

## 1. Description

### 1.1 Name of society, language, and language family

The Aché are a tribe of the Tupí-Guaraní language family. They were referred to as the Guayaki pre-1960s until they were contacted and whites learned that they identify themselves as 'Aché'. (1, p. 41)

### 1.2 Location:

The Aché are located in eastern Paraguay, specifically the Eastern Brazilian Highlands. This area includes territory from the Ñacunday River and the Yvytyruzu foothills in the south to the Mbaracayu range in the north. (1, pg. 42)

### 1.3 Brief history:

The Aché were first discovered by Jesuit Missionaries in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. From this point up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, missionaries have pursued the Aché in order to convert them to Christianity. The Aché were more difficult to convert because they were not stationary horticulturists like the neighboring Guarani tribes. The Jesuit pursuit of the Aché often resulted in hostile interaction and shaped the way the Aché viewed the outsiders. (5, pg. 436)

Peaceful contact with each Aché group was finally realized between 1959 and 1979. Much of the southern Aché populations were wiped out due to previous contact however, leaving the Northern Aché as the primary representative of flourishing Aché society.

In 1970, around half of the Aché were pressured to move a reservation by the Paraguayan government. This dramatically altered cultural traditions and behaviors by changing their environmental fitness costs and benefits.

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

In pre-contact times, the Aché were not influenced by their Guarani neighbors. Contact with them was limited and hostile. Other than decimating southern populations, missionaries found it difficult to crack the Aché and convert them to Christianity. Jesuits pursued the Aché but mostly scared them and created negative feelings towards whites.

The government of Paraguay found higher rates of success when reaching out to the Aché using neighboring Yvytyruzu Indians, and in some cases, members of the Yvytyruzu knew members of the Northern Aché bands. (1, pg. 57) The Paraguayan government used these relationships to pacify the Aché into moving to the Cerro Moroti reservation.

### 1.5 Ecology:

The Aché home range is flat neotropical forest on old sedimentary soils, broken up by small patches of grassland, cerrado, swamp, and caatinga. (1, pg 61) About 80% of the area consists of mature forest, the preferred habitat of the Aché. Elevation ranges from 100 to 300 meters through most of the range, and mean yearly rainfall is about 1800 mm. Rainfall between October and February is about 3 times as high as between May and September. Seasonality is consistently marked by both temperature and rainfall, with mean daily high temperature about 35 degrees in January and mean lows about 10 degrees in July. Subfreezing temperatures occur several nights each year. The Aché range is webbed with numerous streams and small rivers, none of which is more than 20 meters wide. Forests produce valuable hardwoods but have lower species diversity than most Amazonian sites. Large emergent trees reach 1.5 meters in diameter and 35 meters in height. Fruits are abundant in the warm wet season, and oranges brought from early explorers thrive and spread in the environment. Vertebrate abundance and diversity is also lower in Paraguay than most Amazonian sites but armadillos, pacas, and Cebus monkeys are found at high densities throughout the Aché range and are important game animals. (8, pg. 105)

## 2. Economy

### 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

The Aché extract honey, palm hearts and starch. Palm starch is the most vital carbohydrate in the Aché diet. Women will cut a palm hole into the palm trunk then pound the fiber out of the tree. The fiber is then added to water and used as a cooking agent for meats and insect larvae. Seasonal fruits are also harvested, but they constitute a very small percentage of the Aché diet.

22% of the diet is made up of palm starch, palm hearts, insect larva and fruits. (5, pg. 102) Women obtain the majority of these calories. Palm products may have been more important in the pre-contact diet. The total caloric content of the diet sums to over 3500 calories daily per capita, making the Aché one of the best-fed groups of foragers studied.

### 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

Animal protein constituted 78 percent of Aché diet. (5, pg. 101) Game species included nine-banded armadillo, capuchin monkey, white-lipped peccary, paca, coati, brocket deer, collared peccary, which made up over 90% of the game biomass killed, and more than half the game biomass is killed by hand. (5, pg 101)

### 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

The men use long, 2-meter bows with 1.5 meter arrows. They also carry long clubs. (1, pg. 45)

### 2.4 Food storage:

Beeswax-covered woven water containers, palm-leaf baskets, clay pots. (1, pg. 42)

### 2.5 Sexual division of production:

Men hunted and extracted honey, whereas women moved camp, collected plant and insect products, and took care of children. Child-rearing in a dangerous forest environment shifted time allocation away from subsistence activities for women. Men and women both were responsible for the producing tools that each used, although women manufactured the bowstring used by men. (2, pg 72) Men built huts when necessary, but both sexes were involved in food preparation and butchering. Women and men were not tabooed from touching or using each others' tools, and about 3 percent of the adult men took on a female economic role and acted like females in social interactions. Men were in charge of a few ritual activities that involved the Aché. Members of both sexes are present at the birth of infants, and the two sexes interact freely and without tension both publicly and privately. (2, pg. 184)

### 2.6 Land tenure:

The four Aché groups roamed freely, and set up new camps daily. Sometimes they would linger in an area for more than a few days but never more than a week because length of stay was dependent on the amount of game and palm left in the area. They possessed core areas of activity, but they often overlapped in places, and the Aché had little sense of territoriality. Campsites were generally located in areas of good palm populations that could be harvested for fiber. (4, pg. 84)

### 2.7 Ceramics:

Unlike nearby Tupi-Guarani tribes, the Aché were not horticulturalists and did not develop advanced pottery. They relied on Beeswax-covered woven water containers, palm-leaf baskets and clay pots. (1, pg. 42)

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

The strength of the hunter is said to be transferred through the arrow and spear. If a hunter eats his own kill, it is essentially like eating his own blood. The taboo necessitates that food is shared. The whole Aché culture is based around this one important rule. It is the fundamental law of their society and a powerful motivator because eating one's own kill will bring bad luck and an inability to hunt again. So when a hunter kills, he must share it, and in turn expects that other successful hunters might share with him. (3, pg. 168-70)

Although about 75% of all food consumed in an Aché band is acquired by a person outside the consumers nuclear family, different resources are not all shared to the same extent (8, pg 123). Game items are shared most, with more than 90% of the meat a hunter acquires being consumed by individuals not in his immediate family. Honey is shared somewhat less, and pkant and insect foods least (10, pg. 223).

### 2.9 Food taboos:

Clastres puts it best when he writes "*hunters par excellence*". They observe "a food taboo which dictates that a hunter cannot eat his own take from the hunt. Neither he nor his parents are allowed to eat the meat he brings into camp..."

If a hunter were to eat his own kill "he would have bad luck in hunting", a condition known as *pane*:

*"This is the worst thing that can happen to a Guayaki, since to be pane is to be incapable of feeding one's family, of giving to others, and therefore, of receiving. It is consequently to be incapable of feeding oneself. The fear of pane is a veritable anguish, and one scrupulously avoids taking any risk that might cause it. On the contrary, the Guayaki unceasingly dwell, as if to ward off that always possible evil, on their hunting exploits, on their pana (which means pane-ia, "bad luck not"). For a woman, the ideal husband is a pana man, and every young boy aspires to become a great hunter, a pana, a man of good luck...."* (2, 168-170)

### 2.10 Canoes/watercraft? Not available / No evidence found.

### 3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): Male = 5'3" Female = 5'0" (1, pg. 241)

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): Male = 65kg Female = 53kg (1, pg. 372 and chart on pg 242)

### 4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f):

15.3 years (1, pg. 224)

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

Female mean = 19.5 years. (1, pg. 254)

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

A sample of 27 women over age 45 suggests an average completed family size to be 8.15 offspring. (1, pg. 253)

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

The mean inter-birth-interval is 37.6 months, the median and mode is 36 months. (1, pg. 254)

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

Male first marriage averages at 20.2 years of age. Female first marriage averages at 14 years of age. (2, pg. 232)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

The forest Aché have a 61 percent divorce rate, while those living on reservations experience, on average, a 26 percent rate. (1, pg. 238)

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

4% of men engaged in polygynous marriages, but males never had more than two wives at a time.

4.8 Arranged marriage, bride purchase/service, dowry:

The Aché have no marriage or divorce ceremony. Partners are free to choose each other with little influence from parents or the group. (2,

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

Inheritance is not a tangible custom because titles or positions in Aché society are not formal and therefore cannot be inherited. Additionally, the Aché possess an intense value of food sharing, the generosity of which acts as a central tenant in to almost every other aspect of Aché life, so personal property inheritance is nonexistent. (2, pg. 170)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

Children who were upset were encouraged to hit their elders in frustration so that they could laugh at the child's futility and he may become ashamed of his actions. Otherwise, children were conditioned to not openly display hostility.

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

Clastres describes Klembergi, a who existed outside of his social order (2, pg. 296). His account ties traditional characteristics of Aché culture to the transvestite's behavior (including sexual relations with his own brothers) His sexual relationship with kin contributed most to his social isolation because incest was forbidden. But the behavior is likely ad hoc rather than traditional because a closely related band of Aché indicated absolutely no knowledge of transvestites. Clastres describes Klembergi as a well-adjusted male basket carrier / gatherer. However Clastres also spoke of Klembergi's exclusion, describing him as an unconscious invert (2, pg. 109) and telling of how he never sang with the group. (2, pg. 116) Three percent of the adult men took on a female economic role and acted like females in social interactions.

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

There were no prescribed marriage partners. Parents, siblings, first cousins and god parents are not allowed to marry (1, pg 227)  
In this way the Aché practiced out breeding, a possible fitness benefit to offspring who would likely be spared defective genes.

#### 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized?

The Aché believe fetuses are a composite product of several different men with whom the mother had sexual relations. Other fathers ARE recognized...Aché have a word, miare, for "the father who put it in"; peroare, for "the men who mixed it"; momboare, for "the ones who spilled it out"; and bykuare, for "the fathers who provided the child's essence." Men who provided the mother with meat while the baby was forming are seen as especially likely to have given the child its essence. In addition to the mother's husband, who is the socially designated father, a baby can be born with additional, secondary, fathers, who share some obligation to support this child as he or she matures. (1, pg. 442-444)

#### 4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows")

Yes, the woman is considered a receptacle, but some cases indicate a belief that the menstrual blood that ceases to flow from a pregnant woman is instead flowing to help form the baby. In this instance, the woman is believed to be contributing fluids to in combination with the male sperm.

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

Yes. Takes multiple, repeated applications of semen to produce a baby from multiple father.

#### 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

Wife-beating occurs regularly, as do extra-marital affairs. No evidence of rape found. (1, pg. 423)

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

The Aché, particularly young Aché, engage in frequent wife switching. (1, pg. 77). So marriage is not a sacred institution. Mate preference is largely determined by both male and female personal preference. Status of individual may play into the equation, just as physical appearance or group pressure.

#### 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

Females possessed a lot a freedom of choice in sexual matters. When asked what they would want in a man, they were very choosy, giggled and said they desired a man who is handsome and kind. (1, pg. 228)  
Females were not beholden to a man in marriage. Besides the activities in which she must participate to engage in partible paternity, she can also consider marriage as a trial marriage and break it off the next day. So her ability to select her marriage and sexual partners is as free as men. (1, pg. 227) Additionally, interviews of Aché women revealed they were quite choosy in picking mates. (1, pg. 228)

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

Gift giving is an important part of courtship. Often food is exchanges to show affection. (1, pg 226)

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

Partible paternity allows for secondary father or godfathers to take responsibility for child-rearing if the social father dies. These secondary father play a vital role in caring for a child if the primary father dies. This is a major fitness benefit in favor of partible paternity for child survival rates. (1, pg. 249)

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

1.25 males per female ever born. (1, pg 440) This is because 70% of males survive to age 15 while on 60% of females survive to that point. Aché, adult mortality risk for males is 1.47 times that for females. Much of the excess male mortality appears to be related to risky behavioral strategies to gain status and resources; 36% of all adult male deaths were due to coalitional warfare and 8% resulted from status-oriented club fights (1, pg. 166-168)

#### 4.22 Evidence for couvades

No evidence.

#### 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

Secondary father are not the socially designated father, but share some obligation for raising the child and especially so in the absence of the socially designated father. The wife has some privilege of selection with the secondary fathers and which ones she will choose to recognize as such.

#### 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

No evidence.

#### 4.24 Joking relationships? Yes, see 5.7 “friendship relationships / joking”

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

#### 4.26 Incest avoidance rules

It is culturally forbidden to marry parents, or close kin. Sex with them is also forbidden.

#### 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? No.

#### 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

At birth an Aché child is given the name of an animal that the mother had cooked and eaten during pregnancy and usually one that is large, rare, or in sudden abundance. (11, pg. 1)

Mothers name their children after animals that they ate during pregnancy. Many times women will change their mind safter a few weeks and rename the child. (1, pg. 252) Men may earn names based on their hunting prowess as well.

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

### **Warfare/homicide**

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

External warfare was the single most important cause of adult mortality before peaceful contact. Aché were killed on sight by Guaraní Indians and Paraguayan peasants until the mid-twentieth century. Many children were captured and sold as slaves. Aché men, in turn, killed as many outsiders as possible, shooting them with arrows when they were encountered. Within Aché groups, shooting other individuals was strictly prohibited and only happened once in the last century.

#### 4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

Club fights between men, however, were common and occasionally led to death. These fights were organized when an important individual died or was captured by enemies, when rival bands met accidentally in the forest, when men were caught in sexual affairs with other men's wives, and sometimes just because the powerful men of the group wanted to fight. Club fights did not pit one band against another, but instead rapidly degenerated into contests between individuals, with allies and kin backing them up. Older men were particularly feared, and newly initiated men in their teens and twenties were most apprehensive about fighting.

#### 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

Infanticide and child homicide were common before contact, claiming the life of about one out of every ten children born. Parents would kill defective children, twins, or those born after a short birth spacing. Unrelated individuals often killed the children of men who died soon after the father expired. It was common to sacrifice girls ritually so that they would accompany important older men to the grave.

“War serves to maintain each community’s political independence. As long as there is war, there is autonomy: this is why war cannot cease, why it must not cease, why it is permanent.” – Clastres

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

The Aché had only sporadic and hostile interactions with neighboring horticultural Guaraní Indians with occasional raiding of manioc fields. (1, pg. 42)

## 5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

### 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

The Aché resided in about 10 -15 different bands whose membership was highly fluid. A band was typically made up of 15 – 60 individuals. Bands fissioned and fused with other bands regularly. The nomadic and amorphous nature of the basic Aché group makes it hard to determine a mean. (Hill, 2002)

### 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

Seasonality seems to affect survival rate of infants, and the Aché are cognizant of this, but mobility is not affected. (1, pg 60). Additionally, diet is affected as well as time allocation for women depending on what plants and fruits are in season (8, pg. 110)

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

There were no true leaders or class distinctions. Each band, however, did contain one or two males 40 to 60 years of age who were recognized as "having the band." Two or three men in their 50s and 60s organized most of the club fights and ritual events in the last twenty years before contact.

Among indigenous Amazonian peoples, a leader does not exercise power over others. Leadership is rather a matter of technical competence in various areas such as oratorical talent, expertise as a hunter, ability to coordinate martial activities as well as the power of winning influence through gift-giving and generosity. Clastres writes that "the chief has no authority at his disposal, no power of coercion, no means of giving an order. The chief is not a commander: the people of the tribe are under no obligation to obey." Should a leader overstep these bounds, he may be violently removed, murdered, or abandoned to die alone in battle.

### 5.4 Post marital residence:

Postmarital residence in the Aché is usually matrilocal, though deviation from this is common. For instance, marriage between young couples or if the husband is young tend to result in matrilocal residence. Older couples tend to exhibit bilocal patterns, and if the male is significantly older or powerful, post marital residence is likely patrilocal. The Aché overall, however can be considered matrilocal. (1, pg. 226-235).

### 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

Any individual or group outside the Aché population block were considered enemies and were to be shot on site (6, pg. 112) But territoriality wasn't a concept because of the nomadic nature of the Aché.

### 5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):

### 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

The Aché in general are described to be a happy-go-lucky people with a tendency to make physical touching a normal part of social interaction. Interactions between adolescent and adult men are usually relaxed and heavily embedded with joking and physical intimacy. Joking is a large part of social interaction, and it is often off-color sexual humor. (1, pg. xii).

### 5.8 Village and house organization:

### 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

Small huts are made only when rain is imminent. These consist of four corner posts, two crossbeams, and a few dozen palm leaves laid flat across the crossbeams to shelter occupants from the worst of the rain.

### 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

The Aché typically sleep on the bare dirt floor, usually by a fire. (1, pg. 477)

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

The Aché did not recognize lineages or hereditary patterns much outside immediate kin. The bands of Aché constantly mix, merge and split as they forage as well, so bonds formed in bands are not generationally entrenched.

### 5.12 Trade:

The Aché traditionally do not trade because the infrequent contact with outsiders were mostly combat engagements. Also, as forest foragers, they were subsistent and had very little material worth trading. There was no trade or peaceful interaction with others. (1, pg. 100)

### 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

One or two powerful men were often referred to as leaders of a band in the sense that they might more emphatically exercise their will on decisions important to them. Nevertheless band decisions that we have observed include input from most adult members of both sexes. Individuals who care most about a particular outcome usually have the most influence in the final decision. Otherwise, hierarchies don't exist and the fittest usually rise to the top of society.

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

### 6 Time allocation to RCR:

Aché rituals are carried out on special life occasions such as puberty. Once every year or two, bands will meet to stage a ritualistic club fight where at least one man will likely die. But these rituals are not constantly carried out, so time allocation to ritual is minimal compared to activities like foraging.

### 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

There were no medical practitioners. Specialization existed mostly in division of labor between the sexes.

### 6.2 Stimulants:

Contemporary Aché smoke tobacco despite attempts of missionaries to limit their intake of drugs and alcohol. (1, pg. 7)

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

At birth, a man cuts the umbilical cord with the woman who cares for the newborn, and others tend to the child and mother by helping to wash. These helpers form the jary (god-parents) and remain in a close ritual relationship to the child and the parents throughout their lives. (11, pg 1)

Ceremonies marking the start and stages of puberty involve body scarification. During this time young men's lips are pierced and their bodies are scarred. Aché boys form a special relationship with the men that cut their lips. Between the ages of 14-18 young men are required to participate in clubfights. After the clubfights, women line up and the boys hit them while the women make crying noises. The men whom have killed another must be separated from the group and are given little food. (11, pg. 1)

When a girl reached menarche she was treated like a newborn child by being held, lifted, carried, massaged and washed by adults of both sexes. These adults took on a special relationship with the girl. If the girl had sexual intercourse prior to menarche (as most did) men who had sexual intercourse with the girl were also washed at this time. The girl was covered with woven mats and forced to lie or sit still for several days or weeks. The girl could not show her face to anyone and could only move in order to perform bodily functions. After this period, the girl underwent scarification and would receive cut lines on her back, legs, arms, buttocks, and stomach while holding the trunk of a felled palm and charcoal dust was rubbed into the cuts (1, pg 69).

### 6.4 Other rituals:

Often, when the most important individuals within the society died, they were buried with small children that were sacrificed. The average Aché person was buried in the ground and a small group hut was built on the ground over the grave (1, pg 157)

### 6.5 Myths (Creation):

The most important spiritual being in the Aché mythology is Berendy who has both a human and comet/meteor like form. Berendy gives animals their properties and abilities. Another spiritual being is Kre'i, who takes the form of shadows or wind and is involved in dreams and healing. Anjave is an evil spirit that hurts people and causes accident. These beings are possibly derived from Christian influences that reached the Aché by way of the Jesuits.

Kre'i was a shadow or gust of wind that could cure or help individuals in need. Second, Anjave was an evil spirit who often pushed people into the fire at night, knocked them out of trees, or generally caused harm to befall them. Finally, Berendy was a frightening spirit associated with meteors and falling stars, who could also take a human form. People are formed from the essence of the game that a mother eats while pregnant, and some part of the animals' spirits can linger in the spot where they died and cause harm to befall others. Myths fall into two categories: those that explain or are historical (origin of fire, origin of the moon, the flood myth, origin of

night, why animals escape humans, why the Aché live in the forest) and those that have a moral (the mean old woman, the stingy man).

(2, pg. 305)

#### 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

Individual singing traditionally was common, particularly in the late evening. Men and women sing about relatives, events on their mind, or hunting, often in an ad-lib fashion. The Aché did not dance, but body painting and ornamentation were very common.

#### 6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

The birth of a child introduces a series of lifelong obligations between the child, its parents, and those who take on ritual roles during the birth. The child's mother is helped during labor and later is ritually washed by some of the helpers. The child will be held immediately after birth by a "godmother" that is responsible for washing and caring for the infant during the first few days after birth while mother rests. The child and godmother adopt ritual terms for each other, and the child can expect food, help and support from its godmother throughout its life. A man cuts the umbilical cord of the child and becomes the "godfather" with similar lifelong obligations. Men who have provided the mother with game during her pregnancy also take on a ritual obligation to the child, and so do all the band members who hold the child and wash it soon after birth. The obligations through the life course are reciprocal such that the child is cared for by ritual "godparents" when young and later cares for them in turn when they become elderly. Both biological parents and all the ritual godparents retain lifetime obligations of mutual aid. (1, pg. 67)

#### 6.8 Missionary effect:

Southern populations of Aché severely dropped due to contact and disease. Missionaries found the Aché elusive and resistant to Christian conversion.

#### 6.9 RCR revival:

#### 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

The Northern Aché demonstrate very little belief in the afterlife. The afterlife is limited to their faith in spirits and that a deceased individual may come to haunt the area where they died, possibly for vengeance. The Aché burn the bodies of those they feel were evil, violently killed, or have some motivation to become an angry spirit. Burning the bodies is meant to mitigate confrontation with angry spirits. (2, pg. 229)

The Nacunday Aché may have a more developed concept of an afterlife, in which people could experience pleasant or unpleasant circumstances after death. Whether this is because of the influence of earlier contact with Jesuit missions is unknown.

#### 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

Unlike many groups, the Aché have no qualms about discussing the deceased, and while many will cry while discussing the deceased, many actually seem to be pleased to have the opportunity to recollect on the individual. (1, xvii, 89). The dead will crop up frequently in daily conversation. (1, pg 68)

#### 6.12 Is there teknonymy?

No, but the Aché may change their names according to various fixed stages of development.

### 7. Adornment

#### 7.1 Body paint: Yes, little found about it however.

#### 7.2 Piercings:

Men will have their lips pierced for a lip plug when they reach puberty. The adornment symbolizes their eligibility to participate in club fights. (Hill, 225)

#### 7.3 Haircut:

Men shave their head from the front to the middle of their heads and let the back grow out a little long. When women marry, they pluck their hairs so that they don't have any. (Hill, 46)

The Aché are known for their light skin, hair and eye color when compared to other Amazonian tribes. Also, they have abundant body hair, thick beards and are prone to male pattern baldness. (Hill 1996, 58)

#### 7.4 Scarification:

Girls who hit puberty were completely covered with woven mats and forced to lie and/or sit still for several days or weeks. The girl could not show her face to anyone and could only move in order to perform bodily functions. After this period, the girl underwent scarification and would receive cut lines on her back, legs, arms, buttocks, and stomach while holding the trunk of a felled palm and charcoal dust was rubbed into the cuts (1, pg 69).

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

The men wear long necklaces of animal teeth, which they use to make their weapons. The women adorn themselves with strings of fruit called aguai. (1, pg. 46)

#### 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

Their lower lip is perforated with a sharpened bone, and then a wooden labret is introduced. This adornment is worn only by younger men, but all men retain the perforation in their lip for life. After the lip-piercing ceremony, young men are cut and tattooed in the same fashion described for young women. The man who perforates their lip becomes a ritual godfather.

When a girl reaches menarche she is held in the lap by adults in a ritual similar to that at birth. Women keep their hair cut short and wear seed and tooth necklaces as tribal ethnic identifiers.

#### 7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

Women keep their hair cut short and wear seed and tooth necklaces as tribal ethnic identifiers.

#### 7.8 Missionary effect:

#### 7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

### 8. Kinship systems

#### 8.1 Sibling classification system:

#### 8.2 Sororate, levirate:

N/A. Marriage is forbidden between siblings.

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

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

1. After the designated social father bears a child, he is thought to become immediately more attractive to animals, allowing opportunity for great hunting success or consequently death by predators. (11, pg. 1)

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