyalaygyn (or Chimnyalaygyn) algan ayun-tok (Russian name Aleksey) uncle of 35.
38. Ibid. Angaginax, Angaennax, Angagina chief: Angaginax “Woman”
39. Ibid. Taniga ugaluisana, Tekilya ugaluisana (also -kuna) (Russian name Naum), nephew of 37, perhaps Ugauluqxax “Treated - With His Spear”
40. Ibid. Ignaga (e)isaana, Ignilisaana, Ignagasana chief, conceivably Ingaagaasanaax “Got Over (passed over some place)”
41. Ibid. ak’kayen Ignasanaa, ak’kayen iyyagasanaagul, ak’kayen Ignagasanaagul (Russian name Ivan) son of 39, perhaps Akayuan Ingaagaasanaagulax “Did Not Get Over His Strait”
42. Ibid. Anyagi chief
43. Ibid. Tekunaxax “(and Tekukaxax) kashuna (Russian name Foma) nephew of 41
44. Ibid. Alitutaguch’ chief, perhaps Alitux(m) Taguucha “Warrior’s String” (cf. Census 3.2.25.)
45. Anitushas’ al’gi (also as’gi), anitushas’al’ga (Russian name Afangasi)
46. Solovyov 1770-1775 Kalu chief of village Agidadak (unknown) Pallas 1781:326 (Agidadan), Ogolino 1892:194: Kalut “His Shot” or Kalux “Shot”
47. Ibid. Chutux brother of 45: Chutux “Grass Stuffing (in boot or mitten)”
48. Samwell 1778 Heggadax chief of Acotaana: Akutanax, perhaps Higadax “Is Said (told about)”

"Is Said (told about)"
Appendix 2

Unalga Island (Census 9.)
48. Samwell 1778 Chalah chief of Oonalch: Unalga, apparently Chalagix “Has clams”

Egg Island (outside Beaver Inlet, Unalaska)
49. Samwell 1778 Ooleich, chief of Oonalch: Ugalga, apparently Ulilax “Baidarka” (see Census 7.2, B 5. and 10.5. T 1., B 7., 10-11.)

Unalaska Island (Census 10.)
51. Ibid. Aluxuxchax son of 50, perhaps Aaluxus(a)lakchax “Little Laughing”
52. Ibid. Chikilchax [probably for Chikilgak] son of 50, perhaps Chiqilgix “Little Mud”
54. Solovyov 1764-1766 Agek J.L.S. 1776:133, Agek Andreyev 1948:163 (p. 148 Aguyak, p. 149 Yagiyun) interpreter (his wife in Ikalga, Chernoski, Andreyev 1948:163), perhaps Hagiyaq “Trying to Lift” (cf Census 7.2.32. and Introduction 4.3.1.)
56. Ibid. Kalidusuyekiv(a)chief of Unalaska, Kaladusi- “Means for Dragging”
57. Ibid. Chegaga(yu) chief of Unalaska
58. Ibid. Zgidal [probably for Egidax] chief of Unalaska, perhaps Igidax (ixidax) “Bends Back (feet, or arms toward body)”
59. Ibid. sinakagata (Russian name Nikita) Krauss 1990
60. Samwell 1778 Cawachcogner chief of Nawanalaska: Nawana-Alasqsa (Unalaska), apparently Qava(m) Qagnagnin “Sea lion bones”

Village Umgasiningan, Morris Cove (Census 10.2.)
61. Solovyov 1764-1766 Imaganik chief of Ugamitzi J.L.S. 1776:139, Amaganik chief of Umagna ibid. 143, Imaganik chief of Umna- (Umgasin) Andreyev 1948:155 (159), same person as Census 10.2. T 1. Umgagak
62. Solovyov 1770-1775 Tuk “Anatuk” interpreter with Russians to island Agutanak: Agutanax (dialectal form of Avatanaq, Avatanak), presumably same person as Census 10.2.1. Tukku Anatax “His Chief Makes (things) His Own” (in 1791 on a Russian ship)

Village Tachiala (Census 10.8.)
63. Solovyov 1764-1766 Inogusak chief of Totsikala J.L.S. 1776:139, Inogusak Andreyev 1948:154, perhaps Inghlhuuguxa “Real Leader (of fishline)”

Village Magusix, Makushin (Census 10.9.)

Village Ikalga, Chernoski (Census 10.11.)
69. Solovyov 1764-1766 Itshadak chief of Ikalga J.L.S. 1776:137, 141, 145, Itshadak Andreyev 1948:157-167 (pp. 157, 158 also Otshadak), possibly Itshadak “Little Collar”

Village Umsalux, Sedanik (Census 10.13.)

Sidanax, Sedanik Island (Census 10.14.)
71. Samwell 1778 Enelch chief of Sidanach, conceivably Angaliq “Daylight”

Urnan Island (Census 11.)
77. Samwell 1778 Toleel chief of Oommac: Unmax, same person as Census 11.2. T 1. Tuliq “Rafters”

Samalga Island (Census 11.7.)
78. Samwell 1778 Adheadhesenc chief of Samalch: Samalga

Islands of Four Mountains (Census 12.)
Seguam Island (easternmost of the Androcanof Islands)
80. Samwell 1778 Kangelac' chief of Sachouchmac: Saguugamax

Amlia Island (Census 13.)

82. Ibid. Ayagan(ov), Lydia Black Ayagak(ov) father of 81: Ayagaan “His Own Wife” or Ayagaat “Woman” (cf. Census 10.4. B 12.; 10.9.42.)

Atka Island (Census 14.)
84. Nakvasin 1750-1752 Khalunasen (Xalunasen) native of Atka captured Polonsky quoted by Jochelson 1933:3
86. Ibid. Kaklikuyk(ov), Lydia Black Kaklik, perhaps Qalalux “Arch (of foot)”
88. Protasov 1786 Tayyayug Ayaqitikhu chief of Androcanof Islands, dead brother of Sergey Pan’kov (Census 14.1.1.) Khlebnikov 1979:189, Tayyayug Ayagikat Lydia Black, perhaps Tayyaj Ayaqita “Putting a Man to Shame”

Tagalax, Tagalak Island
89. Tolstykh 1760-1764 Tschunila chief (of Tagalak) J.L.S. 1776:68, Chyunkla (Uyalelesiginov) Alekseyev 1989:93, possibly Chuhnilax “Stabbing Many”
90. Ibid. Uyalelesiginov(ov) father of 89

Sitxinax, Great Sitkin Island

Adaax, Adak Island (Census 16)
92. Hall 1792 Angilimanok chief of Adax Khlebnikov 1979:189, same person as Census 16.2.1. Angalimanax “Passed the Day Too”

Kanaga, Kanaga Island (Census 17.)
93. Tolstykh 1760-1764 Ayagatin(a), Ayagitnin(a), Ayagitani chief of Kanaga Alekseyev 1989:88-93, Lydia Black also Ayaguitin
94. Ibid. Kayusunuk(ov) father of 93 Alekseyev 1989:88, Kayusumak Lydia Black
95. Ibid. Igasix (Kamchikxe) Igasix son-in-law of 93 Alekseyev 1989:88, Ugastikheit (son of Azich) Lydia Black, apparently Igasix “Wing” (cf. Census 3.3.15.)
96. Kitanchkidh(ov) father of 95 Alekseyev 1989:88, Azich(ov), Agasin Lydia Black

Tanaax, Tanaga Island (Census 18.)
97. Hall 1792 Kalenduk Khlebnikov 1799:189, same person as Census 18.3.1. kamaduk, kamadux perhaps Kahmadux “Doing Fast”

Rat Islands
98. Vasilev Usachoa toion of Rat Islands remained at Amchitka when the population was moved to Atka and Adak end 1790s, Lydia Black, perhaps Usachoa “His Taking Hair Off Skin”

Near Islands
100-103 Tolstykh 1749:1752, tribute payers of the third island (Shemya) J.L.S. 1776:26
100. Anitin perhaps Anitiin “His Own Property Mark”
101. Altstukor [miscopied]
102. Aleschut, probably same person as nr. 122 below
103. Ateschelap son of 102
104-122 Trapesnikov 1753, tribute payers met “auf einer unbekannten, bewohnten Insel (vermutlich einer von denen Aleutenischen)” J.L.S. 1776:24 f., that is, on one of the Near Islands, as indicated also by the probable identity of nr. 122 and nr. 102 above:
104. Igya, possibly Attuan Igyax, Atkan igdax ‘flint’
105. Oknux
106. Ogoogetach, perhaps *Ugyaxatx “Having Flexible Joints”
107. Schalikiauch, conceivably Salukiyax “Lots of Shields”
108. Alak, apparently Alax “Whale” (cf. Census 7.2.43.)
109. Tukun, Tukun “Chiefs” or Tukun “His Own Chief”
110. Ononischan
111. Kotugei, conceivably *Qutagaqtx “Having Breeze”
112. Tschinuut, perhaps cf. Merck 1791 Tschinatax ‘baidarka with a curved bow’
113. Watsch, perhaps Ugaacha “His Smashing” (Atka 1840)
114. Aschagat, perhaps Asagat “His Own Cousins”
115. Auyoanischaga, perhaps Attuan Aya- from Amda-
116. Unaschajupu [-pu probably miscopied for -nu]
117. Lak: Hlax “Boy”
118. Ianschugalik, [-n- miscopied for -k-] perhaps. Yaxsugaliq “To Be Entered Into” (cf. J 81:32 f.)
119. Ungalikan [-ng- not in agreement with Attuan]
120. Schati, perhaps Sata(ta)x “Ancient Murrelet”
121. Chiyapko, perhaps *Qihmaux “Sedge”
122. Oloschkot, probably same person as nr. 102 above.
123. Schewyrin-Durnew 1754-1757 Inanschik chief of Ataku: Atux (Attu) J.L.S. 1776:32, perhaps Inanisiq “Means for Causing to Come to an End (for destroying)”
125. Tolstyk 1760-1764 Baktan, Buktan chief of Attu after 124. J.L.S. 1776:60, Buktan Alekseyev 1899:86-88, possibly same name - if not also same person - as 1909 Makutanang Attuan man in story (J 85:32)
126. Ibid. Uguyatak son of 125. Alekseyev 1899:86-88, Lydia Black also Ugayatak, Utuyatan, perhaps Uguyaxat “Trying to Make Happy” or “Hypocrite” (known from Eastern Aleut)
129. Lisenko 1766 Chintuyach [-nt- probably miscopied for -kt-] second chief of Attu Divin 1979:345; Sapochnikov 1769 Chintuach Komoyatax chief of Attu and Agattu Khlebnikov 1779:173, Chintuach’ Koloyatx Lydia Black, perhaps Chistuyach - “Boil (carbuncle).” (Eastern Aleut chistudang etc.).
130. Ibid. Kalistak chief of second island (Agattu) Divin 1979:345
131. Ibid. Alent chief of third island (Shemya) Divin 1979:345, apparently miscopied (for Alleut?)
132. Bensing 1781 Aleksandr Tyutrin chief of Attu Khlebnikov 1979:174, apparently miscopied if at all Alleut
Iqyan-Illälixnañ Baidarka-Increaser (J 85:1, Attu 1909), lit. “Added to the baidarkas”.
Ithaatnaqañ (1952 Hi-) man of Ungluudaq (Ogdok) (J B 2:2).
Kakalyang locality and men (J 85:41, Attu 1909).
Kalukinsañ (Jochelson 1933:74 Qaluqinsa The Maker of Kitchen Utensils)”Got dish(e)s”.
Kamigiligan Future Head(s), volcano spirit (J 16, Unalaska 1910).
Kanangutux “Having a Big Ditch”, man who let women work as men (J 43, Unalaska 1909).
Kanuyagaatux “Being Copper Again (?)”, chief of settlement (J 47, Unalaska 1909).
Kah(h)ngadgix Seaweed (Jochelson 1933:74 Qanágdgix’).
Kanakasimañx man who killed his wife’s relatives (J 74, Unalaska 1910).
Kuukadgining outlaw (J 46:21, Unalaska 1909).
Kuyakuyasaa man who avenged his son (J 8, Unalaska 1909), Kuykuyaa man whose son was killed (J 51:8, Unalaska 1910, opposite roles).
Lungun man of Chunsun village (J 72, Unalaska 1910).
Luuqauaax Larva (maggot) (Jochelson 1933:74).
Miichim Aliiqxu The old man of the village Miichx (J 8, Unalaska 1909, and J 51, Unalaska 1910).
Nuqaqgax “He who has had a stone put on top of him” (G.H. Marsh), man who visited his brother-in-law to get blubber (J 44, Unalaska 1909).
Qatchikax Shark (Jochelson 1933:74).
Qagnam Adungin Long Bones (J 18:15, Attu 1909).
Qanglan perhaps rel. “His shoulder”, husband of Akaqdaq’s mother (JA 10:3).
Qazulimaqtaaq “Who once dealt with good eating” (?), old woman who played a young man (J 78, Atka 1909).
Qatxaukuqax “Dear Wren” (J 73, Unalaska 1910).
Qawam-Changin Sea-Lion’s Hair (fur) (Jochelson 1933:74).
Qadgax Hook (Jochelson 1933:74).
Qimugagaukax see Hyaagax-Qimugagaukax.
Quganatqaqsaang a man (J 60, Unalaska 1910), from qugana- ‘rock, stone’.
Qunglax Root (Jochelson 1933:74 Qanlax’).
Sadidaq Piercer, boy abducted by a woman/man (J 26, Unalaska 1910).
Sagux village chief (J 45, Unalaska 1909), “Cormorant net”.
Sagxutaqsa Old Bladder, slave (J 54, Unalaska 1910), brother-in-law of village chief (J 59, Unalaska 1910).
Saaqedaq Parsnip, man with women (J 76:14, Atka 1909).
Saaqqagim Qigangan Ayaga Summer Face (head) Woman, monster (J 30, Unalaska 1910).
Saaxaq village chief (J 84:3, Attu 1909), perhaps “Long bone”.
Silmuludax Little Guilemott, cousin of Uluuqidaq (J 28:1, Unalaska 1910).
Tagalas
Tagalix monster (J 7, Unalaska 1909).
Tangaa
taadax Little Bear (J 76:231, Atka 1909).
Taya
Tugidang My Moon (Jochelson 1933:74).
Tumgax Sixsinax Tusk Breaker, cousin of Angali
ga
ga
ixa (J 18, Unalaska 1910), lit. “Broke tusk”.
Tumga(m) Hlaadaganax Tusk-Boy, Koniag chief (J 76:211, Atka 1909).
Tunux-Angdaxsxinax Speech-Answerer, a man (J 85, Attu 1909) lit. “Answered speech”.
Tunuu-Atachagi
t The Quickly Speaking Person (Jochelson 1933:74), lit. “His language is fast”.
Ugugax
t The Joints-Having-One, i.e. The Flexible-One (Jochelson 1933:74).
Ugdigdang man who drummed etc. in his grave (J 71, Umnak 1910).
Ugdusxixiin brother-in-law of Nu
ga
iga
gaqax (J 44:3, Umnak 1909).
Ukala
x Bark, strong man (J 32:3, Unalaska 1910).
Ulax Qanax Bearberry Eater, a man (J 20, Unalaska 1910), or “Ate bearberry”.
Ulixsux a man (J 2, Unalaska 1909), perhaps “Good at rubbing”.
Uluuqidadax Dried Meat, man who treated his baidarka as he should (J 28, Unalaska 1910).
Uum
gilaada
t The Fly (Jochelson 1933:74).
Usila
x “Multiple load”, a man (J 35, Unalaska 1910).
Uyngax fairy-tale man in tiny baidarka (J 77, Atka 1909).
Waangilax a man (J 34, Unalaska 1909).
Yangax-Kayul
gina
t Log-Strengthener (J 85:35, Attu 1909).
Hyaagax-Qimugaagux Tree-Twister, a man (J 81:2, Attu 1909).
Yagnax
ts	ax a boy (J 54:29, Umnak 1910).
The rich tradition of Aleut personal names was beginning to disappear with the introduction of Christian names at about the time Captain Joseph Billings led a major Russian expedition to the Aleutian Islands in 1790–1792. Our knowledge of these ancient Aleut names was vastly increased in 1992 when anthropologist Lydia Black obtained copies of manuscripts from the Russian Naval Archives constituting a kind of census for the Billings Expedition. The census listed by name 1,618 Aleut males from areas throughout much of the Aleutians, who either paid fur tax to the Russians, did not pay, or were too young to pay. Out of that number of Aleut males, about 1,510 had different legible Aleut names, all listed by island and village.

In this work, linguist Knut Bergsland was able to interpret plausibly 1,140 of these names, which generally have clearly recognizable meanings, and thereby give a very intimate and vivid glimpse of ancient Aleut culture and values. Bergsland was further able to add about 100 men’s names from still earlier sources, plus a precious 29 Aleut women’s names from a list of marriages and baptisms performed by the Billings Expedition’s priest. Bergsland here provides an extensive introduction on the historical background for the list and an analysis of the names by type, then the list of names by island and village, a register of all the names (and words that form parts of names) in alphabetical order, and appendices including names from earlier sources and from folklore.

This work is yet another major contribution to the preservation of the rich Aleut language heritage by Knut Bergsland, who in addition has produced an unabridged Aleut Dictionary, a definitive Aleut Grammar, and an edition of Aleut Tales and Narratives, all published by the Alaska Native Language Center.

Back cover: “Slava Rossii” (Glory of Russia), the Billings Expedition ship, on a silver medallion minted in 1785 for distribution to Aleut chiefs. Photo courtesy of Lydia Black.


ISBN 1-55500-065-7