

## 1. Description

- 1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Ket, Imbatski-Ket, Yenisei Ostyak, Yenisey Ostiak, Yenisey Ostyak
- 1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): 639-3
- 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): ‘...in the forests between the Upper Yenisei and the southern tip of Lake Baikal before being pushed gradually northward by the intrusion of pastoral peoples.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- 1.4 Brief history: ‘Originally referred to as the Yenisei Ostyak, they were studied first-hand ethnographically only in 1905-1908...’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: ‘They began to come under Russian influence in the early 1600’s’ (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.)
- 1.6 Ecology: Primarily Boreal forest. Predominantly spruce and pine trees inhabit the area. Climate is severely continental, though reduced by storms that bring heavy snowfall and reduce the summer heat. Variety is greatly reduced by permafrost.
- 1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density ‘The 1200 or so people recorded in the 1989 census as belonging to the Ket ethnicity live mainly in small villages near the Yenisei or its tributaries...’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010) 210 (2010 census). Ethnic population: 1,220 (2010 census).

## 2. Economy

- 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): During summer the Ket gathered fish from the river and dug a type of wild lily bulb (sarana) from its banks. Brief mention of local berry and root gathering.
  - 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Fish in the summer, squirrel, sable, fox, deer, elk, bear, hare in fall and winter months
  - 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns? ‘Hunting was originally done with sharp wooden arrows tipped with a type of poison made from decomposed fish oil.’ (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.) Until recently the Ket made most of their equipment, including knives, axes, arrows, fishhooks, and shamanistic ornaments of iron, copper, and tin. They used nettle twine for small fish nets; the larger nets
  - 2.4 Food storage: Through shaping, joining, and gluing, they made vessels, skis, and a variety of containers, especially of birch bark (everyculture.com, n.d)
  - 2.5 Sexual division of production: With the brighter Long Days, entire camps left for hunting grounds, men breaking trails, and women, helped by reindeer or dogs, hauling baggage sleds. During Small Walk, in which men traveled by skis or reindeer sleds to hunting areas, later separating to their own lines, The women remained behind, gathering firewood, fishing under ice, trapping capercaillie and hare, and making clothes and footwear. There was a basic division between men's and women's work. It was rationalized by fear of menstrual blood and applied even to activities such as cooking and handicrafts. Yet, despite such restrictions, women hunted small game and fish (everyculture.com, n.d)
  - 2.6 Land tenure:
  - 2.7 Ceramics:
  - 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:
  - 2.9 Food taboos: eating loons, eagles, swans, and mushrooms was prohibited(everyculture.com)
  - 2.10 Canoes/watercraft? They were traveling upstream twice a year by birchbark canoe for pedestrian hunting and trapping.(everyculture.com)
- 3. Anthropometry:** Compared to Mongoloid people, the colour of their skin and eyes is lighter, but in comparison with the Uralic people their skin is darker, their nose is more protrusive and their beard growth poorer. Their face is broad and flat, with high cheekbones. They are short and stout. In 1843 A. Th. von Middendorff gave the following description: "the Kets are plump with thin legs and a staggering walk, flitting eyes and a jerky talk. In spite of their Mongoloid features they look quite alike the Finns".(eki.ee)
- 3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):
  - 3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

## 4. Life History, mating, marriage

- 4.1 Age at menarche (f):
- 4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):
- 4.3 Completed family size (m and f):
- 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):
- 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):
- 4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: refer to 4.7
- 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynous: Marriage is strictly monogamous and, until the Russian Revolution, was indissoluble, (everyculture.com, n.d)
- 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry? ‘Marriages were arranged with a bride price being paid to compensate for the loss of the woman, who went to live with her husband’s family.’ (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.) The key gift would be fifty squirrels killed by the groom and his father and brought by the groom's older-women relatives. (everyculture.com, n.d)
- 4.9 Inheritance patterns:
- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)

- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape:
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? The mother's brother prepared a boy's first real bow, gave his nephews and nieces presents, and adopted them if they were orphaned(everyculture.com)
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?
- 4.24 Joking relationships?
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules
- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? The wedding was begun by washing the bride's hair, a task of three of the groom's older female relatives. In the ceremony, the bride and groom sat together in the overall assembly, which was divided by phratry. A shaman and his assistant officiated, albeit without costume or tambourine—with only his drumstick for divination. After the feasting, the bride and groom returned to their parents for three days; until then they could not speak to each other.(everyculture.com)
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? Until recently the father of a proposed bridegroom would send an older kinswoman as go-between to the proposed bride's kin. She would bring, in silence, a cauldron with cloth or a dress as a present. Later the groom's kinspeople would come seeking approval from the bride and her family(everyculture.com)
- 4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

### **Warfare/homicide**

- 4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:
- 4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:
- 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:
- 4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): 'Ket-Selkup relations were good and most of the fighting occurred with the Nenets to the north and the Ewenki to the east.' (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.)
- 4.18 Cannibalism?

### **5. Socio-Political organization and interaction**

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:
- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): 'Only during the Soviet collectivization campaign of the 1930s were the Ket first settled in Russian-style villages, after which many families still continued to spend much of the year as before, moving between winter and summer hunting grounds rather than living in one place.' (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- 'The Ket, particularly those in the south, summered on a type of large, flatbottomed houseboat called ilimka.' (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.)
- 'In the warmer months, the Ket also built tipis called qus with conical pole frames and felt or bark covering. In winter the Ket lived in a sort of dugout made of earth and logs called banggus. During part of the winter the men were out hunting while the women and children stayed home.' (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.)
- 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):
- 5.4 Post marital residence: Woman went to live with husband's family (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.)
- 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):
- 5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex):
- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:
- 5.8 Village and house organization: Tipis 4 to 5 meters in diameter with hoop-reinforced seven-pole foundations and birch-bark mat coverings, provided shelter. During the month of Ground Freeze the groups traveled by boat to deeper forest and then moved into semi-subterranean dwellings designed like the tipis but holding entire lineages. (everyculture.com)
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (men's' houses):
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? Refer to 5.8
- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc.: 'Traditionally, Ket society was divided into two moieties that exchanged marriage partners. One was called *Bogdadeng*, or 'People of the Fire', the other *Qengtangeng*, or 'People of the Large Ski Pole Ring.' (Vajda, Siberian Landscapes in Ket Traditional Culture, 2011)
- 5.12 Trade: 'Though distinct from the reindeer-breeding tribes of western and southern Siberia both linguistically and anthropologically, the Ket maintained centuries of contact with them. Consequently, all central Siberian peoples, including the Ket, share many parallels in their spiritual culture and traditional healing practices.' (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- 'Squirrel pelts provided the most important trade item.' (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.)
- 'The northernmost Ket also borrowed reindeer breeding from their Samoyedic neighbors, but this occupation always remained secondary to hunting and foraging.' (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.)

The Selkup and Ket often exchanged marriage partners. (Vajda, Siberian Landscapes in Ket Traditional Culture, 2011)

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? ‘The Ket were a patriarchal society, with women in a secondary role’ (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.)

## 6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR:

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): ‘Anuchin (1914: 11) reported that the Ket possessed “amazingly few healing resources” as well as an unexpectedly sparse knowledge of plant lore, given the fact that they were forest hunter-gatherers. Plant lore is also weakly represented in the Ket language, and even the best speakers of Ket today have but a limited repertoire of names for individual herbaceous plants. Because healing practices among the Ket were documented only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, it is possible that some earlier traditions simply disappeared without being recorded.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)

‘The shaman was able to locate a missing *ulvei* and return it to its owner, thus curing severe illness. This quest was one of the main purposes of the shaman’s singing and dancing. The shaman was also able to discover why an *ulvei* was ill or out of sorts, in which case the person inhabited would show the same symptoms. Hosedam, evil goddess of the north, hunted and devoured *ulvei* that wandered too far, causing illness and death of their owners. It was the primary task of the shaman to retrieve stolen souls and lead them back, thus curing the patient. Hosedam and her legion of servants were the shaman’s principle adversaries.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)

‘Two categories of people in Ket society were traditionally involved in healing the sick. These were the shaman (known as *sening*) and the sorcerer (*bangos*, or *bangoket*, a term meaning ‘earth person’). The *sening* operated exclusively through magical intervention involving contact with the spirit world and did not resort to the use of natural medicines, while the *bangos* treated the sick with the help of talismans containing various plants and minerals. Certain categories of shamans were connected with the upper, heavenly world and were helped by the myriad spirits (*esdeng*) who dwelled in the seven layers of the sky. The *bangos* by contrast, was confined to the earthly realm and also had knowledge of the underworld.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)

‘...there were no “black” or evil shamans among the Ket, whereas a *bangos* could cast both good and bad spells on people.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)

‘Both *sening* and *bangos* claimed to be able to foretell the future and predicts good fortune for hunters. This suggests that *sening* and *bangos* were social roles, rather than invariably distinct personages or entirely unrelated spiritual traditions.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)

‘To recapture lost or stolen *ulvei* and return them to their owners, the shaman resorted to a trance-like state that assisted his flight into other realms...shamans used to eat the fly agaric mushroom, *Amanita muscaria*, which is called *hango* in Ket, in order to achieve the proper state.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)

‘It was the shaman’s task, assisted by his spirit helpers, to fight Hosedam or any other malevolent beings that stood in the way of accomplishing this feat. According to Ket lore, the great shamans of the past were able to induce Hosedam to regurgitate the souls she had swallowed, after which they could be reunited with their owner.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)

‘The shaman’s ability to undergo the shamanic trance and travel to the spirit world was thus considered crucial to the health of the group.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)

6.2 Stimulants:

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): ‘One of the shaman’s duties at funerals was to divine whether the *ulvei* had gone to the sky or to the underworld.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)

‘Shamans were distinguished from ordinary people through family inheritance of the shaman’s gift, or *qut*. The *qut* is conceptualized as an anthropomorphic spirit passed down from one generation to the next.’ (Vajda, Shamanism)

‘The *qut* was immortal, with each bearer merely representing a single link in the chain of its earthly manifestation. It could not be shared by two shamans in the same family simultaneously, but passed on only after the death of the older shaman.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)

‘The shaman’s gift was sometimes manifested at a young age, when a child proved to be high-strung and unsociable. More often the gift appeared in young adulthood, when the individual would fall into a sort of mental illness called *dariy*. This word is translated as ‘shaman’s illness’ but it is also used generically in Modern Ket to refer to any sort of mental imbalance. According to Anuchin (1914: 24), the *qut* might appear to a twenty-year old and summon him to begin shamanizing. Other spirits would follow, causing the inchoate shaman to become unsociable, to laugh or cry without obvious cause, and to feel the urge to sing or dance. According to Anuchin’s informants, a person beset with *dariy* who resisted the shamanic call might become permanently insane or even die, but one who heeded it spent the next few months or years learning to master the spirits that visited him. It was considered that every shaman had a choice of seven spiritual trails, one of which, however, was fatal to him. Finding one’s proper trail, the secret path to be taken during shamanic trances, was essential for the beginning shaman, as was composing the proper song (*qut*). Generally, a person called by the spirits to become a shaman would succeed in finding his proper trail and in composing his unique song. He would master the spirits that had induced *dariy* and would regain his mental health. As a sign to the community that this had occurred, the beginning shaman would request that a beater stick (*hatbul*) be fashioned for him. A man or woman who received this first *hatbul*, which was typically made out of semi-rotten wood to symbolize its temporary character, was called a ‘minor shaman’ (*hyna sening*). There was no other custom of shamanic initiation among the Ket, no public ceremony. Minor shamans had no drum and merely sat by the fire singing their spirit song while keeping tempo by hitting the beater stick against the left shin to summon the spirits.’ (Vajda, Shamanism)

‘According to Anuchin (1914: 24–25), the shaman grew increasingly powerful with practice. Shamans destined to possess the greatest power would go through seven stages of three-year cycles to finally become a “great shaman” (*qa sening*), capable of traveling to the upper levels of the sky. With each successive stage, the shaman acquired more spirit helpers. Great shamans were uncommon, and always were old men.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)

- ‘When a shaman died, his basic regalia were placed by his grave to decay—a sign that the spirits were ready to pass to the shaman’s descendant. But a great shaman’s iron pendants and perhaps his crown and the top of his staff were handed down within the family group rather than exposed to the elements.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- ‘Ket buried their dead in the earth, along with personal possessions, which were broken up before being put in the tomb; sometimes dogs were also killed and placed with the deceased.’ (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.)
- 6.4 Other rituals:
- 6.5 Myths (Creation): ‘The Ket believed every person possessed an *ulvei*, a word that literally means ‘water-wind’ and often translated as ‘soul’ (Russian *dusha*) in descriptions of Ket spiritual culture. According to Ket traditional belief, every person was animated by seven spirits, the number seven figuring prominently throughout Ket folklore and belief. Among these seven, the *ulvei* was absolutely essential to the person’s well being. The rest were acquired from eating various plants and animals and little is known about their individual characteristics’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- ‘Legend has it that the first humans created by *Es* were not subject to death. When one man became old and tired and lost consciousness, *Es* sent down his son to instruct the Ket to place the body on a platform raised above the ground and leave it undisturbed until it revived. The son mixed everything up and told the people to bury the body in the ground. As punishment, *Es* turned his son into the first dog, doomed ever after to serve humans and eat the scraps they left behind. As for the people, they began to die and return to the earth.’ (Vajda, Siberian Landscapes in Ket Traditional Culture, 2011)
- ‘The earth was the source of both life and death for all living beings.’ (Vajda, Siberian Landscapes in Ket Traditional Culture, 2011)
- 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): ‘The Ket folk hero is Balna (a name which means “cherry stick”) who is believed to have been an actual person of great strength who fought successfully against hostile neighbors.’ (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.)
- ‘The native folk instrument is a type of mouth harp called the *pymel*.’ (Vajda, The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples, n.d.)
- 6.7 Sex differences in RCR: ‘Among the Ket, both men and women could become shamans. Anuchin (1914: 23) claims that the shamanic gift was passed on to a member of the opposite sex in the next generation so that it alternated between males and females in the same family line. Alekseenko, however, noted that while the shaman’s gift was inherited within the confines of a single family group, the preponderance of shamans were men, as were all great shamans, so that a strict gender-based intergenerational skewing does not appear to have been a universal norm, at least not in the 20th century.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- ‘Women shamans were unable to travel to the sky and were limited to the earthy realm in their shamanic quests’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- 6.8 Missionary effect: ‘The mixed forest and steppe shamanic heritage of the Ket tribes encountered by the Russian state in the early 17th century was left mostly unchanged despite interference from the Russian Orthodox Church. Only in the 19th century did Christian proselytizers begin to make inroads into the traditional world of Ket spiritual belief (Alekseenko 1979). Even here, however, reported baptisms yielded at most a conversion in name only, as the Ket generally maintained their beliefs in shamanism and other pre-Russian traditions. Medical knowledge from the Russians was slow to penetrate the north, due to the extreme isolation of the forests through which most Ket nomadized, so that before the mid 20th century it did not significantly compete with shamanic, spiritual-based cures.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- ‘In the first decade of Bolshevik rule, it was mainly the Russian Orthodox Church that was suppressed, an event that actually granted the local shamans a respite from competition by a state sponsored ideology. This period proved brief, as shamanism too was came under savage attack during the 1930s, when the Ket were forcibly settled in Russian style villages. One of my oldest informants recalls seeing a pile of broken drums and other profaned shamanic attributes left lying in the mud by the post office in Kellog village during the first wholesale anti-shaman campaign. Everyone saw this destruction as the loss of power by the shamans, since a broken drum symbolized death of the shaman who owned it. The establishment of modern medical personnel in the North likewise undermined reliance in shamanism,’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- 6.9 RCR revival: ‘though the Ket continued regularly to make recourse to shamanic magic within the confines of their own family, especially when nomadizing away from the village during the fall and winter hunts. During most of the remainder of the 20th century, the small-scale family practice of shamanism went underground, if it survived at all. The age of “great shamans” known far and wide was over forever.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- ‘According to my informants, there are no longer any true shamans among the Ket.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: ‘Illness typically occurred when the *ulvei* wandered too far from its owner. Chills were typically perceived as a sign that the *ulvei* had become lost in a cold place, while fever resulted if the *ulvei* became overheated. Serious illness such as paralysis or coma indicated that the *ulvei* had lost its way completely or had been captured by Hosedam, the evil witch of the north who devoured lost human souls. Long-term absence of the *ulvei* eventually caused the death of its human host.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- ‘When a person died, his *ulvei* could pass into the sky or descend to the underworld, later returning to inhabit another individual.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- ‘An *ulvei* outside a human body experienced neither torment nor ecstasy, but simply waited in a sort of limbo for the next incarnation, which occurs when it entered the body of an unborn baby near the time of birth by passing through the sex organs.’ (Vajda, Ket Shamanism, 2010)
- ‘The Ket had seven souls, unlike animals, who had only one. The seventh human soul was immortal and thought to return in the body of a child born soon after the person’s death. This endless process of reincarnation continued humanity, linking underworld with earth in a temporal-geographic union symbolized by the person’s navel. The navel and umbilical cord were symbolic of the connection between mortal humans or animals and Mother Earth.’ (Vajda, Siberian Landscapes in Ket Traditional Culture, 2011)
- 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) 'Reverence for the bear also played an important role in Ket belief. Also, each group had a totem animal which it was forbidden to kill.' (Vajda, *The Ket and Other Yeniseian Peoples*, n.d.)

'As is typical of many peoples, the Ket regarded the sky as a sacred realm and considered the mysterious underworld to be an abode of the dead. Both sky and underworld contained seven layers. Between these stood the tangible world inhabited by humans, which the Ket referred to as *ilbang*, or ordinary earth, as opposed to the extraordinary realms of the heavens and the underworld. The earth itself was believed to float upon a vast sea, with seven seas surrounding its perimeter on all sides. The underworld was a mysterious place, only fuzzily conceptualized. Among the Ket, a kind of medicine man called the *bangos* professed a special connection with the earth and its nether regions. The mole and the bat, thought to be among the underworld's few living denizens, were his helpers, as were the myriad *ilbangdeng*, or earth spirits, whom the *bangos* alone could perceive and harness. Conversely, Ket shamans (*senang*) possessed a special connection with the sky and with certain birds. The sky itself was the abode of *Es*, the all-powerful male creator deity, who tended to keep aloof from humans on earth. It was assumed that the sky contained rivers and lakes and mountains mirroring those of the earth. The stars and planets were regarded as the roots of heavenly trees. In Ket graphic design, black was the color associated with the land, whereas red symbolized the sky (Ivanov and Toporov 1997). Domestic dogs or reindeer sacrificed to the earth had dark fur, while those sacrificed to the sky were white.' (Vajda, *Siberian Landscapes in Ket Traditional Culture*, 2011)

'Trees in general were regarded as powerful forces.' (Vajda, *Siberian Landscapes in Ket Traditional Culture*, 2011)

## 7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

7.2 Piercings:

7.3 Haircut:

7.4 Scarification:

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: 'When a person died, the oldest woman in the family group stripped the leather cords from the deceased's clothing, reserving them for incorporation into clothing made for the next child born. These strips of reindeer hide symbolized the umbilical connection between the body and its earthly life force, or *ulvej*, thought to be immortal.' (Vajda, *Siberian Landscapes in Ket Traditional Culture*, 2011)

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

7.8 Missionary effect: Christianization strengthened monogamy, widened marriage prohibitions, and reduced former age and descent-line distinctions in the kinship terminology. (everyculture.com)

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

## 8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

## 9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

### Numbered references

1.

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