

## Ethan Colbert

Anthropology 4680

Dr. Robert Walker

Monday, April 7, 2013

Questionnaire 2: Cherote/Chorote

### 1. Description: [ISO 639-3: crq](#)

Alternate Names: Chorote, Choroti, Inkijwas, I'no', Manjui, Yofuaha or Manjuy.<sup>i</sup> According to the text of the ethnologue website, Chorote is a language primarily spoken in Argentina, with few dialects. In Paraguay, the same language is called Manjui with only two dialects. There are also clusters of Chorote speakers in Bolivia. With the language still being taught in primary schools, one could expect this language to continue to survive for years to come. Ethnologue also shares this belief, as it has labeled Chorote as a developing language.

**1.1 Name of society, language, and language family:** Due to the area the Cherote people reside, they are considered part of the Gran Chaco society (2).<sup>ii</sup> The society shares the name with the region most associated with the Cherote people, the Gran Chaco. As to their language, it is considered one of the oldest in the region and called Matacoan.<sup>iii</sup>

**1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com):** See above.

### 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

Today, the Chorote people can be found living near the Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay borders. The exact latitude and longitude is between 60° to 65° latitude and 22° to 35° longitude. As expected though the lands near the aforementioned borders are where the Chorote people make their home today, it is not believed to be their original tribal homeland. The Chorote people, alongside their fellow Argentine indigenous people, were pushed out of their homeland when the Spanish conquistadors by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century after nearly 300 years of struggle and conflict (691).<sup>iv</sup>

Within their new homeland, there is still a tribal division amongst the Cherote people. These divisions are described as the southern and northern factions. The southern branch of the modern Chorote people is concentrated along the right bank of the upper Pilcomayo River, near the town of Tartagal. There is also another splinter faction that lives on the Pilcomayo, northeast of Colonia Pedro P. Pena. In comparison to the fertile river valleys of their southern Cherote tribes, the northern tribes reside in a more arid climate near the western border of Paraguay. While one might expect conflict to break out between the tribes, today many are living in harmony amongst one another (1).

### 1.4 Brief history:

After being pushed from their original homeland with the arrival of the Spanish in the 1500s, the Cherote people did not immediately settle in their present location. Instead, they arrived there as a consequence of the arrival of new tribes like the Chiriguano into the region and deadly military expeditions made by other rival, neighboring tribes. Arriving at their present day locations, the Cherote were aggressive in their defense mechanisms and their attacks on approaching missionaries. Their brutality made it difficult for missionaries or for scholars to study them (2).

Until the early 1900s that the Cherote people remained isolated. Scholars were not successful in contacting them until the lower Cherote tribes became more receptive and allowed for scholars to safely approach and visit villages on the Pilcomayo River.

### 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

The Cherote's first interaction with missionaries was recorded in 1863 when they rejected and repelled the Franciscan missionaries from their villages (2). It wasn't until after the Chaco War (1932-1935) that refugee Cherotes became under the influence of Anglican and Pentecostal missionaries who in 1969 were able to launch an intensive anthropological study on the Cherote people.

On the Anglican missions, the missionaries taught the Cherote people how to read but also taught them their own language. This practice is what led to the Cherote language still being used by 80 percent of the tribes speaking completely Cherote.<sup>v</sup>

### 1.6 Ecology:

The climate of the Gran Chaco is by and large subtropical, however there is great amounts of variation across the region. In the western portions, rainfall is more abundant and the temperature is more equable, there is more lush vegetation and thick forests. In the east, the region becomes more like a grass-covered prairie, with smaller forests dotting the landscape. The soil in the Gran Chaco is famous for how pure it is, as there are no rocks in the fine-grained silt (32).<sup>vi</sup>

The interior of the Gran Chaco is almost barren due to a lack of consistent rainfall. The region only experiences a limited rainy season (October to March), limiting any opportunities to raise domesticated crops or livestock in the region (2).

Due to proximity to the mountains, the region's rivers often flood. It is also incredibly warm in the region, with temperatures reaching 110 degrees Fahrenheit on a regular basis.

### 1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density

**Population Size:** There are an estimated 6,500 Chorote speakers living in Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay combined (114-115, 123).<sup>vii</sup>

**Mean Village Size:** It is difficult to determine the mean village size as many of the Cherote now live among other non-Cherote or are still nomadic in the sense they only live in temporary settlements. Those who continue to live independently do so in villages of various sizes ranging from 1 to 100 extended families.<sup>viii</sup>

**Home Density Size:** Depending on the size of the village, home density may range from six to twelve huts per village to one or two at the smallest of villages. The traditional beehive like grass hut disappeared as a permanent dwelling around the time of the Chaco War and is only seen occasionally now. Today the Cherote live in square waffle-and-daub houses, or if residing in urban

areas, in adobe or brick houses. Karsten describes the beehive house as round, conical structure constructed of boughs of trees fixed together in groups. A small opening is left for an entrance, but it is so small that to enter the hut you must crawl in on your hands-and-knees. The height of the hut generally runs somewhere between six to ten feet high, despite being too low to allow a tall man to stand erect (32-34).

Density: Just as the village size varies greatly, so does the density of the various villages. The villages with the highest density are located on the Pilcomayo River.

## 2. Economy

The economy of the Cherote people living within Argentina and Paraguay's borders have undergone major changes over the years, shifting from hunting and fishing to a cash economy. Despite their traditional mannerisms and views, the Cherote became a major player in the regional economy when they began to sell the skins of their game. As the Argentine and Paraguay Cherote hunter and fisherman continually struggle to feed their families, many have begun working instead in the Mennonite colonies on the Paraguay River in the tanning factories (802-803).<sup>ix</sup> Unlike their counterparts, the Cherote people living in Bolivia continue to be hunters and gatherers, with simple agriculture to sustain them.

As the World Culture database described the Cherote people, there is still gender separation within the economy. Women gather tree fruits, tubers, herbs, roots, while men forage for honey. Men will also fish, if the opportunity arises.

**2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s)**: the largest source of carbohydrates for the Cherote people is from maize.

**2.2 Main protein-lipid sources**: Unable to find specific examples in the Chorote diet that were high in protein-lipid combinations.

**2.3 Weapons**: A peaceful people – who have lived decades without war – are a people without weapons. It is unclear what weapons they may use to hunt wild game, but the research completed for this questionnaire clearly stated how peaceful the Chorote people had become since their early days of terrorizing the missionaries from Spain (29). The Chorote people most definitely used spears, bows and arrows per the pictures in Karsten's journal (41).

**2.4 Food storage**: The concept of food storage is completely lost on the Cherote Indians. "When the Chorote Indian has plenty of food and algarroba beer for the moment, he makes merry and eats and drinks as much as he can, but has no thought for the morrow and does not store provisions like the more advanced Chaco tribes" (29).

### 2.5 Sexual division of production:

Within the Cherote culture there are distinct roles for both genders in terms of food production, though there is occasionally some overlap when it comes to harvesting food crops. Generally speaking, women are responsible for the gathering of most foods and light firewood. For the male population their primary duties in food production are to gather honey, heavy firewood, fishing and hunting. Men are also responsible for both sexes in handling all things involving employment, work migrations, and assisting women in selling their own handicraft products.

Karsten takes his research a step further by saying that as part of a matriarchial society (see answers to 4.25 and 9.1), the division of labor actually favors women as only women can do certain tasks that a man might otherwise be doing. For example, brewing herbs and spices for medicines, a task typically associated with a male shaman or medicine man, is delegated to the female leader of the household (50). Other tasks that women add to their to-do list is the sowing and planting of crops and brewing intoxicating beverages.

**2.6 Land tenure**: A rather unique factor of Cherote culture is that there is no private, individual ownership of land. This allows all individuals to have the right to occupy, hunt, and cultivate any unoccupied land. This right of possession lasts as long as the land is cultivated or inhabited.

**2.7 Ceramics**: Cherote women are quite skilled artisans, including the art of making pottery, stringed bags, basket weaving, and the production of tools and ornamental pieces made from wood, bark, skin, bone and teeth.

### 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

There are not clear examples to accurately say whether or not there are specific sharing patterns.

### 2.9 Food taboos:

It is considered a major taboo to eat meat for five to six days after your child has been born or at least until their naval injury has healed (74). To eat meat, is to invite the demons spirits into your child's body since the meat may not be clean. Outside of this food taboo, there is no other mention of food taboos in the literature consulted for this questionnaire.

### 2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

There is no mention of canoes or any form of watercraft in the academic and scholarly works consulted for this questionnaire. One may venture a guess, that the Cherote people do not have a canoe or any form of watercraft due to the lack of waterways outside of the Pilcomayo River.

## 3. Anthropometry

### 3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

In Karsten's study of the Cherote: average height for an adult male was 163 cm. Average woman's height was 154 cm.

**3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f)**: There was not sufficient evidence to accurately answer this question.

## 4. Life History, mating, marriage

### 4.1 Age at menarche (f):

While researching the Chorote culture there is not a specific mention of the typical age for young girls going through puberty. Instead, what I did find was the Chorote perform a ritual ceremony as soon as the girl starts going through the change.

“It is customary to veil the head of the girl at her menstruation. The veil prevents the evil spirits from attacking the head of the girl and from penetrating into her eyes, ears, nose, and mouth” (138)<sup>x</sup>. According to the literature, the Chorote people believe that the young girl is most vulnerable when she is going through puberty and she needs protection (i.e. the veil).

**4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):** There is not a specific age range for the first birth, as so much depends on when young women decide to get married after their brief period of sexual freedom as described in response to question 4.18.

**4.3 Completed family size (m and f):** Unable to find information.

**4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):** Unable to find information.

**4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):** There is no definite answer as to when young men or young women typically get married.

**4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:**

Divorce does occur in Chorote culture, but it is infrequent at best. A Chorote man may simply leave his wife for the sake of marrying younger and prettier one, since as a general rule fidelity is not a prominent virtue of married men in the Gran Chaco. However, due to the lack of women and difficulty of getting a new wife makes it incredibly difficult for a man to have an affair and want to dissolve his marriage and marry again. For a woman, should she decide she wants a divorce, all she needs is a husband to prove he was unfaithful, if he treats her badly, or if he is lazy and proves to be unable to support her.

As a general rule of thumb Karsten said the Chorote people believe marriage is for life (71).

**4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:**

The Chorote culture is incredibly monogamous. According to Karsten (53), there was not a single example of a polygynous relationship during his time with the Chorote people.

**4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?**

In Chorote culture there is not a dowry exchange or even a bride purchase price because no bargaining is allowed to occur between the tribes (50). Instead, there is a bride service, completed by the bridegroom. The bridegroom moves in early, prior to the wedding ceremony to complete the tasks necessary to win the favor of his potential in-laws.

**4.9 Inheritance patterns:**

As explained in answer 2.6, there is no inheritance amongst the Chorote Indians. Since there is no property ownership, when a person dies any and all possessions are returned to the community at large and the land is given to someone else to tend until their death.

**4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:** There is no reference of parent-offspring interactions and conflict.

**4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:** The source material does not address homosexuality

**4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):**

Within the Chorote culture there is a pattern of exogamy as young girls are highly encouraged to marry outside of their village especially as Karsten put it – marriages outside of the bride’s clan are recommended as it works to bring two families closer together.

**4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?**

There is no information regarding the role of the male in Chorote society in conception, or the existence of partible paternity. I do feel confident in my assertion that partible paternity does not exist in Chorote culture, considering their strict morality.

**4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)**

Unable to find information in source material to either support or disapprove this.

**4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?** Unable to find information

**4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape:** Unable to find information in source material to either support or disapprove.

**4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)**

From the single female perspective there are preferential categories when looking for a spouse. Due to the morality of the Chorote culture, marrying a relative is strictly forbidden (62). Marriages that are outside of the prospective bride’s clan are recommended as it works to bring two families closer together. Since the families belong to the same village, community are generally closely related to each other marriages do not as a rule take place between two people from the same village.

**4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?**

Yes, in Chorote culture young females enjoy sexual freedom with a catch. Young women are allowed great sexual liberty as soon as they menstruate she is considered free to choose herself an occasional lover. The frequency and the quantity of her lovers are completely up to her. In exchange for this sexual freedom, when the girl decides to marry she must abide by the rule and the promise to be a faithful wife as long as her husband ultimately does not neglect his duties towards her. If he fails to uphold his end, the girl is free to pick a lover (53).

**4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring**

Karsten (53) found when he visited the Chorote people in the 1930s that there was no existence of polygamy or extramarital affairs. I was unable to find any information that contradicted Karsten’s findings in the 1930s. Unless the Chorote people went through a dramatic change, I would assert that Karsten’s findings were still correct. “The Chorote people are a strictly monogamous people. During my stay among the different Chorote tribes I never found a single case of polygamy and I was moreover able to confirm that polygamy is strongly disapproved of by custom and social morality of the people.”

**4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?**

Despite being the Chorote culture being a matriarchal society, if the mother were to die the child would live with its father (49). In Chorote culture, both parents are considered guardians.

#### **4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females**

According to Karsten and as described in response 9.1, there is a higher number of adult males compared to the number of reproductive females which has led to a higher infanticide rate as mothers and fathers will kill their sons, in hopes of preserving or restoring the balance of the sexes.

#### **4.22 Evidence for couvades**

A few hours after the delivery of his child, the father of the child lies in the bed, looking weak, fasting, and is attended by women from across the village while his wife tends to their new child. In addition to the precautionary measures the mother and the father take, they are also held on a very strict diet. Together they must avoid any and all meats, limiting their diet to boiled and mashed maize and certain vegetables (71). According to Karston, this episode only lasts between 5 to 6 days or at as long as it takes the navel wound of the child to heal.

#### **4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older):** Unable to find information

#### **4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?** Unable to find information for this question.

#### **4.24 Joking relationships?** Unable to find information for this question.

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

A special social feature characteristic of all Chaco tribe is the relative matriarchy, or mother-right, prevailing among them. Descent is traced through the mother, making the child belong to the mother's tribe or clan. Not the father. Also, when a man marries a Chorote woman, he marries her family too, becoming a member of her clan (49).

**4.26 Incest avoidance rules:** Incest is strictly forbidden in Chorote culture. "The Chorote only gave me the explanation that cousins are like brother and sisters, marriages between them would be looked upon with the same horror as if a brother and a sister married one another (62)."

#### **4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?**

According to the literature, there is not a formal marriage ceremony. Instead, there is just a night of feasting and drinking. Unlike in other cultures where saying "I Do" is sufficient enough to be considered fully married; in Chorote culture a child must be born to ultimately seal the marriage (56).

#### **4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?** Unable to find information.

#### **4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)**

It is preferred to be from outside the community, since a marriage from within the community would be an incest relationship, as many of the community would be related. As Karston explained (62), one of the things the Chorote Indians detested the most was an incest relationship.

#### **4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?**

In Chorote culture, marriages are not arranged. They are carefully orchestrated through a series of three dances that allow for young adults from various villages to meet one another and select possible mates. The three dances are called Johloki, Ahleta, and Avishe.

#### **4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:**

According to Karston, the most common type of conflict over who gets married involves multiple men competing for the attention of one young lady. To resolve the conflict, the young lady will make her selection at the aforementioned dances (in answer 4.30). Whoever she likes the most, at the end of the night she will take back to her hut and spend the evening with.

### **Warfare/homicide**

#### **4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:**

As mentioned in answer 2.3 the Chorote people have become a peaceful people after their decades of warring with Europeans and with neighboring tribes. Their most recent conflict was 1932 with the Chaco War. Now a peaceful people, there is no documentation in the literature reviewed for this questionnaire that mention weaponry or the percent of adult male deaths due to warfare.

#### **4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:** Unable to find information.

#### **4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:** Unable to find information.

#### **4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):**

The Chorote Indians have good relations with nearly everyone in their region now after decades of peace. Admittedly, it wasn't always so. The region last saw conflict in 1932 when the entire region ended up at war with each other (41).

#### **4.18 Cannibalism?** There was no reference to cannibalism in the source material used for this questionnaire.

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

#### **5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:** Unable to find information.

#### **5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):** Unable to find information.

#### **5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):**

In Chorote culture there are village chiefs, called an anestsias. Over each clan, there is a great chief, who has some social influence. The great chiefs do have limitations to their authority as they can't make someone work, nor can they interfere with private manners within another's family (44). The chief is a not a hereditary position. Once a chief dies, the village leaders from each family will meet and pick a new one chief. Social classes do not exist among the Chorote. There is also not a distinction between rich and poor (45).

#### **5.4 Post marital residence:** After their 'marriage ceremony' the couple will move into the bride's family hut or in an adjoining hut depending on size and space limitations.

**5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):** Unable to find information.

**5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex):** Unable to find information.

**5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:** Unable to find information.

**5.8 Village and house organization:** Unable to find information regarding house and village organization.

**5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):** Unable to find information regarding specialized village structures.

**5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?** Unable to find information

**5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:**

Each Cherote Indian family is referred to as a clan, representing the entire extended family. Typically, a clan will share a village amongst themselves. As described above the clans are matriarchic in nature, so women are the leaders of almost everything except the village elders, which are all the oldest men in the family.

**5.12 Trade:** Unable to find specific examples of trade from the source material for this questionnaire.

**5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?**

In Cherote culture there are village chiefs, called an anestsias, and village elders. Over each clan, there is a great chief, who has some social influence. The great chiefs do have limitations to their authority as they can't make someone work, nor can they interfere with private manners within another's family (44). The chief is a not a hereditary position. Once a chief dies, the village leaders from each family will meet and pick a new one chief. Social classes do not exist among the Chorote. There is also not a distinction between rich and poor (45).

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

**6 Time allocation to RCR:** Unable to find specific information regarding time allocation.

**6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):** Unable to find specific instances of shamans and medicine.

**6.2 Stimulants:** Unable to find information regarding stimulants and the Chorote Indians.

**6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):**

Unable to find information regarding a death ritual, or a season ritual, but the Cherote people have a small ceremony that was described by Karston (71). A few hours after the delivery of his child, the father of the child lies in the bed, looking weak, fasting, and is attended by women from across the village while his wife tends to their new child. In addition to the precautionary measures the mother and the father take, they are also held on a very strict diet. Together they must avoid any and all meats, limiting their diet to boiled and mashed maize and certain vegetables. According to Karston, this episode only lasts between 5 to 6 days or at as long as it takes the navel wound of the child to heal.

The female puberty ceremony is described in the response to question 4.1, however here it is again. "It is customary to veil the head of the girl at her menstruation. The veil prevents the evil spirits from attacking the head of the girl and from penetrating into her eyes, ears, nose, and month" (138)<sup>xi</sup>. According to the literature, the Chorote people believe that the young girl is most vulnerable when she is going through puberty and she needs protection (i.e. the veil).

**6.4 Other rituals:** Unable to find information on specific other rituals.

**6.5 Myths (Creation):**

Wilbert and Simoneau described the Cherote creation myth in their text. In the creation myth, the Cherote perceive that both the sun and the moon are creators (7). The Sun is the creator of all things old – livestock and non-domesticated animals. While the Moon is considered the creator of all things new – plants, rivers, and soil. According to the myth, constellations are believed to be the children who in primordial times went to the sky because of maternal neglect. As the legend goes, the Morning Star descends to earth and, "once Moon created the earth by compacting the dust with his spittle, Morning Star descended on a rope from the sky. She fertilized herself by placing earth in her vagina and in successive pregnancies gave birth to a son and a daughter' (7)." The offspring eventually led to the creation of the Chorote people.

Legends also tell of two great natural disasters that nearly killed the Cherote people. One, a great flood covered the earth and the Cherote people almost perished but they were rescued by an avian creature who carried them to safety. The second disaster is referred to as the Great Fire. To survive, the Cherote people dug a great hole in the earth and waited until the Great Fire extinguished itself. As the survivors climbed out of their hole, they were changed into various forms of animals (8).

Cherote folklore also tells of the hero Carancho, who helped tame fire to be used for the Cherote people. Originally fire belonged to a few animals (the Anaconda, Rabbit, Partridge, Woodpecker, and Sparrow Hawk). One cold winter, Carancho stole fire and brought it to the masses to keep them warm. He taught them how to use it, how to start it, and how to put it out (9).

There are two legends surrounding the domestication of manioc. The first tells the story of a shaman who was visited by Moon, who offered the hungry shaman a variety of wild, untamed foods. As the shaman ate, Moon shared with him the secrets behind each plant and how to grow it and how to harvest it. Identified as the armadillo spirit, he departed Moon's company and went to the Cherote people to share his knowledge. However, the Cherote people were disinterested due to the amount of physical labor necessary to grow and harvest such crops. Instead, they listened to the fox spirit, who was more interested in eating than sowing his seeds of grain. The armadillo grew silent, finally giving up on sharing his knowledge. Eventually, the Cherote people were made hungry by their lack of foods and turned to the fox for a fix to their hunger. As he was unable to relieve their hunger and the armadillo spirit had went underground in a burrow, the people turned to the pigeon spirit for aid. The pigeon spirit was carried grain from far away places and delivered it to the people. In this first story, the pigeon is credited with having brought the seeds of manioc from the sky and saving the people (10-11).

The second tale tells of a demon named Thlamo, who wanting to make the Cherote people suffer for their piousness instructed a shaman to plant a seed from the a faraway land in the east. The shaman believing the seed to be one to help feed his people quickly planted it. However, the seed grew to be bitter manioc and poisonous for the Cherote people. Unbeknownst to Thlamo, the shaman was able to discover a harvest technique that made the bitter manioc edible (11).

**6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):** Unable to find specific information.

**6.7 Sex differences in RCR:** Unable to find specific information.

**6.8 Missionary effect:** Unable to find information.

**6.9 RCR revival:** Unable to find specific information.

**6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:**

When a Chorote dies, they are still allowed of speaking of the person. They have no concept of an underworld or an afterlife except what missionaries told them many years ago (they didn't believe the missionaries) (189-190).

**6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?** It is not taboo to name a dead person or to speak of them in the Chorote culture (189).

**6.12 Is there teknonymy?**

I was unable to find any mention of teknonymy, which leads me to believe that it doesn't occur in Chorote society.

**6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)**

The Chorote people are still very much firm believers in magic and in the ability of spirits (animism) to impact our world (7).

## 7. Adornment

**7.1 Body paint:** Unable to find information.

**7.2 Piercings:** Unable to find information.

**7.3 Haircut:** Both sexes have black hair. Men wear their hair long, while women grow their hair out too. Unless the woman just went through a ritual ceremony, when her hair is then shaved (Karston 138).

**7.4 Scarification:** Unable to find information

**7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):** Unable to find information

**7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:** Unable to find information.

**7.7 Sex differences in adornment:** Unable to find information.

**7.8 Missionary effect:** Unable to find information.

**7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:** Unable to find information.

## 8. Kinship systems

**8.1 Sibling classification system:** Unable to find information.

**8.2 Sororate, levirate:** Within the Chorote culture, there were no examples given of Sororate and levirate relations and I was unable to find any other information to contradict it.

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

Unable to find information to answer this question

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

**9.1 Infanticide:** According to Helsingfors (50), a unique characteristic of Chorote culture is the prevalence of infanticide. Due to a numerical disproportion between the sexes, their mothers and fathers to help restore the balance between the two sexes often kill male infants. Also, their parents due to superstitions would also kill any twins or deformed or special needs children. In Chorote culture, females are more valued and more appreciated than male children.

## Endnotes

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i Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.), 2013. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Seventeenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

ii Wilbert, Johannes, and Karin Simoneau. *Folk Literature of the Chorote Indians*. Los Angeles: University of California Latin American Center Publications, 1985. 1, 2, 7, 10-11, Print.

iii Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.), 2013. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Seventeenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

iv Manelis Klein, Harriet. "Current Status of Argentine Indigenous Languages." Trans. Array *South American Indian Languages: Retrospect and Prospect*. First Edition. Austin, Texas: University of Texas, Austin Press, 1985. 691, 705. Print.

v Manelis Klein, Harriet, and Louisa Stark. "Indian Languages of the Paraguayan Chaco." Trans. Array *South American Indian Languages: Retrospect and Prospect*. . . First Edition. Austin, Texas, Austin Press, 1985, Print.

vi Karsten, Rafael. *Indian Tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco: Ethnological Studies*. Helsingfors: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1932. 2, 28, 32-34, 41, 44, 49, 53, 56, 62-63, 71, 74, 189-190. Print.

vii Key, Mary Ritchie. *The grouping of South American Indian languages*. 1979. 114-115, 123. Print.

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