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“The Ava Guaraní/Chiripá”

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family:

Name of society: Ava Guaraní/Chiripá

Language: Proto-Tupi-Guarani

Dialect: Apapocuva. Similar to Paraguayan Guaraní

Language Family: Tupí-Guaraní

Alternate Names: Apytare, Ava, Chiripá, Tsiripá, Txiripá

The Ava Guaraní, or Guaraní as they are more commonly known are one of the ten indigenous languages belonging to the Proto-Tupi-Guaraní language tree constructed by Rodrigues (Key 1979, p. 78).

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

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

According to the website, www.ethnologue.com the Guaraní live in eastern Paraguay, Central, a region known as Canindeyu, Alto Paraná, Canindeyú, Alto Paraná, Caaguazú, Concepción, and Amambay departments. The Ava Guaraní are known as Chiripá in both Argentina and Brazil.

In Brazil, the Guaraní reside between 26° to 30° latitude and 45° to 58° longitudes according to maps provided by (Lewis, Simons and Fenning). Living in these southeast regions, an estimated 250 Guaraní live in Minas Gerais; 330 in Espírito Santo; 1,200 in Sao Paulo; and 560 in Rio de Janeiro (Gomes 2000, p. 257-258). In Paraguay, the Guaraní live between the 24° and 28° latitude and 54° and 56° longitudes (Lewis, Simons and Fenning). There was no demographic analysis per region or state within Paraguay available. The only figures found in the literature were pure estimates, the most reasonable appearing to be Reed's estimate of 17,000 Chiripá in eastern Paraguay (Reed, 1995, pg. 10).

1.4 Brief history:

The Ava Guaraní/Chiripá are remnants of what was once several different ethnic groups, but due to some event in their history whether it be the influx of Europeans, disease, fertility issues, etc. the group merged with other tribes in the area. The original Chiripá were Guaraní speakers whose lands stretched from the Paraguay River to the Atlantic Ocean (Reed, 1995, p. 10).

The Guaraní migrated out of the Amazon Basin onto the Paraná plateau early in their ethnic history; it is quite possible that this migration occurred in the very late of pre-historic times (Steward and Faron, 1959, pg. 289). The Guaraní quickly began after their arrival conquering neighboring tribes and taking their lands (Beierle and Reed, eHRAF). This expansion of territory brought Guaraní into direct conflict with the occupants of these new areas and earned the Guaraní a reputation as bellicose conquerors.

Their migration out of the Amazon Basin and onto the Paraná plateau and the two other migrations that followed are both attributed to their search for the land without evil (see 9.2) (Steward and Faron, 1959, pg. 289).

When the Europeans' arrived, they would have found an Ava Guaraní/Chiripá ethnic group totaling almost 4 million (Viverios de Castro, 1992, p. 24) living in small to medium size communities throughout the coastal region (Beierle and Reed, eHRAF). Inaugural contact with the colonists was amicable, but relations quickly degenerated as the Spanish began to force the Ava Guaraní/Chiripá into

labor and missions. For those who didn't die from the intensive labor or disease, many Chiripá escaped the colonial conquest by escaping into the forests (Beierle and Reed, eHRAF).

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

Like many indigenous populations, the influence of Jesuit missionaries was not a good one on the Chiripá people. As the Spanish continued to pour into the region for precious resources like timber, oil, and rubber, the Chiripá were pushed aside.

Looking at more recent influence of government, there was an era of about ten years when the Guaraní language was forbidden to be spoken in public by a dictator named Alfred Stroessner Matiauda. During this era, the Chiripá people and the Guaraní struggled immensely in preserving tradition. Today the Chiripá are still waiting on a formal apology from the governments of Paraguay and Brazil for the taking of formal tribal lands, the deaths of thousands of their ancestors in work camps and missions. They would also like a pledge from the government promising to help and support their cause of preserving their traditions (Setti, Ines, and Roberto Zibel Castro, 1992, pg. 93).

1.6 Ecology:

Unable to find specific information on the ecology of the region in which the Guaraní live.

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

1.7a. Population Size

Living in these southeast regions of Brazil are an estimated: 250 Guaraní live in Minas Gerais; 330 in Espírito Santo; 1,200 in Sao Paulo; and 560 in Rio de Janeiro (Gomes 2000, p. 2257-258). On the other side of the Paraguay and Brazilian border, there is an estimated 17,000 Chiripá in eastern Paraguay (Reed, 1995, pg. 10).

1.7b. Mean Village Size

"In this traditional village, Pico de Jaragua, there are five main buildings used for housing. Some are multi-family and some are single family" (Setti, Ines, and Roberto Zibel Castro, 1992, pg. 71). This particular village is made up of the direct descendents of one couple, Joaquim and Jandira. A British family raised Joaquim, after becoming separated from his Chiripá family at an early age. He met Jandira when he returned to her village, Aguapeu. Each of the five houses is occupied by the couple's children and their spouses (Setti, Ines, and Roberto Zibel Castro, 1992, pg. 78).

In true aboriginal Guaraní villages, there would be four to eight large long houses housing as many as sixty individuals in each home, all occupants would be related through the patrilineal line (Steward and Faron, 1959, pg. 331).

In true form, all structures have wooden walls and a thatched roof (Steward, 1946, pg. 179). This village lacks an Opy, or Guaraní praying house. Traditionally the center for religious and social life makes this village exceptional. This could be because of their proximity to Sao Paulo, a metropolitan area. Other anthropologists counter this because the village is so new and only includes the descendents of one family that no shaman has arrived to organize the building of the Opy. The shaman would often occupy the Opy and make it his residence (Setti, Ines, and Roberto Zibel Castro, 1992, pg. 80).

Pico de Jaragua also lacks the appropriate village square where the center of village life. This village also lacks the typical gardens of maize, tobacco, and beans (Setti, Ines, Roberto Zibel Castro, 1992, pg. 78). The lack of these plants suggests once again the proximity of Sao Paulo that the residents of Pico de Jaragua are not so traditional after all.

While this village is certainly lacking several things, it does offer the best vantage point on what a traditional Chiripá village today looks like. It is difficult to determine the exact mean size of villages today because so many Chiripá now live among non-Chiripá in cities and villages (similar to what happened to Joaquim). Perhaps what Setti, Ines, and Roberto Zibel Castro meant when they wrote that Pico de Jaragua was a traditional village was that it would instead demonstrate what features traditional

villages have. So to conclude, a traditional village would have multi-family housing and may have single-family housing, will also have an Opy, a village square, garden plots for maize, tobacco, and beans.

1.7c. Home Range Size

Depending on the size and the purpose of the hut, whether it is designed to be a multi-family or single family, the size greatly changes (Steward, 1946, pg. 179).

1.7d. Density

The density of each village differs based on the number of family units residing within the village. For example, the density of Pico de Jaragua is quite low due to the fact so few Chiripá live within the borders of the village.

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

The main carbohydrate staples of the Guaraní diet are maize/manioc, sweet potatoes, beans, and calabashes. They use maize/manioc as ingredients for cake, flour, and beer (Steward, 1946, pg. 179).

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

The main protein-lipid sources of the Guaraní diet is fish and when applicable the bodies of their slain foes (see 4.18 Cannibalism for additional information) (Steward, 1946, pg. 179).

2.3 Weapons: (i.e. Bow and arrow, blowguns):

The Guaraní are only known to have used two weapons, the bow and the arrow and clubs. The first reported sighting of Guaraní warriors using bow and arrows were made by two Spanish explorers, Oveido and Valdes. The duo published their findings of their four-year (1851-1855) expedition in the late 1870s (Steward, 1946, pg. 180).

2.4 Food storage:

There is no reference to food storage in any of the source material.

2.5 Sexual division of production:

For the Guaraní, there is little sexual division within food production. Both genders work alongside each other in the gardens. The men will clear the gardens of any trees or grass, the women will plant and harvest the crops of maize/manioc and calabashes. The men primarily hunt, fish, and do any sort of commercial food buying from the non- Guaraní stores. The women on the other hand will stay near the home village and tend to it, while also do domestic tasks like cooking and processing the game provided by the men.

The Guaraní will shift plots every two or three years, building into rotational cycles that move around the village. This is important to keep the nutrients in the soil.

Guaraní also trade in extensive networks with other indigenous groups. Europeans became integrated into these trading networks during conquest, when Guaraní traded forest goods for machetes, axes and salt. The Guaraní continue to trade in kin networks, as well as market commodities to buy clothes, food and equipment (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

2.6 Land tenure:

In the Guaraní culture there is little sense of property ownership, instead the land is to be shared amongst themselves and their kin. The only instances in the literature that gave clear examples of land tenure and ownership was when Bierle and Reed were describing a family's garden plot. "Guaraní do not recognize permanent tenure over individual plots of land; they recognize a person or group's right to control the fruits of their labor. A couple's garden is their property, but they have only use rights to the land on which they plant it" (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

2.7 Ceramics:

There is no reference to the use of ceramics by the Guaraní people in the source material.

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

There was no reference of prescribed or proscribed sharing patterns within the Guaraní culture. However it can be assumed that since they live in such large groups within their households that when one family makes something they often share it with the others within the group.

2.9 Food taboos:

There was no reference of prescribed or proscribed sharing patterns within the Guaraní culture.

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

The Guaraní are avid users of canoes for transportation and for hunting. They are still propelled today by long paddles that are hand crafted (Steward 1946, pg. 180).

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

There wasn't any mention of height in the source material for either sex.

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

There wasn't any mention of weight in the source material for either sex.

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f):

There was not a reference to the age of a female Guaraní's first menarche in the source material.

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

There was no reference to the age at first birth for either Guaraní men or women.

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

There was not a reference to completed family size within the source material.

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

There was not a reference to the inter-birth interval within the source material.

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

There was not a reference to the age of first marriage within the source material.

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

There was no reference to proportions of divorce in the source material but there were references to how easy or difficult a divorce would be for a Guaraní couple. For example, it is relatively easy for a couple to divorce. First, they must separate everything they may have shared together. This includes, but not limited to their hammock, their garden area, and their portion of the long house must be cleaned. Once that is completed, they are considered separated and divorced (Garson 2003, pg. 19).

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

The literature mentioned that post-Spanish arrival several Guaraní families became polygynous but that the practice has become outlawed by all of the shamans who said the practice was preventing them from finding the land without evil. The land without evil is a heaven like place that all Guaraní strive to reach, but to do so they must be free from evil spirits. For more information see 9.2 (Steward and Faron, 1959, pg. 333).

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

Son-in-law works for the daughter's father after marriage. Marriage is cemented with the establishment of their portion of the house, the couple's own garden plot, and children (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

4.9 *Inheritance patterns:*

They don't have property to inherit; as new families move into the wife's family's home and establish their own garden plot (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

4.10 *Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:*

Guaraní family units include a father, mother, and offspring. Each parent has tasks involving the parenting of the offspring (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

4.11 *Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:*

There is no reference of the homosexuality activities begin practiced within the Guaraní community or their attitude towards homosexuals in the source material.

4.12 *Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):*

Guaraní households are exogamous, meaning a man could not marry a woman within his own household but was allowed to marry a woman of another household within the same village (Steward and Faron, 1959, pg. 331).

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

The father will dream about a child, and will tell his wife about it; she will then become pregnant. If it is a boy, it is only made out of him. The child's soul had been wandering around and looking for somewhere to go. It is not always necessary to have intercourse. Sometimes if a child has died it can come back without the parents having intercourse (Garson 2003, pg. 41).

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

She is mostly just the carrier, but sometimes if the baby is a girl then it is made of her. If a woman passes by a certain plant, she can become pregnant. She prefers to have male children and no twins or sick children (Garson 2003, pg. 41).

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

The source material never really addresses this concept.

4.16 *Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape*

There is no reference to the occurrence of sexual coercion or rape within the source material.

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

There was at one time a preference for cross cousin marriages, but the more recent source material suggests this practice has been discontinued (Garson 2003, pg. 41).

4.18 *Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?*

For Guaraní women, there is little to no sexual freedom. While they are able to choose their mate, they experience little other freedom sexually. For example, if they were caught committing adultery then they are condemned to die (Ganson 2003, pg. 19).

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

There is no reference or evidence of giving gift to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring.

4.20 *If mother dies, whose raises children?*

If the mother dies, the maternal grandparents with assistance from the mother's sisters will raise the children. The father is dissolved of any responsibility towards the children (Garson 2003 pg. 75).

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

With uncertain population numbers it is hard to determine the adult sex ratio for the Guaraní.

4.22 *Evidence for couvades*

There is no reference to specific couvades in the source material.

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

There is no reference to the different distinctions that potential fathers may be given.

4.24 *Kin avoidance and respect?*

There is no reference to kin avoidance or kin respect within the source material. This could be due to the fact that in Guaraní culture, they do not know their heritage passed one or two generations (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

4.24 *Joking relationships?*

There is no reference as to any joking relationships with the Guaraní culture.

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

“In native times, interfamilial and personal ties were based on extended kinship through the patrilineal line. Today, actual kinship ties have been replaced by the Spanish ritual kinship bonds known as *compadrazgo*, or co-parenthood.” These co-parenthood bonds were established during the time of Spanish occupation (Steward and Faron 1959, pg. 333).

Bierele and Reed in eHRAF almost seem to contradict Steward and Faron when they say they believe that though organized by bilateral descent neither maternal nor paternal kin relations are emphasized or recognized (Bierele and Reed, eHRAF).

4.26 *Incest avoidance rules*

There was no reference made to instances of incest or rules prohibiting it in the source material.

4.27 *Is there a formal marriage ceremony?*

Guaraní do not recognize strict marriage prescriptions, but proscribe marriage with close kin, specifically the progeny of parents' siblings. Marriage is not an act or ceremony, but a process that begins tentatively and progresses slowly. A young man often joins his new partner in the home of her parents and is expected to help her male kin. In the longer term, the permanence of a couple's marriage is best judged by the labor they invest in a house, garden and children (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

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

There are several ways for a Guaraní individual to change their name. One is through killing an enemy. As discussed in 6.4, ancient Guaraní warriors would change their name after slaying an enemy. For example, a man would take a new name for each enemy he killed; therefore those among them with the longest of names were considered the noblest of all others (Karsten, 1926, pg. 206).

Another way to change their name is to protect them from evil spirits. The Guaraní believe that evil spirits will search for someone based on their common name (see 6.4 for description of common name). To protect themselves and their families from evil spirits who might be after them, they will change their name. If a Guaraní wishes to get a new name, for whatever the reason, it must be granted by the shaman (Karsten, 1926, pg. 206).

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

While the Guaraní do not recognize any strict form of marriage prescriptions, they do encourage the marriage of close kin, preferably the children of parents' siblings. There is not a difference of preference for either male or females. Parents hope that their children will find a mate from a neighboring village or from another family within the community (Reed, 1995, pg. 78).

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

From the literature, it can only be assumed that marriages are not arranged. Everything from their mutual adolescent liaisons to their temporary liaisons after puberty is a “mutual choice.” The seriousness of a couple's intent to marry must be demonstrated from their ability to manage their household, their garden, and their standing within the community (Reed, 1995, pg. 78).

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

There was not any evidence of conflict of interest over who married who especially since the choice of mate is all based on mutual choice (Reed, 1995, pg. 78).

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

There was no information about the percent of adult male deaths due to warfare.

4.15 Outgroup vs. ingroup cause of violent death:

There were no clear, distinct examples of open warfare in the source material. Any and all comments on warfare were related to the now discontinued practice of cannibalism. Except for one statement from Steward's work, "in general, the Guaraní are spoken as of as constantly at war with their neighbors, brave in combat and exceedingly deadly foes" (Steward 1946, pg. 180).

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

There was no information in regards to the causes of in-group or out-group killing.

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

They are known to have fought the Chaco tribe and other Tupi language speakers, but not in recent memory.

4.18 Cannibalism?

Ancient Guaraní were allegedly some of the fierce warriors of that era, second perhaps only to the Tupinamba. The purpose of warfare within the Guaraní tribe was to take captives who were ultimately destined to be sacrificed and eaten. A captive man would even be allowed to find a Guaraní wife, but after several months or years, he would be ceremonially killed and eaten (Steward and Faron, 1959, pg. 331). Besides taking the name of their slain foe, they would also use his head as a trophy, turn their bones into flutes, but also engage in cannibalism of their foe (Karsten, 1926, pg. 62). The literature didn't say exactly what the head-trophies or flutes were used for by the Guaraní. Modern Guaraní had discontinued the practice of cannibalism by the year 1992 (Viveiros de Castro, 1992, pg. 264).

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

A traditional Guaraní village would have multi-family housing and may have single-family housing, will also have an Opy (a Guaraní praying house for the shaman), a village square, and garden plots for maize, tobacco, and beans (Steward, 1946, pg. 179).

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

There was no reference to the mobility pattern of the Guaraní people. All of their villages and settlements seem to be permanent.

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

Each aboriginal Guaraní village would have had a civil chief, called a tuvichá (Ganson 2003, pg. 19), but he had limited power and exhibited little control over the village. The shaman would often have larger amounts of power than the chief (Steward and Faron 1959, pg. 331).

5.4 Post-marital residence:

After a marriage, the married couple would go to live in the household of the wife's father and be surrounded by her family members or her clan.

5.5 Territoriality? (Defined boundaries, active defense):

There is no reference to territoriality in the source material, perhaps this due to the Guaraní's belief that the land did not belong to anyone.

5.6 *Social interaction divisions? (Age and sex):*

There is not a direct mention of social interaction divisions for either sex in the source material.

5.7 *Special friendships/joking relationships:*

There are no references to special friendships or joking relationships with the Guaraní culture.

5.8 *Village and house organization:*

A traditional Guaraní village would have multi-family housing. It would also have an Opy (a Guaraní holy house), a village square, and garden plots for maize, tobacco, and beans.

A traditional Guaraní family house would be organized based on the size and scope of the individual home. There wasn't a direct reference to this within the source material.

5.9 *Specialized village structures (Mens' houses):*

Within Guaraní villages, the village structure that is the most sacred is the Opy, or a Guaraní praying house. The shaman traditionally would live here and keep a close eye on the ceremonially (Karsten 1926, pg. 175).

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

In ancient times, Guaraní men and women would sleep in hammocks regardless of their age.

Now, as the Guaraní become more modernized with the rest of the world they have shifted to only young children sleeping in hammocks and the adults only sitting in them, preferring to sleep on a bed with wooden boards (Garson 2003, pg. 79).

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

They are patrilineal in nature for lineage (Steward and Faron, 1959, pg. 331).

5.12 *Trade:*

Guaraní also trade in extensive networks with other indigenous groups. Europeans became integrated into these trading networks during conquest, when Guaraní traded forest goods for machetes, axes and salt. The Guaraní continue to trade in kin networks, as well as market commodities to buy clothes, food and equipment (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

5.13 *Indications of social hierarchies?*

There is no example or indication of social hierarchies, as most everything is determined by kinship, not by class. Kinship relations define Guaraní communities. Ties between parents and children, siblings and cousins become the structure for allocating rights, responsibilities and authority (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 *Time allocation to RCR:*

During times like droughts, dances and festivities start at dusk and last several hours. At all other times, the time allocated to rituals, ceremonies, and religion are held in the middle of the night (Garson 2003, pg 70).

6.1 *Specialization (shamans and medicine):*

The shamans of the Guaraní people are ones who have the gift of speaking the beautiful words (Greer and Bilinkoff, 2003, pg. 86). The beautiful words are the sacred realm of the Guaraní language that renders and manifests a normal Guaraní into a shaman. This sacred language uses metaphors, not nouns to designate common objects. For example, the smoke from a tobacco pipe becomes the deadly mist while the pipe itself is called the skeleton of the mist (Greer and Bilinkoff, 2003, pg. 87).

The Guaraní shamans are believed to be in constant communication with the disembodied spirits of the deceased and were themselves the sons of spirits, without an earthly father, wise with the wisdom from another world, with wisdom that allows them to heal and to serve as an oracle for the Guaraní.

They are also known to have sacred dances to ensure a good harvest, ward off danger, to guarantee the successful outcome of war and the search for the land without evil (Steward and Faron, 1959, pg. 331).

The shamans are also the chief medical experts within the Guaraní village. Collectively, they will administrate all basic plant remedies, combining their knowledge of the supernatural with their knowledge herbal curing, developing a reputation as powerful healers (Bierele and Reed, eHRAF).

There are two types of shamans in the Guaraní culture. The first type, considered the weaker of the two, is called the paje. They know the beautiful words and can speak them but they lack the ability to harness the collective power of the beautiful words. They have the ability to heal and the ability to decipher the divine name of the newborn Guaraní.

The stronger shaman is called the karai, who must be male and live alone. However, he often is seen with an entourage of women from a multitude of villages. They travel constantly, never staying for more than a week at any one village. They have the ability of the paje, plus a few other duties/powers. Only a karai can organize and lead the community in the sacred harvest festival — nimongarai. Also, only karai can lead organized searches for the land without evil, or ywy marae'y (Greer and Bilinkoff, 2003, pg. 87).

6.2 Stimulants:

There is no direct mention of stimulants being used in ritualistic, religious events.

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

6.3a. Birth

Within two or three days of a child's birth, the parents will go with the child to see the highest level of shaman possible (see the note on differing levels of shamans 6.1) for the child to be named. If the child can only be seen by a paje, the parents will travel away from the village to a karaj for the child to be named. There is no reference in the source material as to what happens in the naming ceremony or behind the closed doors of the Opy (Marzel, Maurer, Albo and Melia 1996, pg. 186-187).

6.3b Death

When a Guaraní dies their family works to preserve the body by completing a very ritualized process. This isn't like Egyptian mummification but something else entirely. The Guaraní preserve the bones of the dead by first burying the corpse in a bamboo basket. When the body is decomposed, or after one rainy season, the corpse is dug up by family members and the bones are then preserved in a cedar container. The entire process is overseen by a shaman, more than likely a karai, because it is up to them to make sure the bones reach the ywy marae'y without interruption so they can be reunited with the 'body' of the deceased (Greer and Bilinkoff, 2003, pg. 91).

For women, if it is a villager who dies then they weep for a day while the surviving men go on a hunt. The separation is to allow the Guaraní to realize how big of hole has been left in their community by the death. If it is a shaman, he would be buried with his cotton hammock wrapped around him, along with some necklaces, feathers, and other personal belongings. If it is the woman's husband, then she inflicts great bodily harm on herself either by stabbing herself with pointed sticks or by jumping off a small cliff, temporarily crippling herself (Garson 2003, pg. 20).

6.3c Puberty

There were not any references to if the Guaraní had any rituals for young boys and girls going through puberty in the source material.

6.3d Seasonal

The Guaraní only observe two seasons, the summer (Quaraci pucu, or long sun) and the winter (ara ro'y, or the time when it is cold). They mark these times with a small village feast, celebrating the good fortune and toasting their sun, sky, and moon gods (Garson 2003, pg. 20).

6.4 Other rituals:

6.4a Naming

The Guaraní have two names, the first is given at birth and the second grows with the person and manifests as his/her history. Historically speaking, ancient Guaraní warriors would change their name after slaying an enemy. For example, a man would take a new name for each enemy he killed; therefore those among them with the longest of names were considered the noblest of all others (Karsten, 1926, pg. 206). Typically, their birth name is sacred and is only used by the shaman when the individual is participating in ritual ceremonies (Viverios de Castro, 1995, pg 265). Only on certain occasions — for example, at the drinking feasts when everyone was in high spirits and good friends — would one Guaraní reveal his name to another. To reveal your sacred name, is perceived as a perilous thing because it opens your soul to evil dangers (Karsten, 1926, pg. 206). The second name is for the animal that the individual will return as once their human life is over (Viverios de Castro, 1995, pg 265).

6.4a Lip Piercing

Young Guaraní boys, typically around the age of five or six years old, go through a ritual to make them great and valiant warriors in the future. The basics of the ritual are in the middle of the night; in the Opy (a Guaraní praying house) the shaman would pierce the lower lip of the young boy and insert a pointed bone. The thought belief is if the boy is able to subject himself to the pain without showing any signs of suffering then it will be good omen for his future (Karsten 1926, pg. 175).

6.5 Myths (Creation):

Creation:

The belief is still held today that a world preceding the present one was destroyed by a cosmic cataclysm and that the same terrifying event will occur again in the future. However, cultural anthropologists doubt that this is the Chiripá's original creation myth as this could be the work of Jesuit missionaries whom sought to explain Christianity's Day of Judgment and end of days (Lanternari, 1963, pg. 177).

The following is one version which is believed to be an original creation myth, but this still may not be the completed one due to the break in tradition as described in the answer for 6.9. The two main deities for Guaraní culture are the masculine sun god and the feminine sky goddess. These two gods had a set of twins who became earth and moon.

The other alternative creation story involves the same two gods, the sun and the sky gods created the world with two crossed sticks. Within each village, the two crossed sticks are kept in the Opy and under the watchful eye of the shaman (Setti, Ines, and Roberto Zibel Castro, 1992, pg. 82). The Guaraní sun god is considered the father of the earth because he held the sticks in his hands and the sky goddess is considered the mother of the earth (Steward and Faron, 1959, pg. 289) when he created this world from his heavenly realm known as the land without evil. The sun, which brings life to the world each day, comes from the land without evil (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

They sing and dance with a cross. They use gourds and bamboo sticks as instruments (Marzel, Maurer, Albo, and Melia, 1996, pg. 186).

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

There were no references to gender differences in ritual, ceremonies or religious events.

6.8 Missionary effect:

Perhaps the greatest effects the missionaries' had on the Guaraní people were the disruption of the shaman tradition and the burial process. For example, at a time when many Guaraní were abandoning the mission and the restrictive lifestyle of the Jesuit priests, the priests decided to find out where they were all going. It turns out they were all going to the nearby forests where some of the bodies and bones of deceased family members and karais, or great Guaraní shaman, were buried and preserved. The literature describes how a Jesuit missionary named Montoya took the bones in the middle of the night, gathered the Guaraní living in or around the mission the next day and made them bear witness to the burning and destruction of the bodies and bones. The devastation of bearing witness to this horror made the Guaraní relinquish any hope of removing the Jesuits from their lands (Greer and Bilinkoff, 2003, pg. 91). This event was extremely painful for the Guaraní because they believed the bones were still alive and that they could hear the screams of the shamans and deceased family members while they were burning in the fire (Greer and Bilinkoff, 2003, pg 92).

6.9 RCR revival:

After the arrival of the Spanish, there was a desperate need for a rival of tradition and heritage among the Guaraní people. The movement was led by the younger shamans, who incorporated Guaraní culture with a few Christian elements, such as a belief in a redeeming God. The revival was seen as a last ditch effort to spark a revolution amongst the Guaraní and encourage them to revolt and expel the Spaniards from Paraguay. The reason for why the younger shamans led the movement was not mentioned in the literature (Steward and Faron, 1959, pg. 332).

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

They follow the Milky Way to the afterlife, called the "Tapir's Path." It is difficult to reach the Land Without Evil, because bad spirits will try to block the newly deceased, or they might have been so upset and frustrated with their death that they haunt their old village until they are reincarnated. All souls are reincarnated into new babies. Children's souls are the only ones who reach the afterlife quickly (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

There is no reference of any taboos of naming dead people among the Guaraní people.

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

There is no reference to the practice of teknonymy, the act of calling a child by their parent's name, in the source material.

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

The Guaraní religion is one that is animistic. They believe in the power of nature, the importance of the sun, moon, thunder, lightning, and other natural forces (Garson 2003, pg. 20). I would also suggest that their religion included ancestor worship, deism, and some totems. For example, the Guaraní would keep the bones of their ancestors locked away in containers as a way to keep them safe for the journey to their version of Christianity's heaven. While they were stowed away, Guaraní would pray to them. They also believe not just in the power of the sun, moon, thunder, lightning and other natural forces, but they also believe them to be gods.

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

They Guaraní use body paint for when they are preparing to go to war with a neighboring tribe or village. They are usually adorned in patterns of dots and lines. They use charcoal, honey, wax, and other plants to make the dye (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

7.2 Piercings:

Lip plugs made out of bone for young boys (Karsten 1926, pg. 175). There was not any reference to who else might have piercings in the source material.

7.3 Haircut:

Women have longer, shoulder length hair. Men have the traditional bowl cut (that looks like a crown) or more modern styles (Steward and Faron 1959, pg. 297).

7.4 Scarification:

There is no evidence of scarification used by the Guaraní people.

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

For the Guaraní people, it is common for them to be adorned with tembetas, an object typically inserted into pierced lips. The literature didn't reference whether this was common for men or for women, but just the Guaraní people in general. The author did make two inferences based on his experience with this tribe — they could serve only to attract members of the opposite sex or could be used to deter evil spirits, as was suggested by a member of a neighboring tribe (Karsten, 1926, pg. 103)

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

Young Guaraní boys, typically around the age of five or six years old, go through a ritual to make them great and valiant warriors in the future. The basics of the ritual are in the middle of the night; in the Opy (a Guaraní praying house) the shaman would pierce the lower lip of the young boy and insert a pointed bone. The thought belief is if the boy is able to subject himself to the pain without showing any signs of suffering then it will be good omen for his future (Karsten 1926, pg. 175).

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

In the literature there was only mention of young Guaraní boys being adorned with a piece of bone through their lower lip. For more information on the ceremony, see answer 7.6.

7.8 Missionary effect:

There is no reference to what adornments were like or worn prior to the arrival of the Spaniards so it is impossible to identify what the missionary's effect would have been on the Guaraní culture.

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

There is no reference in the source material about a cultural revival in adornment or what adornments have been like in the last 15-20 years.

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

Guaraní kinship terminology corresponds to the system used by other Tupi speakers. All relatives of one's own generation are categorized in terms of one's own siblings. Males and females distinguish older siblings from younger ones of the same sex, and have a single term to define opposite sex siblings. Parents' same sex siblings are referred to by terms that derive from that respective parent. For example, sy (mother) becomes sy'y (mother's sister) when referring to an aunt. Parents' cross-sex siblings are more clearly distinguished because they are informally identified by the new respective mate. For example, jaiche is the Guaraní term for mother's brother (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF).

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

In the past, Guaraní men possibly married their sisters' daughters. While kinship terminology clearly creates a distinction that would be useful in this, research finds little evidence of the practice (Bierle and Reed, eHRAF). There was no reference to levirate being practiced amongst the Guaraní.

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

There were no references to other kinship typologies.

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

9.1 *Ava Guaraní versus Tupi-Guarani*

It remains unclear as to whether or not these tribes were originally one. Cultural anthropologists Emma Gregores and Jorge A. Suarez contend that they are two separate tribes, but with shared similarities, “Guarani is a language of Tupi stock...no genetic or cultural relations of the other Tupian languages or major families have been proven so far” (Gregores and Suarez, 1967, p. 13). According to Gregores and Suarez, Tupi-Guarani and Ava Guaraní were not connected until Rodrigues lumped them together as sub-families of the language tree, Proto-Tupi-Guarani (Gregores and Suarez 1967, p. 15). Gregores and Suarez said they contend the Tupi-Guarani and the Ava Guaraní should be classified as different languages with very little similarity between them (1967, p. 15).

9.2 *Apocalypse*

The Guaraní believe in a sort of three-tiered spiritual domain. One level is gods, divinized souls, sky; the second is living humans, the earth surface, village life; the third is animals, souls of the dead and the forest (Viverios de Castro 1992, p. 86). Their apocalypse theory revolves around the first level of the spiritual domain. Believing that the apocalypse will begin in the west, it is rare for Guaraní to move west. They will always try to move east towards a “land without evil” (Vivierios de Castro 1992, p. 85). This land is called, “ywy marae’y” (pg. 71). This belief is thought to have developed about 1820, when the Guaraní acknowledged the promised land may lay across the ocean, in a land untouched by the Spanish and evil spirits (Lanternari, 1963, pg. 176). To reach such a land, they first must lighten their bodies of weight and of evil spirits by performing a ritualistic dance that would enable them to fly across the Atlantic. This was first observed in 1912 and is still performed by traditional Guaraní (Lanternari, 1963, pg. 176). Many shamans now tell of story of ‘a lost paradise’ because the actions of their ancestors have prevented the fulfillment of the Guaraní promised land (Lanternari, 1963, pg 181). One shaman cited the fact that the white man broke down the traditional tribal structure, while the Guaraní committed sacrilege by taking food and customs brought to them by the Europeans.

9.3 *Suicide among the Guaraní*

As the world around the Guaraní changed drastically, with the introduction of farming machinery and technologies, lumber mills cutting down forests and more settlers pour into Guaraní territory, number of suicides is on the rise. As the Guaraní face the loss of traditional ways of living and are forced to adapt, many Guaraní refuse to by committing suicide. It is considered the honorable thing to do in the circumstances, so many chiefs, shamans, and tribal leaders will commit suicide rather than see the destruction of the Guaraní culture. Their deaths only magnify and intensify the loss of tradition as they don’t pass their knowledge down to other generations. Their deaths are also collapsing the leadership network of the Guaraní people. Suicide has become a major problem within the Guaraní community, starting from only six in 1989 to three suicides per month in 1995 (Robbins, 2005, pg. 279).

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