

WAIMIRI ATROARI

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Waimiri Atroari; language family: Carib; alternate names: Atroahy, Atroaí, Atroari, Atrowari, Atruahí, Ki'nya, Kinja, Kiña, Uaimiry, Crichaná. (1)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): ATR

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Amazonas border with Roraima Alalau and Camanau, Jatapu and Jauaperi rivers. (1)

1.4 Brief history: The Waimiri-Atroari Indians live in deep in the Amazon Rain forest of Northern Brazil. This nation was in constant open warfare for over 300 years. When first contacted by the early spice hunters, their territory was one of the most feared and impenetrable in the Amazon. They finally surrendered to "pacification by a government agency" in 1977 to make way for the Pan American Highway and a hydroelectric project. At the time of their surrender their population was around 3000. In 1968 a Catholic priest and 7 nuns were discovered dead in Waimiri territory. The number of Waimiri killed in retaliation was never released. (2)

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: Beginning in 1979, the Paranapanema Mining Company invaded Waimiri-Atroari territory. After a series of cartographic manipulations in which the name of the upper course of the Rio Uatumã was changed, in 1981 a presidential decree dismembered about one-third of Waimiri-Atroari territory to favor Paranapanema, thereby canceling the Indian reserve and turning what remained into a "temporarily prohibited area." In 1982 the mining company encroached again, constructing a private access road linking the BR-174 highway to the dismembered area. FUNAI authorized the highway's construction after it had already been started. In 1987 about one-third of the Waimiri-Atroari population was transferred from the headwaters of the Rio Abonari because the river had been transformed into a huge putrid lake of flooded forest by the Balbina hydroelectric scheme. This was the same area that had been disappropriated from the reserve by decree in 1981. In 1987 an agreement was signed between FUNAI and ELETRONORTE to finance an aid program aimed at the Waimiri-Atroari. The Waimiri-Atroari Program now administers the indigenist policy in the area. Despite the demarcation and homologation of the Indian area in 1989 and the subprograms that focused on providing assistance in health, education, and environment and production, the pressures exerted by big companies continued. From 1986 Mineração Taboco (Paranapanema) started enticing the young Waimiri-Atroari "captains," trained and appointed by FUNAI as intercultural agents, to sign inequitable agreements accepting economic projects, including cattle raising, in exchange for permission to occupy more of their territory. In 1987 five captains signed an agreement with Paranapanema and FUNAI that allowed the mining company to advance over the entire Indian territory in exchange for royalties. In 1989 ten captains, together with FUNAI employees, signed an agreement to receive advance monthly royalty payments for mining activities that Paranapanema planned to undertake within the Indian territory. At the same time, a plan using forged documents was set up as an incentive to the Waimiri-Atroari to ban the continuation of an ethnological research proposal. The document "showed" the Indians that the ethnologist was an agent of a supposed "tin cartel" that was using Indians to try to prevent the Paranapanema Mining Company from advancing over Indian territory, purportedly to favor international tin-mining interests. This marked another step in a long series of irregular procedures that this mining company, together with FUNAI, have been using against the Waimiri-Atroari. (6)

1.6 Ecology:

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: 24 villages. (1) In 1982-1983 the Waimiri-Atroari population was reduced to approximately 332 after a long series of deadly epidemics, mainly the result of the construction of the BR-174 highway, which bifurcates their territory. At the end of the nineteenth century, Barbosa Rodrigues estimated the indigenous population of the Rio Jauaperi to be about 2,000. By 1973 the Waimiri-Atroari population had been reduced to about 600 to 1,000 (Figueiredo Costa). Since 1987 reports from FUNAI/ELETRONORTE employees suggest an increasingly rapid population growth. (5) The population was 931 in 2001. (2)

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): The Waimiri-Atroari practiced slash-and-burn horticulture, planting in their gardens plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter manioc, several kinds of sweet potatoes, sugarcane, and pineapples. (3)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: They hunt and fish in the forests. Paranapanema has provided frozen chickens for the principal captain. The Waimiri-Atroari now hunt and fish only on weekends. Since 1985 the Paranapanema Mining Company has been financing cattle-raising projects, set-up by FUNAI, in an attempt to fix the Waimiri-Atroari in small restricted areas. Cattle raising is totally inappropriate in this region; it is contrary to the customs of the people and harmful to the tropical forest. Yet, despite initial failures and the destruction of gardens by cattle, the Waimiri-Atroari captains have been pressured by FUNAI and Paranapanema to convince the Waimiri-Atroari that that cattle raising will be their future. FUNAI policies in this regard are creating extreme inequalities within Waimiri-Atroari society. A group of captains and young men who are more receptive to imposed FUNAI projects have been given disproportionate access to industrially manufactured goods, drastically altering traditional exchange relationships. (3)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: Men use shotguns or bows and arrows to hunt. (3)

2.4 Food storage:

2.5 Sexual division of production: In horticultural work, men traditionally felled trees and burned the clearings, whereas women did most of the planting, weeding, and collecting of horticultural products from the gardens. With agricultural work now directed by FUNAI, plantations are prepared and planted principally by men. Traditionally, the men fished and hunted, but today women also fish occasionally. Women used to prepare manioc bread. Today, the preparation of manioc flour,

following regional methods, has been defined by FUNAI as a masculine task, although women participate in some secondary phases. Fruit collecting has been largely discontinued and industrially produced food is obtained from FUNAI. Men build houses. (3)

2.6 Land tenure: In the past the Waimiri-Atroari divided their gardens, each family cultivating a plot. Traditionally, all had equal access to hunting, fishing, and collecting territory. According to the plantation system imposed by FUNAI, the land is planted collectively in some settlements, as ordered by FUNAI workers, and the sale of products and distribution of profits are controlled by the workers and Waimiri-Atroari captains. Since 1986, some young captains have been enticed to sign agreements that permit a large mining company to extract minerals from the Indians' lands. (3)

2.7 Ceramics: Previously, they used to fashion pottery and griddles from clay, which nowadays have been replaced by ones made of aluminum and iron. (11)

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

2.9 Food taboos:

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? In the past, men made canoes. Today they receive aluminum boats from FUNAI. (3)

3. Anthropometry

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): During adolescence, a period of trial marriage is common. (9)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: There are cases of polygamy and polyandry, especially between groups of brothers and of sisters, sometimes with temporary exchanges of spouses. (9)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: No evidence

4.9 Inheritance patterns: The Waimiri-Atroari traditionally owned useful personal objects, but these were burned together with the body at death. (9)

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?: Biological fatherhood, has been systematically accounted for in the case of the Waimiri-Atroari. (13)

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: No evidence found.

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin: The preferential marriage, according to the Waimiri-Atroari, is between people classified as bilateral cross cousins, with a strong preference for village endogamy between close relatives, either genealogically or by coresidence (there being no distinction in Waimiri-Atroari thinking). Another frequent type of marriage is between *ya'wi* and *baski* (mother's brother-sister's daughter), especially when the prospective spouses are of similar age or as a marriage for widowers. (9)

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?

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): Among the parallel cousins there is a secondary distinction between elder and younger, and a distinction of sex only among elder parallel cousins. At the first ascending and first descending generational levels, there is a distinction between cross and parallel relatives, as well as a secondary distinction between linear and collateral relatives. In the second ascending generation and above, all men are called by one term and all women by another term. In the second descending generation and below, all are classified by a single term with no distinction by sex. (7)

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? Waimiri-Atroari kinship terminology may be described as of the Dravidian type. All individuals classified at the same generational level are included in terms of bifurcation between cross cousins and parallel cousins; the latter correspond to the terms for brother and sister, the former are comparable to affines. (7)

4.24 Joking relationships?

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: There was one example of a union between an elderly *yuhi* and a *batimki* (father's sister-brother's son), thought of as highly incestuous but practiced as a temporary arrangement until a marriageable girl reaches puberty. (9)

- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? There is no marked marriage ceremony—the young man simply moves his hammock beside his wife's. (9)
- 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?) Marriages between people in the category of parallel cousins are thought of as being rather incestuous but are preferred to marriages between individuals from distant villages. (9)
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?
- 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): The Waimiri-Atroari say that they formerly conducted occasional raids in distant villages to obtain wives. Documents from the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth reveal a long history of interethnic conflicts, punitive expeditions organized by local governments and traders in forest products, and massacres carried out by members of the regional population. The Indians defended themselves, attacking people who invaded their territory. During the construction of the BR-174 highway in the early 1970s, the mass deaths resulting from epidemics destroyed the Indians' network of villages, leading the survivors from scattered villages to unite in trying to repel the invaders. From 1978 on, some young Waimiri-Atroari came to live at the FUNAI Indian posts, where they were confronted with a way of life completely different from their traditional one. In the following years these young men were sent by FUNAI workers to bring the other Waimiri-Atroari to live in the government-administered settlements. (6)
- 4.18 Cannibalism? No evidence of cannibalism was found.

5. Socio-Political Organization and Interaction

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: In the past the ideal Waimiri-Atroari village was a closed unit of about thirty to sixty or more endogamous bilateral kindred. In practice, the village members were usually closely related, although the Waimiri-Atroari conception of kindred (*aska*) makes no absolute distinction between genealogical ties and those of coresidence. A village was often made up of a leader with his daughters and sons-in-law as the core members. In several present-day settlements the Waimiri-Atroari are establishing nuclear-family households. (9)
- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): None, they stay in one place year-round. (2)
- 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): There is a *mydy iapremy*, also known as a “village master” that mobilizes new groups to set up a new village once there are enough people to do so. There is not, however, a chief or any sort of centralized power. (2) There are no clans or corporate groups. (7) FUNAI has imposed a political structure on the Waimiri-Atroari, appointing young captains who represent the power and coercion of the national government but who have little authority themselves. The older men have been discredited and their status and influence undermined. (10)
- 5.4 Post marital residence: The Waimiri-Atroari relate that, in the past, there was a slight tendency toward uxorilocal residence after marriage, at least temporarily, in the case of intervillage marriages. The young husband was expected to work for his father-in-law and contribute fish and game to his wife's family. (9)
- 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: The phrase *mydy taha*, literally “big house,” refers to the communal residential structure, built in a circular format, where most of the village members live. The term also designates the space that makes up the village, both the living quarters and its immediate surroundings, including the gardens. The *mydy taha* is an important space for the Waimiri-Atroari, since it serves not only as a settlement but also as a ritual space during their festivities. New villages are founded according to the community's needs, such as an increase in the population, the exhaustion of garden soils, or a scarcity of game. *Mydy taha* are located near large rivers and seasonal streams. Each village enjoys economic and political autonomy, since no centralized power exists. The formation of a new village takes place gradually, relying on a prestigious person known as a *mydy iapremy*, “village master,” to mobilize a set of domestic groups to open up a new space. First, they choose a site within the region destined for the settlement, and then begin work on the gardens. When the crops appear, people start building a large circular communal house, the *mydy taha*. The structure will house various domestic groups, made up of relatives that include affines (in-laws) and cognates (kin). Each family has its own hearth and specific section. (2)
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): In the past the Waimiri-Atroari lived in dispersed villages, usually in one round or oval communal house of up to 18 or 20 meters in diameter, with two doors, and divided spatially by posts into areas for families. These traditional houses were of palm leaves. Today the Waimiri-Atroari live in settlements managed by the Waimiri-Atroari Program/FUNAI/ELETRONORTE. These settlements are located near the FUNAI Indian posts or at localities with easy access to them. The Paranapanema Mining Company constructed two concrete houses for the principal captain and his brother. ELETRONORTE supervised the construction of a communal house with a concrete base for one of the groups transferred in consequence of the flooding caused by the dam. Some settlements were built, under FUNAI supervision, with small houses for individual families. (4)

- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? They sleep in hammocks. (9)
- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: Children traditionally were socialized at home. In late 1985 a school was started at one settlement, and by 1989 schools were operating in all ten settlements. Infants are always in the company of their mothers, mothers' sisters, elder sisters, or mothers' mothers when they have living relatives of these categories. Fathers and their brothers also dedicate time to their children. Social codes of behaviors between certain classes of kin are learned from infancy. In recent years the Waimiri-Atroari have been eager to have schools, which are seen as a means of gaining greater access to the national society. (9)
- 5.12 Trade: From at least the middle of the nineteenth century, the Waimiri-Atroari traded with the regional population of the Rio Negro to obtain iron. In 1968 the missionized Wáiwai from Guyana, who were interested in converting the Waimiri-Atroari to Christianity, initiated contacts with them. At least two Waimiri-Atroari are now living with the Wáiwai on the Anauá and Mapuera rivers. Through the Wáiwai they obtained beads brought from Suriname. Today the Waimiri-Atroari trade agricultural and craft products through FUNAI and directly with the regional population. (3)
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? There is no centralized power. (2)

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR:

- 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): Shamans mediate between spiritual beings (*karaiwa*), which converse with the Waimiri Atroari during sessions in the dark. There are few shamans still alive, and their practice has been censured by government employees and young Waimiri-Atroari captains. The shamans passed through a long apprenticeship in which they learned songs, ritual chants, cures, and ceremonial ritual activities. (8)
- 6.2 Stimulants: Tobacco and other drugs are not used by Waimiri-Atroari shamans. (8)
- 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): The Waimiri-Atroari perform many ceremonies, some of the most important ceremonies are for the initiation of male children at about 3 years of age, to make the child grow, and be a successful hunter. This complex series of ceremonies includes whipping rites and the bathing of the child with an infusion of red karowri leaves (*Arrabidaea chica*) mixed with other leaves and tree barks. (10) The Waimiri Atroari spend several months getting ready for the festival celebrating male initiation. This ritual takes place when boys reach the age of three or four. The boys' fathers who belong to the same local group meet with male eremy (song leaders) to decide when to hold the festival. Once the date is chosen, each boy's father weaves a sort of calendar made of bamboo strips tied together with a thin vine. These strips represent the number of days left before the guests arrive at the village hosting the festivities. A mark is also made on the calendar with a knife indicating the day for picking bananas in time to ripen for making porridge. The women are in charge of preparing all the food for the feasts. The culinary activities are organized by the mothers and grandmothers (both maternal and paternal) of the boys to be initiated. The men get busy making arrows and baskets. The arrows will be offered to the song leaders as a kind of payment for their services and to the paxira relatives to thank them for having shown up. The baskets will be used to serve the feast foods, especially smoked meat; some baskets will also be placed on each boy's head to ask that he have many dreams and that he become a good hunter and fisher. When the calendar indicates the time is up, the fathers leave their village to issue invitations to their paxira (distant relatives who live in settlements apart from the group holding the festival). Nearby relatives come to the host village to help in preparations for the event. The boys' fathers divide themselves up into groups according to the communities they will invite, where they will stay until the day set for the trip back to the host village. Expeditions involving all the inhabitants of the various villages are organized along the interlinking network of trails. During the trek through the forest, the men go hunting for game, which they smoke and preserve for the festival. In the camps, the travelers only eat wild fruits and low-quality cuts of meat. The boys' fathers carry burden baskets made of patawa palm leaves, which gradually get filled with meat, all the way to the village where the festival will be held. When they get near the host community, the paxira relatives set up camp, where they will wait until the dawn before the festival, usually the next day. Shortly before daybreak, the eremy (song leaders) begin their melodies, waking up everyone. At a distance, the residents of the host village hear the songs and flutes and get ready to receive their guests. The boys to be initiated are led outside the communal house and seated on a bench made especially for the occasion. Sometimes their unmarried adolescent sisters accompany them in this reception. All the paxira relatives enter the village clearing singing, following the fathers and eremy at the front of the crowd. With great fanfare, they circle around the boys, hand over the game to the hosts, and then head for the inside of the communal house, where they are given a reception of manioc bread and burity palmfruit porridge. The festival cannot be organized without the presence of an eremy. The song leader is the one who confers with the boys' fathers and decides on the time when the festival will take place and who will direct all the activities during the ritual. To become a song leader, it is not enough to simply aspire to be one: it is necessary to be willing to spend a long period of apprenticeship under a more experienced song leader, to be disciplined, and to have a good memory. This activity can be exercised by both sexes. They are responsible for eliciting songs that link the ritual universe to the cosmogonic one. The lyrics refer to mythological animals, foods, and heroes, and are sung in an archaic language that is no longer used. The song leader's knowledge also encompasses the uses of herbal medicines, treatment of the ill, and assistance in childbirth in collaboration with relatives. The Waimiri Atroari hold other kinds of festivals as well, such as one for the living dead and another for inaugurating a new house. The irikwa maryba, ritual of the living dead, takes place when a malignant spirit is approaching the village; the objective of the ritual is to calm the spirit down and make it go away. The irikwa maryba is also held after the death of a relative so that his or her soul does not stay around wandering in the world of the living. The irikwa are entities that live in the forest and are considered bad omens. If a Waimiri Atroari sees one, he or she is doomed to a slow, withering death, there being no cure for this type of contagion. The ritual of the living dead is performed whenever

necessary, rather than following any periodic schedule. The main rite of passage for girls occurs upon their first menstrual period. (11)

6.4 Other rituals: The Waimiri-Atroari perform many ceremonies, such as those carried out when the gardens have produced abundantly and after killing a jaguar. Some of the most important ceremonies are for the initiation of male children at about 3 years of age, to "make the child grow, and be a successful hunter." This complex series of ceremonies includes whipping rites and the bathing of the child with an infusion of red *karowri* leaves (*Arrabidaea chica*) mixed with other leaves and tree barks. Each lasts for three days and involves the participation of members of other villages, who are invited and received with ritual chants. The karowri rite emphasized the relationship between the batimki and his ya'wi and wihi (sister's son-mother's brother, brother's son-father's sister), the child's potential parents-in-law. Today the Waimiri-Atroari also observe national ceremonies such as raising the flag on Independence Day and June feasts. (8) At various times of the year, the Waimiri Atroari interrupt their daily activities to hold their maryba, or festivals. There is no specific calendar for putting on maryba, although they generally occur during slack periods when villagers are not preparing or planting gardens or involved in other collective labor on dates chosen by song leaders known as eremy. The term maryba can be translated as festival, song, or dance. It is both a ritual moment and a gala one, when the community suspends everyday existence and is transported to another time and space. Maryba hold a special significance in Waimiri Atroari life as a time when various local groups gather together to establish and reaffirm alliances among themselves and with other settlements. (11)

6.5 Myths (Creation): It is believed that sickness was brought about by a foreign object entering the body, fired by a sorcerer. (8)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): The Waimiri-Atroari make various kinds of baskets, some with geometrical motifs. The men and women dance separately in rows and circles with separate songs. Modern Brazilian music is popular among the young people, many of whom have radio/tape-recorders. Some mature and elderly men and women are known as singers. The shamans must know an extremely large body of songs. Use is made of cane flutes (now often made of plastic pipe), nut whistles (replaced by small glass containers), and rattles during some dances. (8)

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

6.8 Missionary effect: In the seventeenth century slave trader Pedro da Costa Favella, with an army of soldiers and "civilized Indians," massacred and enslaved Indians on the Rio Urubu, to the south of the present-day territory of the Waimiri-Atroari. There are reports of eighteenth-century expeditions to capture Indian slaves, together with missionary activity on the Rio Jauaperí. Attempts to settle the Indians of this river continued in the nineteenth century. Many documents from the mid-nineteenth century reveal a long history of interethnic conflicts. The provincial government organized punitive expeditions in which hundreds of Indians were massacred. In 1884 Barbosa Rodrigues (1885) established nonviolent relations for a short time with the Indians of the Rio Jauaperí and tried to pacify them. After more conflicts and massacres of Indians, Alipio Bandeira reestablished nonviolent contact in 1911, indicating that the initiative for violence always came from the non-Indian population. The Indian Protection Service (SPI) founded an Indian post on the Rio Jauaperí, where many Indians died from epidemics. After land invasions, the post was moved upriver. The new post was invaded and destroyed, however, by a gang of armed Brazil-nut gatherers led by a trader with support from the local government. The SPI abandoned the post and in the 1940s established posts on the Rio Camanaú, which were destroyed several times by the Indians. Invasions of their territory forced the Waimiri Atroari to retreat to the headwaters of their rivers. In 1968 FUNAI started an intensive campaign to "attract" the Waimiri Atroari to Indian posts, in conjunction with those constructing the BR-174 highway between Manaus and Boa Vista; the Waimiri Atroari Indian Reserve was created in 1971. The FUNAI "attraction front" directly confronted the Indians, who were situated between them and the gangs of road builders from the army and construction companies. The Indians, after indiscriminate contacts with soldiers, laborers, and FUNAI workers, suffered lethal epidemics of Western diseases, which wiped out entire villages. In their struggle to combat what they believed to be attacks of sorcery, and in view of the mass deaths, they attacked other Waimiri Atroari villages and made several attacks against FUNAI posts. (6)

6.9 RCR revival:

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: Death was associated with the separation of the *akaha* (soul or spirit) from the body. The *akaha* was thought to return by pathways to the forest and old village sites where it had lived in the past. Waimiri-Atroari sometimes express fear of an *akaha* in the dark or one seen in dreams. Today they refer to death in terms of the Christian God carrying away the spirit to the sky. (8) The dead are buried facing east, in cemeteries, according to the customs imposed by FUNAI workers. (9)

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) Traditional beliefs have been largely repressed owing to the presence of an extremely large contingent of FUNAI workers (in 1983 there were 59 male workers for about 332 Waimiri-Atroari, of whom 88 were adult males over 15 years of age). Many of these FUNAI workers are of Indian origin, often with long-term urban experience, and from other ethnic groups that have had centuries of contact with the outside world. They transmitted to the Waimiri-Atroari an ideology and model of the "civilized Indian" (*caboclo*) incorporating all the negative stereotypes of the Indians held by the national society. This has led the Waimiri-Atroari to repudiate their own culture and aspire to follow the life-style of the FUNAI employees. Today their own beliefs are adapted to and combined with the beliefs and worldview of the government employees. The Waimiri Atroari refer to the Christian God as "Big Daddy" or "Daddy of the sky." Traditionally, they also referred to the sky as made of stone, and to another world, below the rivers, populated by beings similar to those of this world. Animals come from the sky and replenish those

hunted by men. The mythical figure Mawá, who climbed up to the sky on a liana that he cut, is sometimes assimilated to Jesus. The forest is inhabited by various kinds of supernatural beings, referred to as *yirkwá*, *yamaí*, and *yananá*. Both Waimiri Atroari men and women observe dietary restrictions, especially when they have young children. An extensive body of myths includes such episodes as the first man, the origin of crops, a legendary "great" flood, the first woman (given by the giant water snake), and the origin of the White man (who came from "the place of fire"), the origin of thunder. (8)

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: Males wear black or red body paint (12)

7.2 Piercings:

7.3 Haircut: Males have black, bowl shaped hair cuts (12)

7.4 Scarification:

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

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: In the recent past, a little over thirty years ago, men were usually seen wearing loincloths made of titica vines. Women made apron-skirts out of tucum palm fibers, decorated with bacaba seeds. These were the Kinja's traditional items of clothing. Nowadays, men usually wear pants, and women, skirts. (11)

7.8 Missionary effect:

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

8.2 Sororate, levirate: Levirate and sororate occur. (9)

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): Waimiri-Atroari kinship terminology may be described as of the Dravidian type. All individuals classified at the same generational level are included in terms of bifurcation between cross cousins and parallel cousins; the latter correspond to the terms for brother and sister, the former are comparable to affines. (7)

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

Numbered references

1. http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=atr
2. <http://indian-cultures.com/Cultures/waimiri.html>
3. <http://www.everyculture.com/South-America/Waimiri-Atroari-Economy.html>
4. <http://www.everyculture.com/South-America/Waimiri-Atroari-Settlements.html#ixzz1fmlrN7HI>
5. <http://www.everyculture.com/South-America/Waimiri-Atroari-Orientation.html>
6. <http://www.everyculture.com/South-America/Waimiri-Atroari-History-and-Cultural-Relations.html>
7. <http://www.everyculture.com/South-America/Waimiri-Atroari-Kinship.html>
8. <http://www.everyculture.com/South-America/Waimiri-Atroari-Religion-and-Expressive-Culture.html>
9. <http://www.everyculture.com/South-America/Waimiri-Atroari-Marriage-and-Family.html>
10. <http://karel.hlobil.com/travel>
11. <http://pib.socioambiental.org/en/povo/waimiri-atroari/print>
12. <http://blogdafunai.blogspot.com/2010/10/indigenas-waimiri-atroari-terao-acesso.html>
13. <http://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/44/53/42/PDF/SIDES5.pdf>