

## 1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Kayapo/ Kayapo/Ge Alternate names: Kokraimoro (1) Xikrin, Txhukahamai, Mebêngokrê, Xikrin, Tzhukahamai (3)(11)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): TUX (1)

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Modern Kayapo live mostly in the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso (15°34'S 56°04'W)(8) in villages scattered along the upper course of the Iriri, Bacaja and Fresco rivers, as well as branches feeding the Xingu river. The area of Kayapo occupation in central Brazil is nearly as large as Austria(2).

1.4 Brief history: Traditionally, the Kayapo were mobile hunter gatherers who practiced some horticulture, either Forest Gardens(7) or Slash and Burn (9)(10) techniques. After the arrival of Europeans about 500 years ago, the Kayapo have been forced to migrate west deeper into the rainforests. Since the European invasion, they have lost land and habitat and have also suffered population decline after the introduction of diseases that arrived with the outsiders (4). The Kayapo received vast formal land reserves (100,000 square kilometers) from Brazil in 1980s and 1990s (10).

The Kayapo have prospered with sustained contact with the outside world starting in the 1950's (10), the tribe becoming rich in the 1980s after employing whites to log species on their lands. This practice ceased when logging was outlawed on indigenous lands. The largest and richest Kayapo village is Gorotire where one of the world's largest gold mines is located here and the Gorotire control mining concessions, using earnings to buy airplanes and hire Brazilian pilots to police their territory (10). The wealthy Kayapo have worked for preservation of the forest and to raise awareness about the destruction of the Amazon. Today they are an important and vocal part of a global media campaign that brought the Amazon to the forefront of environmental debates (4)(10).

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: Historically, Kayapo groups inhabited the region bordering the lower course of the Tocantins river. This area consists of plains crossed by rivers and bordered by forest. Kayapo Villages were built near the forest cover, allowing the Kayapó to maximize use of resources from different biomes. However, this way of life was overturned with the arrival of the Portuguese explorers and colonizers at the onset of the 19th century. The first direct contact between the Kayapo and the Europeans was disastrous as bands of conquerors attacked the Kayapo villages killing countless men, and taking many women and children as slaves. Facing invaders armed with muskets and canons, the Kayapó abandoned their traditional territory, fleeing to the west and the interior of the country. Eventually, Europeans made contact with the Kayapo again spreading diseases that killing many more Kayapo. In time, many Kayapo groups made peace with the Europeans, and the Government of Brazil granted the Kayapo vast land reserves in 1980s and 1990s (10)(14).

According to the Christian Joshua Project web sight, modern Kayapo are 70% Christians, with the remaining 30% of Kayapo retaining their native religious beliefs (13).

1.6 Ecology: With the exception of scrublands in the eastern section, the area occupied by the Kayapo is almost entirely covered in equatorial rainforest. In Central Brazil, the year there are two seasons: From May to October (winter) is the dry season; the rainy season (summer) runs from November to April. The dry summer is characterized by hot, windy days, cool nights and an almost total absence of mosquitoes. The Kayapo refer to it as 'good weather.' Conversely, the rainy winter experience includes torrential rains, inundating most rivers and streams, and the annoying presence of a vast numbers of mosquitoes and other insects. The Indians refer to winter simply as 'rainy weather'(6) The annual rainfall index is sizeable, varying between 1,900 mm in the north-east of the territory, and about 2,500 mm in the south-east.(6)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: According to the Ethnologue website the population of Kayapo was about 7,100 in 2003, (1); according to the Indigenous Peoples in Brazil website, the population as of 2010 was 8,638 (2). The Kayapo territory is situated on the Central Brazilian plateau(2), including "Mato Grosso, Xingu Park, south Para, both sides of the Xingu River, west up to the Iriri and tributaries, and west bank to the Fresco and Zinho rivers" (1). According to the Ethnologue website there are 14 villages. This would make the population of an average village about 500. Other sources claim at least 19 Kayapo villages which would result in an average village size of about 375.

## 2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): manioc, sweet potatoes, maize, sugar cane, bananas and other fruit (10)(15)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Fish and meat including tapir, collared peccary, deer, monkeys, agoutis and especially land turtles supply the majority of dietary protein (10)(2)(16)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: Traditionally, Kayapo men hunt and fight with Warclubs, Bows and arrows and wooden lances armed with tips of jaguar bone. (7)(14)(16)(25), but such Traditional weapons are gradually being replaced by rifles. For fishing the Kayapo use a liquid extracted from timbo vines to lower the oxygen level of the water causing the fish rise to float on the surface where they are easy to gather.

2.4 Food storage: Conserving large quantities of meat in the tropical rainforest is difficult without refrigeration, but the Kayapo do keep live turtles, which can live without eating or drinking for long periods, and then be consumed when needed or in ritual feasts (16).

2.5 Sexual division of production: The society recognizes a division of tasks based on sex (5). Women are responsible for managing the swiddens, usually cultivated within a radius of four to six kilometers around the village. Each family possesses its own swiddens containing staple food crops (see 2.1) as well as cotton and tobacco(15). When not working in the swiddens, women collect fruits and firewood; they also weave, look after their children and prepare food (17). Men are responsible for clearing land for a swidden by cutting and burning trees, but otherwise tending these fields are left to the women. Other men's activities include: hunting, fishing, and the manufacture of objects and tools (16).

2.6 Land tenure: Historically, the Kayapo were a mobile society, who developed forest gardens by transporting desirable species to areas that they would likely visit in the future (7).

2.7 Ceramics: For carrying and safeguarding their belongings Kayapo fashioned baskets, boxes, and bags made from palm fronds. In gourds they kept bird down and various types of seeds, including urucu. Traditionally, they carried water in hollow bamboo receptacles because they do not make pottery (25).

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: Successful hunters turns game over to his wife or, if unmarried, to his mother or sister. Other people will appear hoping for a share of the meat. All Kayapó men and women exchange such bounty with other people in the village. Successful hunters are morally obliged to cede some of the meat, especially when the animal is of a respectable size. These hunters will likewise knock on other people's doors when his luck runs out. Due to this sharing within the community, it is rare for a family to go more than a day or so without meat. (16)(24)

2.9 Food taboos: No Data

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? No Data

### **3. Anthropometry**

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): No Data

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): No Data

### **4. Life History, mating, marriage**

4.1 Age at menarche (f): No Data

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): No Data

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): No Data

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): No Data

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): No Data

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: No Data

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: Some sources claim the Kayapo are monogamous (17), but according to the "Countries and Their Cultures" web sight (12) men may have 3 wives.

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

4.9 Inheritance patterns: No Data

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: No Data

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: No Data

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): Marriage is generally with a member of the same village (12).

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? The Kayapo believe in partible paternity (22)(23)

4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows"): No Data

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? They do believe that sperm is built up over time to create child (22)(23)

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: No Data

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin): No Data

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?: Yes (22) (23)

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: Secondary fathers provide some support to children (22)

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? No Data

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females? No Data

4.22 Evidence for couvades: The mother's husband who must follow the ritual practice of couvade to underscore the role he assumes as his child's sociological father by retreating to his hammock, speaking only in a whisper, and refraining from hunting and other chores. This does not include secondary fathers (22).

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older) No Data

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? No Data

4.24 Joking relationships? No Data

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: No Data

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: No Data

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? Only When children are born, the marriage ties between a husband and wife are formalized (12).

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?: These people have two categories of names for people: the 'common' names and the 'beautiful' or 'great' names. There are multiple sources for common names, such as an element of the environment, a part of the body, or a personal experience. Beautiful names have two parts: "a ceremonial prefix and a simple suffix. There are eight untranslatable ceremonial suffixes, each corresponding to a ceremonial category." (17) After birth, the child receives a number of common and beautiful names. Both can be used, but beautiful names are sometimes confirmed later during a ceremony after the child has developed elementary motor and linguistic abilities. In the case of boys, before being formally integrated into one of the associations linked to the centre of the village. The confirmation of names attributed to birth takes place between the age of two and eight years, during a naming ritual. The parents sponsors extensive naming rites and must feed people who sing and/or dance in the ritual (19).

In total, there are twelve different naming rituals. Each of these possesses a particular name and consists of a long series of specific dances, songs and ritual practices. During one of these ceremonies, between two and five children are 'honoured', each assisted by two or more ritual friends (non-related people of both sexes who will thereafter have the task of assisting the child during all the difficult phases of his or her future life). The attribution of a name is among the most crucial occasions when the help of a ritual friend is required (19).

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?): No Data

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? Teenage women of the village are prime candidates for marriage. They usually select partners who are suggested by their families (12).

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: No Data

### **Warfare/homicide**

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: No Data

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: No Data

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: No Data

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): No Data

4.18 Cannibalism?: No Data

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

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: The average village size is likely between 375-500 (see 1.7), but there is evidence of some smaller groups (14).

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): Traditionally, the Kayapo were very mobile groups – Hunter gathers with a rather ingenious pattern of horticulture (forest gardens).

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): Headmen (or chiefs): achieved status, but little if any formal power. In Kayapo society, there is no single chief responsible for the entire village. Various associated groups possesses one or more chiefs, who exercises jurisdiction over their own group. Becoming a chief is quite a task. Potential chiefs must follow the teachings of a more experienced chief over many years before achieving this status (17).

5.4 Post marital residence: When a man marries, he leaves the men's house to live under his wife's roof. Women never leave their maternal residence. Thus, a house shelters various conjugal families: a grandmother and her husband, along with their daughters and their husbands and children (17).

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex): A basic institution of Kayapó society is the division into age categories, which are socially defined. At various ages both sexes enter named societies, this occurs for boys at 10 or 12 when they enter the mens house, again at puberty, when their first child is born and so on. Female have corresponding groups (26).

While girls and women never leave their maternal residence, at the age of 10 or 12, a boy is taken to the “men's house”, where he will live until he marries (26). These boys are incorporated into life in the “men's house” where relationships are entirely based on friendship; they are not in any way related to genetic kinship. While social ties in the men's house at the center of the village have nothing to do with kinship ties (17), social ties at the periphery of the village are strongly based on kinship (17). The centre of the village is typically reserved to men, for meetings, discourses, and the performance of public ceremonies and rituals.

Theoretically, a house shelters various conjugal families: a grandmother and her husband, along with their daughters and their husbands and children. When the number of residents becomes too large (40 people or more), the residential group splits and builds one or more new houses next to the first one.

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: Formal friendship relationships are inherited patrilineally but are between nonrelated persons with whom a special relationship of respect and avoidance is maintained. A formal friend plays an important role during certain ceremonies in which he assists his partner, especially during rites of passage (26).

5.8 Village and house organization: Typically, a Kayapo village consists huts around a large plaza, with a men's house in the center, a communal oven at one end of plaza where women gather socially (10). The centre of the village is a symbolic place, the origin and heart of Kayapo social and ritual organization (17)

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): Kayapo villages consist of huts around a large plaza, with a men's house in the center (10).

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?: Kayapo are said to sleep in hammocks (7)(22), and also on platforms or floor mats (25).

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: The Kayapo live in matriarchal clans (17).

5.12 Trade: Traditionally, the Kayapó economy is based on hunting and slash-burn agriculture, (5) modern Kayapo are involved in commerce including gold mining and timber cutting (10).

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? There are headmen or chiefs, but this is achieved status (10)(17).

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

6 Time allocation to RCR: When a community is large enough, the ritual cycle is continuous and implies a careful schedule of expeditions for the acquisition of the materials needed for ritual paraphernalia and to procure an excess supply of food, which is ceremonially offered to the entire village. The most important rituals are male and female name-giving and initiation ceremonies. There are also festivals marking the harvests of maize and manioc and the gathering of timbo, a mat ritual for marriage, a feast that introduces new members into ceremonial societies (such as those of armadillos, birds, or jaguars), and funeral rites. At certain times the ritual cycle reaches a climax, developing for several days with great intensity (27).

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): Kayapo believe that the majority of cultural items, stories, and names were brought from nature to society by the shaman. In the performance of his (the shaman is always a male) benevolent activities, the shaman is basically a specialist who has knowledge of ritual curing. To become a shaman, a man must undergo certain trials that give him the ability to have supernatural visions and the capacity to enter into contact with supernatural beings from whom they learn songs and names (17)(7)(27).

6.2 Stimulants: No Data

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): These are age-grade societies; with initiation ceremonies for boys becoming warriors (10). Kayapo rituals are numerous and varied in importance and duration. These rituals can be divided into three categories: 1. The large ceremonies for confirming personal names; 2. Agricultural, hunting, fishing and occasional rites – for example, those performed during solar or lunar eclipses – and, 3. Rites of passage, which are solemn affairs, short and only rarely accompanied by dances or songs, and organized so as to announce publicly the passage of some people from one age group to another (18).

The Kayapo bury their dead in a space, outside the village circle. The grave is a circular hole where the body is placed in a seated position, the face always pointed east. The hole is covered after various personal objects of the deceased are placed below, such as gourds, weapons and some ornaments. The spirit will take these objects to its new dwelling place (20).

6.4 Other rituals: Chiefs must know a particular repertoire of songs and recitals, which comprise an essential part of different ceremonies. Frequently these involve a series of moral exhortations and encouragements for people to prepare for a ritual, dance in the proper way or decorate themselves in an appropriate fashion. These recitals contain ritual formulas whose purpose is to avoid catastrophes announced by natural phenomena (solar or lunar eclipses, the fall of a meteor, etc.) (17).

6.5 Myths (Creation): According to the Christian Joshua Project web sight, modern Kayapo are 70% Christians, with the remaining 30% of Kayapo retaining their native religious beliefs (13).

Native myths: The Kayapos believe their ancestors learned how to live communally from social insects such as bees. This is why mothers and children paint each other's bodies with patterns that look like animal or insect markings, including those of bees (12).

The flamboyant Kayapo headdress with feathers radiating outward represents the universe. Its shaft is a symbol for the cotton rope by which the first Kayapo, it is said, descended from the sky. Kayapo fields and villages are built in a circle to reflect the Kayapo belief in a round universe (12).

The village is the centre of the Kayapó universe, the most socialized space. The surrounding forest is considered an anti-social space, where men can transform into animals or spirits, sicken without reason or even kill their relatives. Beings who are half-animal, half-people dwell there. The further from the village, the more anti-social the forest becomes and its associated dangers increase (18).

Interestingly, early European explorers are part of Kayapo myths: One group of Kayapo say that if one rises at dawn and looks across the lagoon near where they live "one can see the ghost of a white man on horseback galloping along the shore. This ghostly rider is said to wear a full suit of armor, rather like a European knight, or perhaps a Portuguese conqueror." (12)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): Highly decorative and colorful face and body paint. They also use beads and feathers to decorate themselves. (4) Chiefs use ritual songs and recitals; there are ritual dances, as well as self decorations according to ritual. They also have three musical instruments: the bamboo trumpet, the gourd rattle, and the transverse flute (27).

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: All shamans and chiefs, who conduce rituals and ceremonies are men. There is little information regarding women and RCR. Of course that doesn't mean they are not involved.

6.8 Missionary effect: According to the Christian Joshua Project web sight, modern Kayapo are 70% Christians (13), but there is nothing in the literature I've read suggesting a change in sexual practices.

6.9 RCR revival: No Data

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: The Kayapos believe that at death a person goes to a secluded village of the dead, organized like that of the living: in the form of a circle with one or two men's houses, possessing male and female associations, age sets, etc., and where people sleep during the day and hunt at night (12)(17).

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? No Data

6.12 Is there teknonymy? No Data

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) The Kayapo believe that at death a person goes to the village of the dead, where people sleep during the day and hunt at night. There, old people become younger and children become older. In that village in the afterlife, Kayapos believe they have their own traditional assembly building. Kayapo women, it is thought, are permitted only short visits to deliver food to their male relatives (12).

## **7. Adornment**

7.1 Body paint: Use body and face paint to create a highly decorative and colorful appearance is an important addition for men, women, and children alike (4)(12).

7.2 Piercings: Both sexes display piercing of the ears. Men often wear lip plugs (7)(24).

7.3 Haircut: Women shave the special V shape into the scalp of their heads. Men often wear radiating feathers in the hair. These feathers are symbols of the universe. Men also wear a rope in their hair as a symbol of the cotton rope used by the first Kayapo who arrived from the sky. (24).

7.4 Scarification: The Kayapó sporadically scar the thighs of adolescents. When village elders suspect youths of being too soft or slow and attribute this defect to excessive accumulation of blood in their bodies, a specialist must scarify the thighs of the boys until they bleed. This is done with the help of a triangular piece of gourd edged with extremely sharp fish teeth (21).

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): They use beads and feathers to decorate themselves. (4) Traditionally, the Kayapo men wear disks in their lower lip, headdresses, and dramatic body painting (red and black)(8)(9)(10).

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: Body paint is an important addition for men, women, and children. It is not a casual form of make-up. The specific markings and occasions for wearing it are linked to particular rituals and activities. The men often wear feathered headdresses for ceremonies (12).

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Men wear disks in their lower lip, exotic headdresses

7.8 Missionary effect: No Data

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: No Data

## 8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: Kayapo make a distinction between same-sex and crosssex siblings and have different categories for cousins of cross and same-sex parents. co-resident sisters are all called mother by the children of each. (22). Kayapo kinship is bilateral, and genealogical reckoning is shallow. Due to continuous fissioning, the Kayapó have relatives in several villages. Besides real kinship, they have a large number of relatives acquired either by adoption or through friendship. Kinship terms establish the relationship of each individual to other individuals in the village (26)

8.2 Sororate, levirate: No Data

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): Kayapo use the Omaha kin terminology which draws a critical distinction between same-sex and crosssex siblings and their progeny (22). Important kinship and ceremonial relationships are those between *ngêt* (mother's father, father's father, and sister's brother) and *tabdjuo* (daughter's son, son's son, and sister's son) or between *kwatui* (mother's mother, father's mother, and father's sister) and *tabdjuo* (daughter's daughter, son's daughter, and brother's daughter). Ngêt and kwatui give their names and ceremonial privileges to their tabdjuo (26).

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

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