

Maintaining Cohesion Through Rituals : Chukchi Herders and Hunters, a People of the Siberian Arctic

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: Vaté, Virginie メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15021/00002640

Maintaining Cohesion Through Rituals: Chukchi Herders and Hunters, a People of the Siberian Arctic¹⁾

Virginie Vaté

Siberian Studies Centre, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Germany

INTRODUCTION

Although they share the same language and belong to the same culture, the Chukchis – a people living in the Arctic region of northeastern Siberia – are divided into two socio-economic groups: reindeer herders, on the one hand, and sea-mammal hunters, on the other²⁾. This division is reflected in their own self-designation. While there is one ethnonym to designate all Chukchis (*Lyg'oravètl'an*)³⁾, there is also a specific term for each socio-economic group: *Čavču* refers to the reindeer herders and *An'qal'yn* to the sea-mammal hunters⁴⁾.

Igor Krupnik describes this dichotomy as an “organized subsistence continuum, named the Dual Subsistence Model” (1998: 223). According to him, this “basic subsistence strategy” (Krupnik 1998: 223) has been “the key factor of [Chukchi] strength and sustainability” (Krupnik 2000: 51). This dual organization, thanks to a sharp contrast in their means of procurement, enables them to obtain the products they require both from the land and from the sea (Krupnik 2000:50).

Although each group is either sea-oriented or tundra-oriented, they both possess a common “consciousness” of being two parts of the same group. This common consciousness raises the following issue: How has this dual society, living as it does on the basis of two types of technical knowledge and in two different ecological niches, managed to maintain cohesion? Moreover, how can this relationship be sustained today?

Whereas sea-mammal hunting and reindeer herding remain the most important indigenous activities, some contemporary Chukchi people live in “urban” areas. This article primarily focuses on the herding and hunting⁵⁾ parts of Chukchi society. It illuminates one paradigmatic aspect of “traditional” or “pre-Soviet” Chukchi organization, which, despite having undergone many changes, largely survives.

In my research, I have relied on a “back and forth” approach, going between contemporary fieldwork elements and the literature dating back to the Soviet (notably, V. Kuznecova) and pre-Soviet (W. Bogoraz) eras. Only in this way was it possible to gain the perspective necessary to apprehend fully a social organization that, while still present today, is substantially linked to the past (referred to herein as “traditional”,

although the term is not entirely satisfactory). The ethnographic data were collected over a period of 31 months from 1994 to 2001, mainly in the Iultin district of Chukotka (Amguema, Vankarem, Nutepelmen, a herder settlement and two coastal villages) but also in Anadyr, the capital of Chukotka, in Kanchalan (Anadyr district, a herder settlement) and in Enmelen (Providenia district, a maritime settlement) (Figure 1, Figure 2).

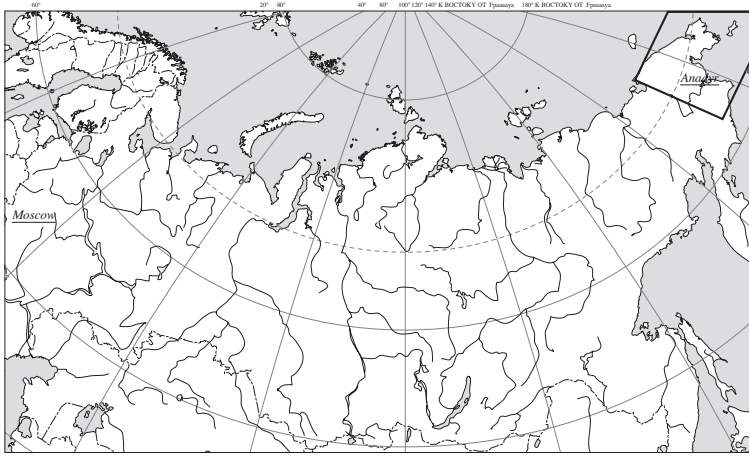


Figure 1
The study area



Figure 2 The study area

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN HERDERS AND HUNTERS: A FIRST APPROACH

1) Establishing Relationships: the Northern Part of the Iultin District

The first time I had the opportunity to taste whale fat, called *itgilgyn* in Chukchi, I was in the Amguema tundra in a herder camp. This is not just a fieldwork anecdote: it is directly related to current attempts at reviving trade between herders and hunters. During the Soviet era, material exchanges were centralized and had partly disappeared, but thanks to the efforts of a Chukchi man, who was director of Vankarem sovkhos in 1999⁶), a revival is now underway. This man was well-placed to give the movement some impetus because he had family in both villages and his wife came from Amguema.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Bogoraz mentioned that each maritime village was in connection with several herder camps, within a distance of 40–50 km (Bogoraz 1934: XXIX). As I was to discover, Amguema, Vankarem and Nutepelmen are three of those connected villages; Chukchis constitute the main population in all three⁷).

Located at 67° N and 179° W is Amguema, a village whose inhabitants live almost entirely on reindeer herding (Photo 1). Its sovkhos is reputed to have the second-biggest herd in Chukotka (11,166 reindeer as of January 2001). The reindeer are distributed into six workers' collectives called “brigades” – a remnant of the Soviet era. Each brigade herds from 760 to 3710 reindeer (statistics courtesy of the Amguema sovkhos). In 1999, the village administration registered 559 inhabitants, including 365 Chukchis and 135 Russians⁸).



Photo 1 A reindeer herder from Amguema. Photo by V. Vaté, 1997.



Photo 2 Walrus hunt on sea in Vankarem. Photo by V. Vaté, 1999.

Vankarem, located at 67°5' N and 175°5' W, is about 170 km from Amguema. The inhabitants there subsist exclusively on sea-mammal hunting (Photo 2). In 1999, 192 people lived in Vankarem, including 161 Chukchis, 15 Russians and 9 Eskimos⁹).

Nutepelmen is a sea-mammal hunter village, located at 60°20' N and 175° W, and at a distance of approximately 60 km from Vankarem. In contrast to the latter, however, Nutepelmen is in close proximity to a nomadic reindeer herder brigade territory (the 7th brigade of Amguema). Villagers there have contact with the herders of this brigade and develop exchanges with them. In 1999, 165 persons lived in Nutepelmen, including 154 Chukchis and 8 Russians¹⁰).

Nowadays, Nutepelmen, Vankarem and Amguema are also connected in a “technical” manner. Nutepelmen, for example, which has no available telephone service, relies on Vankarem for contact with the rest of the world¹¹). When someone from Nutepelmen wants to make a phone call, he or she must be present at radio-time communication (three times per day) with Vankarem. The person operating the station then dials the phone number and connects the person by putting the radio to the telephone. Furthermore, Nutepelmen and Vankarem rely on Amguema for the education of their children, who are sent to Amguema boarding school at 7 or 8 years old.

2) Exchanged products

As previously mentioned, *Čavčyvat* (the plural of reindeer herders) and *An'qal'yt* (sea-mammal hunters) have long engaged in various kinds of exchange. Bogoraz says that trading relations between herders and hunters were developed prior to contact with the Russians, but it is difficult to determine precisely how old this trade is (Bogoraz

1934: xxv).

The herders, for their part, depend on the maritime Chukchis for seal oil, which is used both as food and as fuel for lamps, and for seal skins to make shoe soles, waterproof clothing and thongs (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 96, 234; Vdovin 1965: 23). According to Krupnik (1993: 105), the best lassos were considered to be those made from bearded seal-skin, but in Amguema today, lassos (*čaat*) are made of thongs from the skin of male reindeer, which are ritually slaughtered at the August festival. Although candles are largely used today in preference to seal-oil in lamps, all of these products are still needed.

Hunters used to use reindeer skins for clothing, for sails (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 130) and for nomadic housing, the *iaranga* (*jaran 'y*; see Photo 3). This housing could also be made from walrus skin, but reindeer skin provided better winter protection. Reindeer skin was, in any case, utilized for the inner tent (*ėron 'y*), which constituted the sleeping compartment of the *jaran 'y*. Only the poorest hunters – described by Chukchi writer Veqet (Veqet 1999) in her novel *Tanojgajkotl'at* as “the ones with seal-skin blankets” – did not have reindeer skins for their inner tent. Today, though, hunters no longer need skins for their sails – since they travel on boats with engines – nor for their tents, since they are now sedentary.

Traditional herders' and hunters' clothing was very similar, but hunters made more use of sea-mammal skins (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 234). Herders would sometimes sell ready-made or already worn clothes to hunters (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 235–236). Nowadays, hunters are experiencing a significant lack of reindeer clothes for winter and sea-hunting, and they complain about it.



Photo 3 A line of *iarangas*, Chukchi reindeer-hide covered tents, in Kanchalan. Photo by V. Vaté, 1999.

The two groups often traded products of a similar nature or of an equivalent symbolic value. Cotton, for example, was exchanged for skins, sugar for reindeer tongues, and ready-made shirts for ready-made skin coats (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 193). The basic products traded by the herders were skins of one-year old reindeer (called *pyžik* in Russian); seal skins and thongs were traded by the sea-mammal hunters (Bogoraz 1934: xxix).

Today, however, meat products constitute the most significant part of their trade relations. Herders and hunters particularly appreciate eating the other group's meat (reindeer or sea-mammal meat). Krupnik estimates that in 1931 each Kychaun Reindeer Chukchi family received no less than 50 kg of marine mammal meat and 50 kg of blubber (1993: 114).

According to Krupnik, reindeer meat is considered “the most prestigious” food (1993: 117). Indeed, today, the elders of Vankarem yearn for reindeer meat and consider it a very worthy gift. On the other hand, in the “Tale about Elendi and his sons” (Bogoraz 1900: 339–359) reindeer meat is said to be bland. So much so that when Elendi becomes an elderly man and a rich *Čavču*, he risks his life by sending his children to the maritime people in order to get some *an'qat'ol* (sea-meat), while remaining at the camp all alone without protection. In this story, he and his herd almost lose their lives, but it is all worth it: upon receiving the sea-mammal meat he is so thrilled with it that saliva flies from both sides of his mouth (Bogoraz 1900: xxvi). Nowadays, “sea-meat” is also greatly enjoyed in the tundra: *qopalgyn* (walrus blubber), *itgilgyn* (whale blubber), *mytqymyt* (seal-oil) and seal flippers (*egyť*) are particularly appreciated. Each group thus enjoys having products from both environments. Bogoraz's following statement has thus lost none of its pertinence:

I myself witnessed that Reindeer Chukchee who had not had any blubber for a long time develop a craving for it, and are ready to pay extravagant prices for it. (...) On the other hand, the maritime Chukchee and the Eskimo value reindeer meat very highly, and call it the ‘sweet food of reindeer breeders’ (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 193).

Having goods from both environments was a sign of well-being and wealth. Indeed, I was once told by a hunter from Vankarem who regularly had the occasion to eat reindeer meat and who had reindeer-skin clothes for hunting that he considered himself to be a “rich” man, to which he added, “in the Chukchi way”.

According to Bogoraz, the position of the reindeer herders is more highly valued than that of the hunters:

A herdsman is considered to be much more equipped for life; and every year young men and whole families go from various maritime villages to the reindeer camps, often far inland (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 96–97).

When I asked Chukchis from Vankarem and from Amguema which activity – herding or hunting – they thought was the best or most convenient, each individual naturally

picked the activity practiced by his or her group of origin. However, regardless of their origin, people generally thought herding to be less subject to the vicissitudes of life and considered it a safer activity with greater stability than hunting. A herder would become a hunter only if he lost his herd. In this relation, Krupnik notes that:

reindeer herders [have] never experienced the ravage of famine (1993: 87).

Moreover, he notes, herders had saved hunters from starvation on more than one occasion (Krupnik 1993: 87). They had also helped save Russian settlers in difficulty (Česnokov 1997: 80). In addition, trade was often more favourable for herders: in 1919–1920 a reindeer carcass was worth a seal-skin bag filled with oil; and the skin of a six-month old calf – particularly valued for winter clothing – cost 3 to 4 seal-skins (Krupnik 1993: 121).

However, Krupnik thinks that, in many cases, herders were more dependent on hunters' products, particularly the poorest herders (Krupnik 1993: 121). Via this trade, reindeer herders could get a more calorific food in exchange. Sea-mammal meat is much richer in calories than reindeer meat: sea-mammal meat contains about 1,400 to 1,700 kcal/kg and blubber 7,500 kcal/kg, but reindeer meat contains only 1,000 to 1,200 kcal/kg (Krupnik 1993: 120, 274). For this reason, urban people from maritime settlements often criticize the lack of calories in reindeer meat. In Anadyr, for example, where it is easier to procure reindeer meat than sea-mammal meat, it is often said: "You just can't satisfy your hunger with that meat!" This is reiterated in the "Tale of Elendi and his sons" in which a Chukchi girl being held prisoner in marriage to a *Tann'it* exclaims¹²):

When I used to live with my brothers, they fed me with sea meat, seal oil. With your reindeer meat how can you satisfy hunger? (Bogoraz 1900: vi, 342).

Furthermore, with the arrival of the American whalers, maritime peoples were in a central position to organize exchanges. Even though Chukchis – both herders and hunters – were almost completely self-sufficient (Krupnik 1993: 106–107), the maritime peoples had access to goods that the herders also sought, such as tea, sugar, tobacco, matches and ammunition (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 97; Krupnik 1993: 67). Some hunters, such as the famous Alitet (Semuškin, French version. 1950; English version. 1955), were greatly enriched by trade with American whalers, Russians and herdsmen (Bogoraz 1934: xxvi). This trade allowed the emergence of a category of traders, called *kavral'yt* (the ones who go back and forth), who linked the different groups (Vdovin 1965: 90). Most of the *kavral'yt* originally came from maritime settlements (Bogoraz 1934, xxv).

Today, hunters express great pride in their way of life: great danger is involved in sea-mammal hunting, a fact which earns the hunters much more prestige. In 1999, when I was conducting fieldwork in Vankarem, a 45-year-old herdsman from Amguema made the trip to visit his older sister, who had married a hunter in Vankarem. He was

to take part in hunting expeditions at sea in order to get meat. He confessed upon his return, that while we were out at sea, he had constantly looked for the sight of land through his binoculars. He joked about having felt desperate without “his tundra”, although he did not show his fear out at sea. Once back in Amguema, this man proudly told anyone willing to listen about how he had participated in hunts out at sea. Yet while herders may be fascinated by the life of hunters on the sea, hunters themselves tend to have a slight condescending attitude towards herding. I myself have met hunters who were not particularly proud of having herded reindeer in their youth, contrary to the herdsmen I met who had navigated the sea in theirs.

However, the nomadic life of the tundra is considered in some ways to be more difficult, particularly for women. This difficulty is associated with the matter of possible intermarriage between herders and hunters.

3) Cohesion maintained by marriage

Familial relations facilitate product exchange. Indeed, as my inquiries in these three villages revealed, marriage plays an important role in maintaining cohesion between the two parts of Chukchi society. These exchanges are not only based on material products. In the same way that Claude Lévi-Strauss argues in *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* [*The Elementary Structures of Kinship*], in Chukchi society the “exchange of women” is an important factor in developing interaction between the two groups. Even if, during my interviews, many Chukchis tended to stress that people should marry someone from the same environment, the genealogies I traced in all three villages revealed a few cases of intermarriage between herders and hunters. In these cases, it was the women who had left their homes to live in their husbands’ houses. Two factors facilitated the transfer of women to the other environment: first, the existence of a patrilocal rule of residence¹³, and secondly, the fact that the technical knowledge differs less for the respective female roles: women’s activities, such as butchery and tanning (Photo 4), are similar for both communities, whereas the male activities of hunting and herding require very different skills, training and knowledge. Bogoraz also concurs on the existence of many inter-community marriages (1975 [1904–1909]: 610).

On the other hand, marriage also offered to a young sea-mammal hunter the opportunity of becoming a herder: he could marry a young girl without brothers and be integrated into his wife’s family. To achieve such a goal, he would work in the family of the bride before marriage to show his ability and come to deserve the bride (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 579).

Intermarriage is crucial in establishing long-lasting connections between both parts of Chukchi society and in favouring the development of exchange networks. Having part of one’s family living in the other environment opens up the possibility of sending one’s children to the tundra or out to sea in order to experience a different lifestyle and to acquire new technical skills that would otherwise be unattainable for them. This exchange of “experiences” is important in helping sustain the “consciousness” that these two groups belong to a single people. It also tends to encourage future



Photo 4 Tanning techniques. Photo by V. Vaté, 1997, Amguema.

intermarriages.

In Chukchi culture, this “consciousness” is also expressed in symbolic terms. Certain prohibitions, for instance, whose transgression is said to have consequences on the health of the herd, are respected both by reindeer herders and sea-mammal hunters. Symbolic areas constitute an important domain connecting the two groups.

THE ROLE OF RITUALS

Rituals also seem to have played a central role in maintaining cohesion between the two groups, and may be considered in a certain sense as constituting a “total social fact” (“fait social total” after Marcel Mauss’ well-known expression¹⁴) of herder-hunter interactions.

1) Differences and similarities in herder’s and hunter’s rituals

Distinct ritual cycles

Chukchis develop distinct ritual cycles in accordance with their way of life, even if some of their representations converge (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 277, 318, 338).

Chukchi rituals are of two kinds: regular and irregular. Regular rituals relate to the cycle of annual activities, and irregular rituals sanction special events such as using a new fishing net or a young boy's catching his first prey. Herding rituals can still be observed today in a form that resembles to the descriptions made by Waldemar Bogoraz (1900, 1975 [1904–1909]) and Varvara Kuznecova (1957), that is, at least, in areas located far from the central Soviet power, and in places where herding did not suffer greatly from post-Soviet economic reorganizations. Hunting rituals, by contrast, have almost entirely disappeared and have gradually been replaced by Soviet-inspired versions of rituals and more recently by attempts at reviving them (Vaté, Lavrillier 2003b).

***Taaron 'gyrgyt* or the herders' ritual cycle**

The herders' ritual cycle (*taaron 'gyrgyt* or *lygètaaron 'gyrgyt*; Kuznecova 1957: 264; Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 368) is closely connected with the life of the reindeer. In Amguema, five regular festivals are held each year, three of which are exclusively herders' rituals¹⁵).

1) *Pèèčvak* (*pètyčvak*, female speech). This festival has been described previously only by Kuznecova (1957: 293–300) who denoted it by the term¹⁶ *Pèèčvakënrat[g]yrgyn*¹⁷) (*Pètyčvakënrat[g]yrgyn*, female speech). *Pèèčvak* is the term which designates one-year-old reindeer. *Pèèčvak* also names the moment when the herd is split into two groups in order to favour the birth of the fawns: the females are put on one side (*rèkvyt*), the males and the year-old reindeer on the other (*pèèčvak*). This separation is designed to prevent newly born reindeer from being trampled by the bucks and to prevent the one year old reindeer from taking the milk from the new born. Spirits¹⁸) are fed during this small festival to favour future births.

2) *Ulvèv*. This festival has been designated with the terms *Ulvèyrgyn* (Kuznecova 1957: 265) and *vylgyqaanmatgyrgyn* (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 372), the latter coming from *vylgy*, which means thin hair and *qaat* – reindeer. In present day Amguema, this festival takes place in mid-July, when the men return from the spring pastures (*kytkytqaalatyk*). *Ulvèv* comes from *nulvuqin*, an adjective that means “motionless”: indeed, during the warmest period, from June to September, the men leave the encampment three times to look for better pastures, whereas the women, children and elder men remain in the encampment. The ritual is carried out to prepare the summer pastures (*qoral''atyl'yt*) from both a material and symbolic point of view. First, with the men being out with the herd, the community will need meat, so significant slaughtering is carried out. Second, summer grazing constitutes a crucial event because pastures provide the best nourishment, allowing the reindeer to fatten so that they can live healthily all winter. That is why, in addition to the slaughtering, spirits are fed at *Ulvèv* as an act of propitiation to promote this important moment.

3) *N'ènrir''une* is the main festival of the cycle. It is held before the rutting period at

the end of August. Kuznecova (1957: 265) denotes it by the term *n'ènrir "u"gi*, and Bogoraz by the term *tètavv 'ygyrgyn*¹⁹) (1975 [1904–1909]: 372). In Kanchalan this ritual is called *tyrkyl 'yqaanmatgyrgyn*, which means the festival of the three-year old male reindeer (*tyrkyl 'yn*). Both festivals – *Ulvèv* and *N'ènrir "un* – are included together under the word *Qaanmatgyrgyn* (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 372). *N'ènrir* means “over there”, and “in that direction”, and the morpheme *r "u / r "o* implies a massive action, and undoubtedly indicates an upcoming change of season, organization, or place. It might well be related to previously performed movements from the coast to the inland. In present-day Chukchi society, this ritual usually lasts three days, but it can last up to six (Kuznecova 1957: 280). In former times, as many as 40 animals would be slaughtered from a herd of 800–1000 reindeer (Kuznecova 1957: 279), but today each family slaughters no more than three or four. During the festival, spirits and ritual subjects are fed in order to favor the reproductive period. Regular rituals are usually concluded with a special sequence commemorating the dead.

In this way, the performance of rituals is closely linked to the reindeer's reproductive cycle and to the herd's welfare. It is thought necessary to feed all the “natural” (the tundra, animals, rivers...) and “supernatural” (different kinds of spirits connected with “nature”) entities for the health of the herd.

The hunters' ritual cycle

The hunters' rituals are linked to a wish to ensure successful hunting. As mentioned previously, regular collective hunting rituals are not performed today as they were before the Soviet period. In Vankarem in 1999, one of my ‘informants’ said that the rituals had definitively ceased being carried out around 10 years prior, which seems to be an underestimation in light of the information I was able to gather. It seems necessary, then, if we want to gain some comprehension of the hunter cycle, to refer to Bogoraz's descriptions. Nevertheless, we must keep in mind that his rendering of the cycle was not in complete accordance with the one existing in the Iultin district. In this relation, Simčenko *et al.* (1993: 229) state that peoples on the Arctic coast had developed different ritual cycles, but their explanations are so brief that I have found it necessary to refer to Bogoraz's better-known descriptions, which are based on long-term fieldwork and a good knowledge of Chukchi language.

According to Bogoraz (1975 [1904–1909]: 385), the hunters' ritual cycle would start at the beginning of autumn with the performance of two festivals that could be carried out concurrently: a sacrifice commemorating the dead²⁰) and a sacrifice to the sea (no terminology is given; Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 388–389). At this festival, spirits would be fed facing toward the sea. The two main festivals called *Keretkun* festival and *lygèmn 'ègyrgyn* were carried out either in late autumn or at the beginning of winter (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 390). *Lygèmn 'ègyrgyn*²¹) (see Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 389–392) was a day-long thanksgiving ritual devoted to the sea-mammal hunters killed during the sea-hunting season. Parts of the heads of the animals killed during the summer and the autumn were retained especially for that moment, when they were cooked and eaten. *Keretkun* lasted 2 – 5 days: the richer the family, the longer

the ritual (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 392–399). Today, this *Keretkun* ritual is unknown in the field. The only people I encountered that had any knowledge of it were from the urban intelligentsia (Anadyr). They explicitly referred to Bogoraz’s writings in this connection. This ritual was presumably not carried out in the northern part of the Iultin district (Simčenko *et al.* 1993: 229–230) and seems rather to have existed in areas that were directly influenced by contact with Eskimo culture (Simčenko *et al.* 1993: 230; Krupnik 1990: 164–165).

There was also a boat ceremony held in spring – the time at which the boats would first return to sea after winter – enacted by those families possessing their own boats. During this ritual, spirits were fed in the direction of the sea. In mid-summer, another thanksgiving ritual devoted to the sea-mammals killed during spring was performed. Lastly, a special ritual was enacted whenever whale or white bear hunting had been successful.

In Vankarem in September, I had the opportunity to witness, at the close of the summer hunting period, the performance of a ritual at the sea shore by the hunters and their families in thanks for the food the sea spirits had given. This might have been a sacrifice to the sea like that mentioned by Bogoraz, or it might be an attempt at “revival” of this ritual (Photo 5).



Photo 5 Ritual to the sea, closing the hunting season on sea.
Photo by V. Vaté, 1999, Vankarem.

Similar rituals

There are also features and rituals common to both cycles, as there are, for instance, with *Pègytti* and *Kilvèj*.

Pègytti – also called *L''èlèn 'ulvèv* (*l'èlèn'*, winter) in Amguema and *tènatrytvangyrgyn* (Kuznecova 1957: 287) – is carried out either at the end of December or at the beginning of January, by both herders and hunters, when the star called *Pègyttin* appears in the polar night. *Pègyttin* corresponds to Altair, a star in the Aquila constellation. This festival is therefore not directly connected with either herding or hunting activities, but with representations of the universe and the system of orientation.

Kilvèj (*kilkil* – umbilical cord) is one of the two most important festivals. It takes place at the end of April after the birth of the young reindeer. At *Kilvèj*, the fertility of female reindeer is central to performing the ritual. *Kilvèj* is very much linked to herding, but in former times it was also recognized by the sea-mammal hunters who owned reindeer (Kuznecova 1957: 300, 325; Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 406), as one of their own rituals. This highlights another important factor: interaction between the two groups and the practice of intermarriage was maintained out of necessity because successful hunters who owned reindeer needed someone to care for their herd. Those who did so were probably rewarded for their work with sea-mammal meat. Today, *Kilvèj* is only celebrated in the tundra.

2) Rituals and interaction

Interaction between herders and hunters was connected with the performance of rituals: first, because meetings provided an opportunity to organize rituals; and secondly, because the rituals themselves gave rise to possible meetings.

Meetings as an occasion for performing rituals

According to Bogoraz (1934: xxix), exchanges between the groups took place during autumn and spring: in autumn, hunters would go to herders' settlements; in spring, the herders visited the hunters. The main trade was done in autumn (Krupnik 1993: 67).

These encounters were undoubtedly the occasion for rituals. As Bogoraz says:

(...) when the traders from the sea coast visit the Reindeer camps, a continual feasting begins, and blubber and meat of sea-mammals are offered to every one as the best of dainties. (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 193)

Chukchi writer Veqet describes in her book *Tanojgajkotl'at* one such late-summertime meeting between herders and hunters, and underlines the effects to which it gave rise: games and competitions, marriages and barter (1999: 68). Veqet recounts these meetings in detail, noting in particular how running races were organized (1999: 75).

Indeed, in Chukchi society, competitions and displays of strength and stamina played a very important role. Meetings provided the occasion to organize different

kinds of contests, mostly based on races and wrestling. In confirmation of this, Kuznecova (1957: 308–309) mentions that when parents or people who knew each other met or were situated close to one another, they used to organize reindeer races (*èra[g] yrgyn*).

Kuznecova (1957: 319–320) gives an interesting description of a ritual she calls *ètvył'yt*, which was carried out at the moment herders prepared themselves to go visit the hunters. The visit was intended to organize the autumn exchange and to inform them of the whereabouts of their encampment. This ritual was performed when herders spent the summer at the seaside (which does not seem to have been done every year). Kuznecova is the only writer to mention this ritual: I have not personally seen or heard of it. In any case, according to Kuznecova, it was not performed very frequently.

Kuznecova translates *ètvył'yt* as “the rowers”, from “*ètvył'*”, boat (which is actually *y'tvèt*). This is not a strict translation: *y'tvèt* is the “boat” and *l'yt*, “the ones from”, “the ones of”, so that *y'tvèt l'yt* means more precisely “the ones of the boat” and not really the rowers (an oar is *tèvènan'*). Kuznecova’s “translation” refers to one special moment during the festival, when people would sit on a sledge and pretend to row with a cane.

This ritual reveals an organization that is common to that of other rituals, and the same kinds of ritual dishes. I will briefly present a part of Kuznecova’s own description (for more details refer to Kuznecova 1957: 319–320). Outside the tent, she says, and about 7 m in front of it – usually facing East, if we can go by the orientation of the tent in Amguema camps today – a small fire was lit thanks to anthropomorphic fire-boards²²) (Photo 6). Most of the ritual took place in close proximity to this small fire. A burden



Photo 6 Fire-boards (*milgyt*) and ritual string (*tajn'ykvyt*), placed on small sledge *rèlqijnèn'*. Photo by V. Vaté, 1997, Amguema.

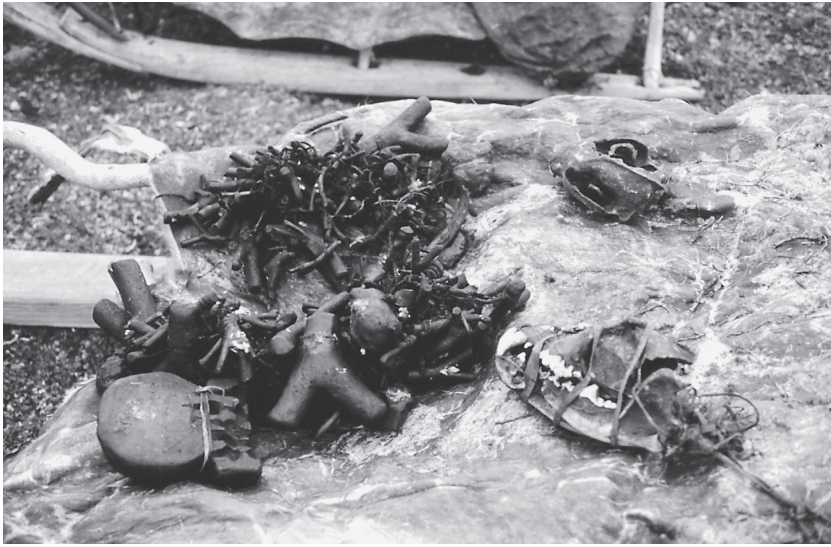


Photo 7 Ritual objects: string *tajn 'ykvyt* and animal skull (*levyt*).
Photo by V. Vaté, 1997, Amguema.

sledge (*rèpalqoolgyn*) was placed close to it. Small 20-cm oars were attached to the inside arcs of the sledge. Beside the sledge a miniature boat linked to the ritual string *tajn 'ykvyt* was placed²³) (Photo 7). Another miniature boat was also placed close to the hearth²⁴). Herders' walking canes (*kènunèn'*) were placed between the outside fire and the sledge. Around 1.5 m in front of the fire, prizes were placed in proximity of a twig of willow driven into the soil: this corresponds to the usual presentation of prizes, still performed today (Photo 8). During this festival, three prizes would typically be given, most often sea-products such as seal-skin, sea-mammal thongs, seal-skin soles, etc. A young-reindeer skin was also sometimes given.

Kuznecova notes that all the camp members gathered for this ritual, in which they went from tent to tent, proceeding from north to south (This is at least how it is done in Amguema today. We can assume, going by Kuznecova's descriptions, that this principle was also in operation half a century ago). Speaking loudly and showing great haste, camp members then took the canes placed on the ground and sat on each side of the burden sledge. They then pretended to row with the help of these canes, which came to symbolize oars. Then, everyone stood up quickly and began a running race, all the while holding the sticks in their hands. The winners got the prizes.

After the race, Kuznecova continues, both the people and the spirits were fed. Then, the hosts distributed *prèrèm*, small bowls of chopped meat and fat, covered with marrow. The master of each tent threw them to his guests, who tried to catch them in order to take them back home. In the evening, the men left the camp to go to the hunters' settlement with offerings such as *kykvat''ol* (dried meat, back filet). The following day the tent was moved a few metres: a very common occurrence before or after Chukchi



Photo 8 Prizes are placed in proximity of a twig of willow driven into the soil.
Photo by V. Vaté, 1999, Kanchalan.

rituals even today.

Thus, meetings provide the occasion to perform rituals, but rituals also represent the occasion to meet. Indeed, sometimes it is difficult to determine whether the ritual was carried out to honour the meeting or whether the meeting occurs because a ritual is planned. I suppose that both possibilities should be entertained.

Rituals as occasions to meet

Rituals have enabled the two parts of Chukchi society to maintain a close relationship and the opportunity to meet. Kuznecova (1957: 265) notes that slaughtering rituals within a single region did not occur at the same time because important slaughters require additional labour. Therefore everyone (from the region) is warmly invited to participate as a guest (*rèmkyl'yn*). In Amguema, I was told: “We say it’s a feast (*prazdnik*, in Russian), but it’s really only work (*odna rabota!*)”. The presence of guests is very important and is part of a well-organized ritual. Their help is required and they come willingly because they know they will be given presents. It is thus an occasion for redistributing goods.

As previously argued, rituals are performed according to a regular cycle. This regularity enables each group to know the approximate time of others’ rituals. Accordingly, the hunters go to visit the herders’ rituals and vice versa. Nowadays, the announcement of rituals is done via radio communication between the brigades and the sovkhos. The brigades that are located close to one another still visit neighbouring encampments when rituals are performed, and the elders settled in the village try to be present at least at *N’ènrir’un*, the autumn festival.

It is notable that the moment that *N'ènrir''un*, the main herding festival, is carried out coincides with the most important moment of exchange between herders and hunters. It corresponds exactly to the time when hunters used to trade with herders. This was also done at the time the herders put their reindeer – who are fond of salt – out to pasture close to the sea (Kuznecova 1957: 319; Veqet 1999: 13). These big summer festivals were apparently an important moment for maintaining contact.

Furthermore, hunters possessing their own reindeer had to perform rituals relating to their herd. In such cases, the “necessity of ritual” is clearly an occasion to meet. Along these lines, Bogoraz (1975 [1904–1909]: 365) notes that:

Sometimes if many reindeer are owned by a family of maritime people, a friend from the reindeer breeders, after performing the ceremonial in his own camp, will come over with his herd as near to the maritime village as he can without encountering danger from dogs in the vicinity. There he will kill the fawn required for the sacrifice, and then repeat the ceremony in company with his maritime friends.

Thus, rituals represent an occasion to meet. They were special occasions when the link between the two parts of the society was expressed. They were opportunities for material exchanges and planned marriage.

In the post-Soviet economic crisis that we know, herders and hunters no longer have the possibility of regularly visiting each other. Transport has become very expensive and irregular. Nevertheless, those who still have family members in the other group try to maintain relations. Recall the 45-year-old herdsman from Amguema I mentioned previously, who in 1999 went to see his sister, who had been married a hunter in Vankarem. A few weeks later, his sister’s 28-year-old son visited him in Amguema, where he had the opportunity to attend the *N'ènrir''un* tundra festival. Each of them was thus able to return home with products from the other environment.

Does ritual maintain exchange or does exchange maintain ritual?

It is noticeable that, in the observing of rituals, certain items or products are required that are only produced by the other group. Interestingly, both herders and hunters try to feed their spirits with the meat of the other group, which, because it is scarce, is more highly valued²⁵). The most highly valued products are always offered to the spirits. I had the opportunity to observe this in Amguema and in Vankarem, and can thus confirm Bogoraz’s statements that:

They [the maritime people] give the first place, in sacrificing, to the products of the reindeer-breeders, which are their conception of what is most luscious. (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 388)

And that:

The Reindeer Chukchee value for this purpose [offerings] whale-meat and walrus-

blubber bought from the maritime hunters (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 370)

Exchange was also required for funeral rites. As is still the case for nomadic reindeer herders (Vaté 2003a), Maritime Chukchis would build a pile of reindeer antlers on the funeral site (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 535). I have no precise information about how they acquired them, but it is clear they would have had to do it through trade.

In order to perform herding rituals, some items from the sea are still required, such as the *pygpygyt*, meat bags made of seal skin, or the big bowls made of walrus skin (*taqanan'*), in which the bones are broken to retrieve the marrow used to feed the ritual objects (Photo 9). The *taqanan'* can become quite old, passed from generation to generation, but the *pygpygyt* must be replaced regularly.

It is remarkable that one of the most sought after articles today among herders is the *unnèlgyn*, a drum skin made of walrus stomach (*kèn'iq*) or more rarely of walrus bladder. In some areas, the drum skin can be made of reindeer²⁶, but walrus stomach is more highly valued. This is possibly linked to the second name given to the drum–“boat” (*y'ivèt*, Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 438; Kuznecova 1957: 324), because the boat is made of a walrus skin (*rèpalgyn*). The drums used by herders and hunters were very similar (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 356), but today the tundra is just about the only place where the drum – the ultimate ritual instrument – is still regularly used in rituals (and not just in “urban” folk performances). In the tundra, every family living in a tent owns a drum and every herding ritual, although collectively performed by the whole encampment at the same time, is simultaneously carried out in each tent



Photo 9 The bowl, *taqanan'*, in which bones are broken to retrieve the marrow. Photo by V. Vaté, 1997, Amguema.



Photo 10 Playing the drum (*jarar*) at the *N'ènrir''un* autumn festival.
Photo by V. Vaté, 1997, Amguema.

independently (as previously explained). The drum is closely connected with the tent – in a way it belongs to it–, as do all the ritual objects mentioned previously (*tajn'ykvyt*, *milgyt*, etc.). While I cannot demonstrate a common etymology, there is a clear homophony between the two terms: the tent is called *jaran'y* and the drum *jarar* (Photo 10) Both names might be related to their symbolic association.

The drum is essential to the performance of two major rituals: *N'ènrir''un* and *Mn'ègyrgyn* (see note 17). If herders wish to continue to carry out the rituals that require the drum, then they need a walrus stomach. For that reason, walrus stomachs hold real value for the few hunters' wives who still know how to prepare them today. Indeed, the demand for them among herders is very high: at least it was in 1999 in Amguema and Vankarem. The preparation of a walrus stomach requires very careful and patient work and a technical expertise that younger women must train to acquire (Photo 11). Nevertheless, most young women are eager and prepared to do it because they can earn a lot of reindeer meat using this skill.

In this way, analogously to the chicken-and-egg question (“Which came first, the chicken or the egg?”), we may conclude that the necessity of the ritual is linked to the necessity of exchange: ritual is needed to facilitate exchange, but exchange is also needed to facilitate the performance of rituals. Consequently, without ritual there is no more exchange, and without exchange, there is no more ritual.



Photo 11 A walrus stomach (*kèniq*) in process for use as a drum-skin.
Photo by V. Vaté, 1999, Vankarem.

CONCLUSION

Traditionally organized through a “dual subsistence model” (reindeer herders / sea-mammal hunters), Chukchis have ensured their existence by diversifying their resources. In order to sustain the cohesion of this dual society, each element of Chukchi organization is connected to another: exchange, marriage and rituals. In that connection, rituals serve a pivotal role in ensuring the symbolic perpetuation of Chukchi society; they thus constitute an excellent example of a “total social fact”.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the French Ministry of Research and Higher Education and to the Paul Emile Victor Institute (IPEV, previously called the French Institute for Polar Research and Technology– IFRTP) for their financial support. I would also like to thank Kazunobu Ikeya for offering me the opportunity to participate in the conference of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Tokyo in 2002, and Roberte Hamayon for her continuously generous supervision. Finally, I would like to thank all the people who helped me in Chukotka, particularly the Chukchis from

Amguema, Vankarem and Nutepelmen, who patiently taught me to live in the tundra and agreed to take me out on hunting trips at sea.

NOTES

- 1) The subject of this article was previously presented at the Inter-Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Tokyo, 22–27 September 2002, during the “Socio-Economic Interactions between Pastoralists and Other Groups” session organized by Kazunobu Ikeya. The paper was entitled “Of the Tundra and the Sea: Chukchis, a people of Reindeer Herders and Sea Mammal Hunters”.
- 2) The Chukchis lived exclusively on reindeer hunting and began to specialize in sea-mammal hunting and in reindeer herding during the 14th–16th centuries (Vdovin 1965: 4, 14). In the 18th century, reindeer herding substantially developed, and became the predominant activity in the 19th century: in 1897, 8869 Chukchis lived from reindeer herding compared with only 2841 who lived from hunting (Vdovin 1965: 22, 155). Today, there are about 15 000 Chukchis, located mostly in Chukotka (12 000), and partly in Northeastern Yakutia (1300) and Northern Kamchatka (1500).
- 3) This term is usually translated as “real men”, which is not untrue but it is inexact. *O’ravètl’an* means a “human being” or precisely “the one which is clearly (*o’ran’*) standing (*vètljak*)”. The prefix *lyg* contains a sense which goes beyond the translation of “true”, “real”. It endows the related substantive with a special meaning “by excellence”: it carries information about the frequency, or the extremeness of the object to which it is applied. In a way, *lyg* refers to “something that’s essentially Chukchi”, something that is from the Chukchi point of view really “theirs”. For instance, *ynnèèn* is a fish, and *lygynnèèn*, salmon; *èèk* is a lamp, *lygèèk*, an oil lamp; *oon’ylgyn* is a berry, *lygoon’ylgyn*, the crowberry (*empetrum nigrum*); *mimyl*, water, and *lygèmèmyl* drinking water. Accordingly, salmon and crowberries are not the most appreciated goods (not necessarily, as variation occurs according to individual tastes) but are the ones that play a greater role in daily dietary intake: this prefix expresses what is really part of Chukchi life. Thus, precisely, *lyg’oravètl’an* is “the human being by excellence” or “the one which is clearly standing by excellence”. (For Russian and Chukchi terminology, I use the Slavic transliteration with some adaptations for Chukchi language.)
- 4) *Čavču* is often translated as “rich in reindeer” or “he who owns many reindeer”. Yet this term does not seem to contain any morpheme meaning “reindeer” – *qoran’y* (singular) or *qorat / qaat* (plural). It seems there is a confusion here between that to which it refers – reindeer herders – and a literal translation which does not seem to be the proper one. *Anqal’yn* comes from *an’qy*, the sea, and *l’yn*, “the one from”, “the one with” (participle).
- 5) This division into two groups (three today) is, of course, a general one. I do not overlook the fact that all Chukchis also live from the complementary activities of fishing and gathering.
- 6) It is very difficult to define the different economic reorganizations, I choose to keep the term “sovkhoz” because it is still used (see also Gray 1998: 63). In 1999, the region (*okrug*) reverted to a state-owned organization – a *municipal’noe obščestvo* – acting at the level of the district (*rajon*), and unifying all the sovkhozes of the district (that is to say, for Iultin: Vankarem, Nutepelmen, Amguema, Konergino, and Uelkal).
- 7) In this paper, I specifically describe herder/hunter relations within Chukchi society, made possible by the fact that the region in which I carried out my fieldwork is mainly inhabited by Chukchis. A. M. Kerttula (2000) studied the relations between Yupik (hunters) and Chukchis (herders) in the village of Sireniki.
- 8) The remaining inhabitants comprise 13 Evens, 7 Buryats, 5 Byelorussians, 4 Chuvashs, 3

Chuvantsy, 2 Eskimos (Yupiget), 2 Tatars, 1 Kamchadal, 1 Urdmut, 1 Uzbek, 1 Osset, and 1 German (statistics of the village administration). These data include nomadic and settled Chukchis. It is difficult to determine exactly how many people live in the tundra and how many people are permanent villagers. In the post-Soviet context, nomadic families have a house or a flat in the village where they stay from time to time. Their children usually reside at the village boarding school. Villagers also often have part of their family in the tundra and go to visit them, to work with them and to get meat to take back home. During the school holidays, they send their children to the tundra so that they may familiarise themselves with the way of life there. This constant movement means that the village and tundra populations fluctuate seasonally.

- 9) The remainder being constituted by 3 Ukrainians, 2 Chuvantsy, 1 Bielorussian, and 1 Mordvin (statistics of the village administration).
- 10) As well as 2 Evens, 1 Ukrainian (statistics of the village administration).
- 11) This was no longer the case in 2004.
- 12) *Tann'it* is the term usually used to designate foreign people. Mostly it is used to refer to Russians (also called *mèlgytann'it*, from *milgèr* firearm) or to Koryaks (also called *lygitann'yt*, from "lyg" by excellence). In this tale, the *tann'it* are described as owning many reindeer, so they must be Koryaks. In the scene I quote, the girl is expressing her disgust at reindeer meat in order to compel her husband leave the encampment and thereby facilitate her escape.
- 13) This should be qualified because the predominant rule of residence applying in the villages appears to be neolocal, while in the tundra encampments, one observes the development of matrilocality or ambilocality. Today, marriages between herders and hunters seem less frequent.
- 14) "In these 'total' social phenomena, as we propose calling them, all kinds of institutions are given expression at one and the same time – religions, juridical, and moral – which relate to both politics and the family. Similarly expressed are economic phenomena, which suppose special forms of production and consumption, or rather of performing total services and of distribution" (Mauss 1990 [1923–1924]: 3)
- 15) I had the opportunity to witness the whole regular herding ritual cycle bar one winter festival in the Amguema tundra. The latter I saw in April, performed in a shortened version by an elder woman who was at the village at the time it was to be carried out (January). Here I give a general presentation of the rituals: a precise analysis will be the task of further publications.
- 16) The terminology varies according to the regions, which is why it is very important to put the data into context. Bogoraz's terminology complicates matters somewhat because the author rarely mentions where he had the opportunity to see the rituals. Kuznecova, on the other hand, working almost half a century ago in the same area I covered, provides an invaluable point of reference for terminological questions.
- 17) I have added a [g], which better reflects contemporary orthography.
- 18) The issue of the "spirits" is complex. "Spirits" correspond to fluctuant representations. Most of the entities which are fed are included in the idea of "nature" (*n'argynèn*). This term designates both what is outside the domestic area and the entities who "live" within it, that is to say rivers, animals, directions, masters, etc. Indeed, every place is considered to be inhabited by its own master. In addition, there is the master of the herd *Qorèn ètyn*, also called *qorèn vagyrgyn* with its equivalent, the master of the sea *an'qavagyrgyn* (Bogoraz 1975 [1904–1909]: 315). The dead are also fed during rituals. This is additionally the case for the *Kèl'èt*, the spirits Chukchis seem to fear the most, since they are very fond of human liver.
- 19) *Taèttavnygyrgyn* for Simčenko (1993: 228). Also *tèèn'ygyrgyn* (Moll, Inenlikèj 1957: 139).
- 20) As mentioned, almost every herding festival ends with a ritual of commemoration of the dead.
- 21) In the herding ritual cycle, *Mn'ègyrgyn* is a special ritual sequence which can be added to the

- autumn (*N'ènrir "un*) or to the spring (*Kilvèj*) festival. We find again the prefix *lyg*, “by excellence”, which confers a particular importance to this ritual sequence.
- 22) *Milgyt* in Amguema, from *milgymil* (singular), a match and *milgyn*, fire. In Bogoraz’s monography, fire-boards are called *gyrgyr(ti)* or *qaamèlgymèl* (“reindeer matches”) (1975 [1904–1909]: 350).
- 23) The *tajn 'ykvyt* belongs to the category of “ritual objects” including fire tools (boards *milgymil*, drills *n'ilèq*, bows *grilgyn*), ritual cups (*qojn 'yqèj*), animal skulls (*levyt*), and drums (*jarar*) (see picture 6 and 7). Kuznecova translates it as “what removes misfortune” (*tajn 'ygyrgyn*). According to one of my “informants”, it comes from *n'ytajn 'yqèn*, which means “it is forbidden”. Today it is occasionally translated as “it’s a sin” (*grešno*, in Russian). The *tajn 'ykvyt* is a string, which unites different units, representative of the family to which the object belongs: small stones that were found with a hole in them, old fire-board heads, anthropomorphic wooden figures, the paw of the first bear killed, and so on. Each part is fed at the rituals. I have never had the opportunity to see a *tajn 'ykvyt* with a boat, as described by Kuznecova (for the collection of Chukchi *tajn 'ykvyt* at the *Musée de l'Homme* in Paris, see Beffa and Delaby 1999 :171–173).
- 24) It is not clear whether the author is speaking about the fire outside the tent or about the usual inside hearth, which is also of considerable importance. Here I believe she is referring to the outside fire.
- 25) They also valued and still value products such as vodka, tobacco, tea, etc., but this refers to exchange and relationship with Russians, which is not the subject here.
- 26) Koriak drums in Lesnaia, a maritime village, are made of reindeer skins (personal communication P. Plattet). This apparently also induces exchange with herders.

REFERENCES

- Beffa, M. and L. Delaby
 1999 *Festins d'âmes et robes d'esprits: les objets chamaniques sibériens du Musée de l'Homme. Paris: Mémoires du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.*
- Bogoraz (TAN), W.
 1934 Čukči (Čast I: social'naja organizacija), izdatel'stro instituta narodov sverq, heringrad.
 1975 [1904–1909] *The Chukchee*, The Jess up North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History (vol. VII). New York: G. E. Stechert, Leiden: E. J. Brill, AMS Press.
 1990 *Materialy po izučeniju čukotskogo jazyka i fol'klora, trudy Jakutskoj èkspedicii* (otdel III, tom XI, čast' III). Sankt-Peterburg: Izdanie Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk.
- Česnokov, J.
 1997 Olen' v kul'ture severo-vostočnyx paleoaziatov”, *Kul'tura narodov Sibiri: materialy tret'ix sibirskix čtenij*. Saint-Petersburg: RAN. pp.74-82.
- Gray, P.
 1998 *Pursuing a Native Movement in a Russian Space: The Predicament of Indigenous Peoples in Post-Soviet Chukotka*. Ph. D. University of Wisconsin – Madison.
- Hamayon, R.
 1990 *La chasse à l'âme, esquisse d'une théorie du chamanisme sibérien*. Mémoires de la société d'ethnologie. Nanterre Université de Paris X.
- Ikeya, K.
 2001 Chukchi Reindeer Grazing and Changes to Grazing Territory in Northeastern Siberia. In D. Anderson and K. Ikeya (eds.), *Parks, Property, and Power: Managing Hunting Practice and Identity within State Policy Regimes* (Senri Ethnological Studies 59).

- pp.81-99.
- Kerttula, A. M.
 1997 Antler on the Sea: Creating and Maintaining Cultural Group Boundaries among the Chukchi, Yupik and Newcomers of Sireniki. *Arctic Anthropology* 34(1): 212-226.
 2000 *Antler on the Sea: The Yup'ik and Chukchi of the Russian Far East*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Krupnik, I. I.
 1990 Fêtes hivernales 'privées' chez les Eskimos asiatiques. *Études Inuit Studies* 14(1-2): 159-168.
 1993 *Arctic Adaptations: Native Whalers and Reindeer Herders of Northern Russia*. Hanover: University Press of England.
 1998 Understanding Reindeer Pastoralism in Modern Siberia: Ecological Continuity versus State Engineering. In Joseph Ginat and Anatoly M. Khazanov (eds.), *Changing Nomads in a Changing World*. Brighton: Sussex Academy Press. pp.223-242.
 2000 Reindeer Pastoralism in Modern Siberia: Research and Survival during the Time of Crash. *Polar Research* 19(1): 49-56.
- Kuznecova, V. G.
 1957 Materialy po prazdnikam i obrjadam amguëmskix olenyux Čukčej, *Sibirskij ètnografičeskij sbornik II*, trudy instituta ètnografii imeni N.N. Mikluxo-Maklaja t.XXXV, Moskva-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, pp.263-326.
- Lévi-Strauss, C.
 1952 *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*. Paris: Mouton and Co. (1967).
- Mauss, M.
 1990 [1923–1924] *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Translated by W. D. Dalls, W. W. Norton. New York and London.
- Moll, A. and P. I. Inënikëj
 1957 *Čukotsko-russkij slovar*. Leningrad.
- Semuškin, T. [SEMOUCHKINE, SEMUSHKIN]
 1950 *Alitet s'en va dans les montagnes*. Paris: Éditions du Pavillon.
 1955 *Alitet goes to the hills*. Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House.
- Simčenko, Iu. B., A. V. Smoljak and Z. P. Sokolova
 1993 Kalendari narodov Sibiri, *Kalendar 'v kul'ture narodov mira*. Moscow: Nauka. pp.201-253.
- Vaté, V.
 2003a Le rituel de mort volontaire: rendre l'âme pour perpétuer la vie. *Chemins d'étoiles* 10, Paris. pp.55-61.
 2003b Pratiques rituelles contemporaines en Sibérie (co-author with A. Lavrillier), *Annuaire de l'école pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses*. tome 110 (2001–2002). Paris. pp.101-103.
- Vdovin, I. S.
 1965 *Očerki istorii i ètnografii Čukčej*. Moscow. Leningrad: AN SSSR, Nauka.
- Veget, V.
 1999 *Peaux de phoque [Tanojgajkotl'at]*, novel translated from Chukchi to French by Charles Weinstein. Paris: Autrement littératures.