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1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: The Trumai people are farmers who trade with other groups. They are having more contact with the white Brazilians, so many speak Portuguese (1). The languages spoken by these other groups belong to the four major stocks of Brazilian languages: Tupi, Arawak, Cariban, and Ge. The Trumai language does not belong to any of these stocks nor to other small Brazilian linguistic families. Genetically speaking, Trumai is considered an isolate language (2).

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

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): The Trumai people live in the Xingu reserve, in the central area of Brazil. The reserve can be subdivided into two big areas, upper and lower Xingu. The Trumai people live mainly in three villages in the reserve: Terra Preta, Boa Esperança, and Steinen. There are also Trumai families living in other places inside the reserve, and in the towns of Canarana and Vera, cities close to the Xingu reserve (2).

1.4 Brief history: Although the linguistic affiliations of the other upper Xingu peoples indicate their origins to be in the north, all available evidence points to a migration of the Trumai from the southeast. The Trumai people live mainly in three villages in the reserve: Terra Preta, Boa Esperança, and Steinen. There are also Trumai families living in other places inside the reserve, and in the towns of Canarana and Vera, cities close to the Xingu reserve. In the last few years, access to the cities close to the reserve became easier, and as a consequence trips to these cities have become more and more frequent. The intensified contact with life in the cities is producing many changes in the Xingu reserve, such as the introduction of western clothes, radio, TV, industrialized food, etc. The use of the Portuguese language is also becoming heavier. Eventually, these changes will have serious effects on the culture of the groups of the reserve (2).

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: The Trumai are officially recognized and protected by the Brazilian government. The area is administrated by the federal organization named FUNAI, Fundação Nacional do Índio, which deals with issues related to indigenous people in the entire country (2).

1.6 Ecology: The Trumai use their land to grow many different vegetables. The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement (1).

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: Trumai population has a little more than 100 individuals (2).

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Manioc, pioui fruit, squash, beiju, Guava (1).

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Fish, beans, insects, "A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns was roasted and eaten" (1).

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?

Bow and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumai got their bows in trade from the Kamayura, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as patacy. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. Spears were not used often, although the Trumai made them (1).

2.4 Food storage: None found

2.5 Sexual division of production: Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning, most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, and other diversions, each mans plans for the day were determined in part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what he felt like doing. However, there was much less seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make beiju, weave, cook, and care for their households-the ordinary female chores, whatever the month (1).

2.6 Land tenure: None found.

2.7 Ceramics: All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with Arawakan Waura, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumai manufacture was the ja'meo, a crude clay griddle on which the beiju was baked (1).

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: All of the people of a household frequently ate at the same time, but the whole village seldom ate simultaneously. Meals involved little formality, and the Trumai man often ate in his hammock between naps. If fishing was in order, the fisherman ate before and after their trip and also took food with them (1).

2.9 Food taboos: At certain times and for certain reasons, certain foods were forbidden to the father, one being seasoned fish hash, it is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos (1).

2.10 Canoes/watercraft: Yes, the standard bark canoe of the upper Xingu was made and used by the Trumai (1).

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): None found

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): None found

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): None found

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): None found

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): None found

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): None found.

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation or at the corresponding age level. Women are suitable prospects soon after puberty rises (1).

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: No exact proportion was given, but there is documentation of divorce. "Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they entailed little more than telling the wife to leave" (1).

- 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: Very little, all but one Trumai marriage was monogamous. The plural union consisted of Jakwanari and two sisters. In polygamous marriage it was preferable to take two sisters. However, even a sister might not be accepted by the first wife. Several attempts were made by some of the men, however, to take other eligible village women as a second wife. These efforts were all balked by the first wife, who ultimately decided whether her husband might have a second wife, and if so, who it would be (1).
- 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry? None found.
- 4.9 Inheritance patterns: None found.
- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: None found.
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: There is evidence of some same sex relationships, "Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males bantered with each other" (1).
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): Exogamy is allowed sometimes because the Truami are desperate to reproduce in hopes of saving their tribe from extinction. In some cases exogamy is the only way to ensure this (1).
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? There is no evidence that they believe in partible paternity (1).
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows") None found.
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? None found.
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: None found.
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)
The most acceptable marriage union was between cross-cousins (1).
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? Only before marriage, after marriage, an intention of marriage did not secure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may have been receiving attention from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated (1).
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: In order to gain the favor of her kinship, the males would distribute gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the women, or as the Trumai phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given to the girl, culminating with a present or fish. In the meantime the girl makes an especially fine hammock which she gives to the groom (1).
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? The father, or other family members. The responsibility of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumai showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the mother and father was stronger than upon the rest of the household (1).
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: None found.
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades: None found.

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older) None found.

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? Yes, the strongest prohibited a man from speaking the name of his parents-in-law or being in their presence. Thus a man would not enter a house in which his father-in-law was visiting or join the men's circle if he was there. Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name (1).

4.24 Joking relationships? Patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. The Trumai found great amusement in minor accidents that befell others and in humorous gossip, without regard to kinship (1).

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or association: None found.

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: Parallel cousins were not acceptable mates, nor were their children or the children of siblings. They were often seen as "bad" if they went against these norms (1).

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? No, the actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the women moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held the trade game (1).

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? The avoidance of a father-in-law's name was so strict that a Trumai man could not mention his own son's second name, because it was inherited from his wife's father. If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's name by calling him delta a'o (sister's son's father) in the case of a sister's husband, or apat'awe (child's mother's brother), if he was the wife's brother. One often got different names due to the respect of the name avoidance (1).

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) To be in the community is preferred, but for some cases outside the community may be permitted. There were only 18 individuals left in 1952. In order to recover, Trumai individuals started marrying people from other tribes to help increase their population (3).

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants (1).

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: Most of the Trumai women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle (1).

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: None found.

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: The upper Xingu people were not always passive towards the Suya. A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the Kamayura, Mehinaku, Wuara and the Trumai. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suya village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an intertribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others (1).

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: None found

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingu Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities (1).

4.18 Cannibalism? None found.

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: The population is a little over 100 people, who are spread out among four villages (2).

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): None found.

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): At the top the top of the Trumai prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much prestige. The status of old men was very low, except when they had a special knowledge or office. Prestige variations on the whole, were not great in the Trumai village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another (1).

5.4 Post marital residence: The woman moves into the house of her mate (1).

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingu villages, there was a considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation (1).

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): The men have a men's circle in which prohibits females (1).

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: Patterned and expected joking existed only between the kin of cross-cousins (1).

5.8 Village and house organization: Close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsman were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineal related males to live together, but this did not result in the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, woman, and children was still the basic unit of Trumai society and economy (1).

5.9 Specialized village structures (men's houses): The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined the group, and they never participated in any of its activities (1).

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? Yes hammocks had some significance depending where they were placed; bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post (1).

- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: The men had the men's circle in which they gathered at night generally lasting from sundown until nine o'clock. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed solidarity when the need arose (1).
- 5.12 Trade: Yes, the Trumai traded among themselves, but the most important of tribal specialization became significant to the economy. The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingu tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of specialized products (1).
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? Aek, the Trumai word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as camara, a term which, according to Galvao, probably diffused into a region from rural Brazil, where workers are called camaradas. The significance of being aek had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the aek-camara division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely with prestige (1).

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR: None found.

- 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): The word okei, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus okei of various kinds were used in different stages of life crisis rituals and also in treatment for various ailments. Illness was treated by individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as jau'kath, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tabacoo smoke and sucking. Great clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized (1).
- 6.2 Stimulants: Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction (1).
- 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a ja'meo were buried with both male and female deceased (1).
- 6.4 Other rituals: In the Trumai village no ritual was more important or consumed more than the ole (manioc) ceremony. Its purpose was essentially to insure an abundant manioc crop, and much of the symbolism involved was clearly oriented around the concept of fertility. The supernatural techniques that were employed were practiced almost daily from the middle of August to the end of September. It usually lasted for three weeks and consisted of little except song and dances. One of the more important parts of the ole ceremony was the complex of activities surrounding the ole posts. A few days after the ceremony began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village with shouts and singing, finally placing their burdens upright in holes. The children helped by packing dirt around them. The women then smeared red urucu dye on the bases of the poles just below the upper ends (1).

6.5 Myths (Creation): Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft, and secondarily, by breaking a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach, and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment (1).

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): The Trumai males often played games with one another. One of the most common would be wrestling matches, this was always done in the men's circle. The men's circle was also the place the shaman practiced his art. Body painting was a very prominent. Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines and combination of these, many of these were symbolic (1).

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: Men and women often had different tasks. For example, it was only the men who danced and sung in the ole ceremony. The women and children play roles in these rituals, but they are not the same as the men (1).

6.8 Missionary effect: None found.

6.9 RCR revival: None found.

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: Waniani, the village of the afterworld, was located in the heavens. In order to get there one had to travel to the Milky Way. This was the abode of Panther, and the road was lined with many panthers who inflicted dangerous wounds on the wayfarers. After passing through this gamut, the dead entered the Trumai village. Here many Trumai resided, and the rivers and lagoons teemed with kate fish. These were usually caught by poisoning, as the tawasi tree grew in abundance. There was no death in this afterworld; it was only on earth that death was feared, said the Trumai (1).

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? None found.

6.12 Is there teknonymy? None found.

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) The Trumai were certainly not preoccupied with the supernatural. Quain makes no mention of spirit owners of animal, plant and fish species. Magic, except for sorcery, was not observed by Quain, unless shamanic curing is considered a magical practice, the Trumai was little influenced by extra-corporeal forces and personages. The deities were nearly all culture heroes and creators, who did their work in the dim past of the grandfathers of all the Trumai. The chief creator deities are Sun and Wamutsini. The story they believe is as follows: In the beginning there was only Wamutsini. His origin explained, and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the Milky Way, and gave birth to Sun, and Moon; but whether Panther begot them is not known. In the region of the abandoned village of Morena there was a semicircular bay in which Wamutsini decided to take a bath. He did not tell Sun of this place, as he was angry with him, and Sun, apparently in retaliation, told Crow to bring water, from which the rivers were formed (1).

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: The Trumai used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red urucu which was grown in the gardens. Other body paints were tavariri, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from piqui fruit and fish oil. The women painted themselves much less often, and their patterns were far simpler. Blackened foreheads and black streaks on the thighs were most common. Children also had their bodies painted. Some of the boys blackened their faces or had black dots put on their chests (1).

7.2 Piercings: None found.

7.3 Haircut: The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked. They women were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders (1).

7.4 Scarification: None found.

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): Except for ornaments men and women were completely in the nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks (1).

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: Necklaces which were worn in ceremonies were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces (1).

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Some of the women still had a fig leaf, probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes (1).

7.8 Missionary effect: None found.

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: None found.

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: Everyone within the Trumai village classified everyone else by a term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumai, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper contexts (1).

8.2 Sororate, levirate: One case of sororate has been documented and that is the case of Jakwanari and two sisters (1).

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): None found.

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

Numbered references

1. Murphy, Robert F., and Buell H. Quain. *The Trumai Indians of Central Brazil*. Locust Valley, NY: J.J. Augustin, 1955. Print
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