

## 1. Description

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

Kaapor. Other names: Ka'apor Urubu, Kambõ, Urubu-Caápor, Urubu-Kaápor (1)

(See 9.1 on origins of Kaapor namings, and 9.2 on sign language)

From the Ka'apor language, of the Tupí-Guaraní language family.

Ka'apor is not spoken by any other known group, with the exception as a second language to some Tembê (Tenetehar) and Guajá: of the two, it seems to be slightly closer to Guajá phonologically and lexically. (1)

-About 60% of the Ka'apor people are monolingual; the other 40% speak pidgin Portuguese or regional Portuguese.

The majority of the Ka'apor are illiterate although minorities of youth have been enrolled into FUNAI school since the 1970s, who have a high literacy rate. (1)

Population of 1982: 494, estimated to be between 600-1000 in 1998, and due to natural increase, rather than immigration. (1)

Balee, (1992) states that the population of 1992 was around 520 persons, where the Ka'apor occupy 12 villages in the basins of the Gurupi, Maracacume, and Turiacu Rivers. (2.17)

### 1.2 Location:

Northern Maranhão. The Kaapor reserve is bounded by the Rio Gurupi to the North, Southern tributaries of the Rio Turiacu to the South, the Igarapé do Milho on the West, and a Northwest-Southeast line roughly parallel to the BR-316 highway on the East. (1)

Ka'apor villages today are all situated within the Reserva Indígena Alto Turiacu. (2.17)

### 1.3 Brief history:

The Kaapor may have been originated as a distinctive people about three hundred years ago between the Tocantins and Xingu Rivers.

Perhaps because of conflicts with Luso-Brazilian settlers and other native peoples, they engaged in a long migration that took them by the 1870s in Pará across the Gurupi River into Maranhão. Ancestral Ka'apor, who seem to have been fleeing the expansion of Luso-Brazilian society in southern Pará, arrived and settled in their present homeland (and beyond) within Maranhão during the 1870s. The origins of the Ka'apor people as a distinct ethnic group may be traceable to an Amazonian Tupí-Guaraní center between the lower Tocantins and Xingu Rivers in the late 1600s and early 1700s. The Ka'apor migrated East across Rio Tocantins, and shown to have settled successively in the basins of the Rio Acará (ca. 1810), Rio Capim (ca. 1825), Rio Guamá (1864), Rio Piriá (1875), and Rio Maracaçumé (1878). (1)

Indian Protection Service (SPI) arrives in 1911.

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

In 1978, the Alto Turiacu Indigenous Reserve, consisting of 2048 square miles (5301 km<sup>2</sup>) of high Amazonian forest and inhabited by all remaining Ka'apor as well as by some Guajá, Tembê, and Timbira people, was demarcated by the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI).

As much as a third of the reserve has been illegally deforested and converted to towns, rice fields, and cattle pastures by landless peasants, cattle ranchers, loggers, and local politicians, however, since the late 1980s.

Pacification in 1928, with many reported violent episodes. Ka'apor in the Capim basin were defeated by state militiamen and Turiuara Indian conscripts, also Tupi-Guarani speakers.

Also- cf. 4.15

After the European conquest, the onslaught of colonial expansion, Jesuit missionary fervor, slave raids, debt peonage and epidemics drove the aboriginal Ka'apor to migrate eastward, away from the berth in the Tocantins River basin, from which they moved into the less populated Maranhão region. (2.4)

### 1.5 Ecology:

The Kaapor are a horticultural people, growing about 50 domesticated plants in total (1)

Like the Guajá, the Ka'apor exploit the botanical habitat of the extreme eastern part of Amazonia in the Brazilian state of Maranhão which is sometimes known as pre-Amazonia (3.27)

Huge focus on medicinal plants, which are linked with mythological beliefs.

Subsistence economy with minimal impact on the environment. Management throughout history, and significant taxonomical classification for plants. (2.168) This makes Ka'apor especially distinct from other neighboring groups.

Biologically rich habitat, with over 1000 species of vascular plants in the Ka'apor habitat (2.2)

"Ka'apor culture utterly depends on the maintenance of the environment in which it emerged" (2.7)

## 2. Economy

### 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

(Bitter) Manioc, consumed mostly in the form of farinha, usually softened and drunk with water in small calabash bowls as chibé (u'i-tikwar).

Fruits are also gathered in the dense forests but are not a staple carbohydrate as Manioc is. -

Important nondomesticated fruits that they gather for food include bacuri (*Platonia insignis*), cupuaçu (*Theobroma grandiflorum*), piquiá (*Caryocar villosum*), açaí (*Euterpe oleracea*), bacaba (*Oenocarpus distichus*), abiu cutite (*Pouteria macrophylla*). (1)

## 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

Both game and fish is hunted. The most important game animals in the Kaapor diet are

Red Brocket deer, collared and white-lipped Peccaries, Paca, Agouti, Howler Monkey, two species of Tortoise, Caiman, and several species of Guans, Curassows, and Tinamids. (1)

Important fish species that hunted and consumed include Urubim, Pacu, Piranha, Traíra, and Jeju (1).

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

Both weapons and tools are maintained and constructed. These include bows and arrows as well as carving axes, hoe handles and other woodwork, such as the rectangular feather chest (patawa). Here a man and wife's feather art are kept inside and retrieved in the infant naming ceremony. (cf. 6.3 and 7.6 and 4.16)

## 2.4 Food storage:

Presence of the 'manioc shed' where it is prepared, but not much indication that it is stored for long.

Most fruits eaten raw, although acai, bacaba and piquia are boiled. (2.72)

## 2.5 Sexual division of production:

Not absolutely rigid, but women spend significantly more time in food preparation, especially concerned with processing bitter manioc in comparison to men. Men spend significantly more time hunting than women, and also weave the baskets including the twill-woven manioc press known as the Tapeši. Women make the pots, including ten gallon vessels (kamuš) used in serving manioc beer at infant-naming ceremonies. (1)

Within the household, men do most of the woodwork, basketry, and fashioning of steel implements, while women tend to most thread-making, sewing, and weaving, in the dooryard garden of each household unit (1)

Women spend more time related to the manufacture and repair of material goods, including tools and weapons. (2.75)

## 2.6 Land tenure:

Presumed segregation between villages.

## 2.7 Ceramics:

Emphasizes cultural change, linking to effects of missionaries.

30 days before the naming ceremony, the parents make tall 30l pots from clay, which are to be used in the ceremony. Cf. 6.2 (2.22)

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

Same as 4.10- concerning the distribution of food within a village.

## 2.9 Food taboos:

Not all edible food sources found in the environment are consumed.

The food taboo complex centers on rites associated with female fertility, especially the couvades and the female puberty rite. For people in these ritual states, the only acceptable terrestrial meat is from the yellow-footed tortoise (Jaboti).

See 6.3 on birth. After the umbilical cord falls off, the father is permitted to consume other game except for white-lipped peccary and tortoise, and the mother remains confined to tortoise meat and manioc flour. (2.22)

## 2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

Ethnographic evidence indicates that watercraft must be prevalent, if not other technological tools which enable/assist fish hunting, if there is a high content of fish in the diet.

## 3. Anthropometry

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

### 3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

**4. Life History, mating, marriage****4.1 Age at menarche (f):****4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):**

F presumably young if they are expected to be married after the time their hair reaches shoulder length after the first incidence of menses.

**4.3 Completed family size (m and f):****4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):****4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):****4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:**

The divorce rate is about 8% of all marriages. (2.20)

Divorces after the birth of the 1<sup>st</sup> child are extremely rare. (2.21)

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

Headmen are permitted to practice polygyny, which is otherwise uncommon for other Ka'apor men. (2.18) Since half siblings are classified as full siblings, the oldest son of a headman is more likely to have more sisters, which he can 'give to other men. (ibid)

**4.8 Arranged marriage, bride purchase/service, dowry:**

Normally uxori-local residency for men besides headmen, who render brideservice by clearing forest and planting manioc and other crops for the use of his parents-in-law, as well as supplying game meat (2.18)

The headman's second wife is often his own sister's daughter, reciprocally given to him by his brother-in-law. (2.20)

Marriages tend to be arranged on a quid pro quo basis, where a father tends to approach his sister and her husband, asking them to give their daughter to his son in exchange for bringing their son into his own house to marry his daughter. Marriages of later-born children tend to be arranged by an elder brother. (2.20)

Marriage is affirmed publicly and formally on 3 occasions: the wedding, in childbirth and the *couvade*, and in the naming ceremony. (2.24)

**4.9 Inheritance patterns:****4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:**

Women and children distribute food, raw or cooked, to other households. If a game kill is large, such as a deer, peccary or tapir, and the village is small, everyone receives a share. With small game, such as monkeys, birds and fish, families normally part with little or none of their catch. (2.75)

After marriage, the husband who has entered uxori-local residency may work with his father-in-law in the gardens and hunt together. After approximately one year of a man living uxori-locally, the man constructs a house for himself and his wife adjacent the house of his wife's parents. Usually with no help from kin, or if so only in large villages, where there are more likely to be 2 or more out-marrying residential units. (2.18)

The husband's 'strangeness,' living uxori-locally is only eroded once the wife gives birth. The uxori-locally wed man, in his first year of marriage generally avoids eye contact with other men of the household. It is only once he becomes a father that he may speak publicly more often in the residential unit of his wife's kin, without being addressed first. Brothers-in-law are more likely to cooperate at this time in hunting, household repairs, food sharing and even sponsor each other's children during naming ceremonies. (2.18)

**4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:****4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):**

Exogamy far more common than endogamy, authority given to the headman and reciprocity as a very basic principle.

**4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized?****4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (E.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows")**

For both 4.13 and 4.14- Not necessarily 'partible' parentage, but sponsoring coparents must be present for the infant's naming ceremony.

**4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?****4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape****4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)**

Arranged marriages, and cross cousin marriage normal for headmen.

**4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?****4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring****4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?**

Presumed to be the parents of the mother, since the widowed husband would be living uxorilocally.

**4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females****4.22 Evidence for couvades**

Yes, connects significantly to food taboo. The only acceptable source of meat for persons in couvade is the yellow-footed tortoise (Jaboti). (1)

And part of the entire marriage ceremony as public affirmation of unity between the husband and wife (2.24)

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

Mostly monogamous marriages and father likely to be older.

**4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?**

The importance of ritual emphasized- as father is not 'fully' accepted with the wife's parents until the birth of the first child within the context of uxorilocal residence. Cf. to Infant naming ceremony.

Great respect of husband to wife's parents.

**4.24 Joking relationships?**

Indication that relationships are enhanced significantly after particular rituals.- cf to husbands permitted to having more authority in the uxorilocal household only after the birth of the first child

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

Naming of the deceased common in the Naming Ceremony.

Descent is bilateral, and there are no moieties or lineages. (1)

**4.26 Incest avoidance rules****4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?**

The marriage bond is the most important relationship in Ka'apor society, tending to be monogamous and remarkable stable. (2.20)

On the wedding day morning, the groom or his father gives the bride's parents 3 yellow-footed tortoises which the groom has captured. The groom is then to sit in a hammock at the house of the headman. The bride is taken there by her parents, and sits in the hammock to the left of the groom. The headman exhorts the groom to fetch yellow-footed tortoises for the bride to eat during menstruation, warning him not to abuse her, and encourages the couple to be fecund. At the bride's parents' house the tortoise is prepared with soaking manioc flour in a calabash bowl which she offers to him. The meal is then shared together, from which they depart for 3-4 days in the forest to have sexual relations and hunt tortoises. (2.20-21)

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

cf.6.4 especially. Infant naming rituals as the most important ceremony for the ka'apor. Also links to future marriages nad sustaining Ka'apor society. (1)

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

Outmarriage to Temb , Guaj , and Brazilian people has occurred since the 1950s if not earlier, accounting for about 5% of Ka'apor marriages. (1) Marriage within the community is preferred.

**Warfare/homicide****4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:****4.15 Outgroup vs. ingroup cause of violent death:**

Although it is unknown if death was caused, many cases of violence, especially as a result outside interaction.

In 1911 SPI attempt at "pacification" of the Ka'apor with gifts of steel tool etc resulted in Ka'apor warriors shooting one volunteer in the jaw. In both 1918 and 1920, Ka'apor raids for steel tools took place at the Guam  River basin and Bragan a near the Atlantic Coast respectively after a respite of several years. The Ka'apor were also assaulted by posses of enraged Brazilians during this period; a telegraph agent in Maranh o who arranged raids on Ka'apor villages impaled the heads of his victims near telegraph posts between the Viana Lakes and the Rio Guru. . Pacification attained in 1928 although one third of the Ka'apor reserve between he Igarap  do Milho and

the Igarapé Jararaca, has been deforested and populated by landless people encouraged in the process by land swindlers (grileiros) and local politicians. The present situation there is marked by tension and escalating violence. (1)

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

(Though this does not necessarily involve killing)

In the 1870s, Ka'apor warriors defeated and expelled a moroon colony (of Afro-Brazilian refugee slaves on the Maranhão side of the Rio Gurupi, and subsequently the Ka'apor occupied the old refugee site for their own village, near the present village of Gurupiuna. Before the Indian Protection Service (SPI) arrived in 1911, Ka'apor raids on Luso-Brazilian hamlets and towns in Pará and Maranhão as well as on telegraph workers, goldminers, balata rubber gatherers, and other Indians, such as the Guajajara, Tembê, Guajá, and Kren-Yê Timbira, continued unabated from the 1870s on. For the most part, Ka'apor raiders seemed to be intent on acquiring from their victims steel tools, to be used in swidden gardening and making steel arrowpoints.

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

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

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

In the past, average village size was between 25-50 persons; today, a few villages, such as Gurupiuna (in the north) and Zé Gurupi (in the south), have exceeded 100, and it is unclear whether the postmarital residence and leadership patterns of the past can survive. A few Ka'apor villages today are becoming like towns. This nucleation reflects an increased natural rate of population growth together with tightening pressure on the available land in the reserve, both because of the rebounding population and invasion by landless settlers from the outside. (1)

#### **5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):**

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

The senior brother of the married sisters in a uterine cluster usually is the "headman" (kapitã) of the cluster, so a village can have more than one headman if it has more than one residential cluster. (1) A headman's political power is limited to helping arrange the marriages of his sisters and classificatory sisters to inmarrying men, who provide him with diffuse allegiance as well as their unmarried, nubile daughters for him or his sons to marry at a later time. A slight tendency exists for real and classificatory FZD and ZD (sister's daughter) marriage contracts (named 'oblique', in the second case). Social status is earned- The privilege of polygyny and a modicum of respect is earned by a headman who is generous with his peers, and circumspect in his political and material ambitions. (1)

#### **5.4 Post marital residence:**

Whereas residence tends to be uxorilocal, with most men leaving their natal cluster upon marriage to take up residence among their wives' people, at least one man, usually a headman's son, stays behind while his wife moves from her cluster to live with him, or if she is his father's sister's daughter (FZD), real or classificatory, she may be from the same cluster. The cluster is politically a faction, one based as much on the fact of co-residence as on the ideology of shared descent. (1)

In other words, the potential headman, being the eldest son of a current headman tends to remain in his village and residential unit after marriage, and has a wide array of possible spouses within the residential unit. (2.18)

Then Social relations in a typical village are centered on related mothers, daughters, and sisters. (2.17)

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

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

No ceremonial age grades or ceremonial feast groups (1)

#### **5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:**

#### **5.8 Village and house organization:**

A Ka'apor village (hendá) consists usually of one or two uterine residential clusters of houses. More than one uterine residential cluster may constitute a village, especially villages that are larger than about 30 persons

**5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):****5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?**

The Kaapor sleep inside the house on cotton hammocks fastened to posts and beams, which are logged and erected by adult males. (1)

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

No moieties or lineages, people live in village groups. Each village is basically egalitarian, lacking centralized authority. (1)

**5.12 Trade:**

Relevance to warfare. A series of attack initiated by the Ka'apor in pursuit of steel tools in the 1920s (1)

**5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?**

The society is basically egalitarian, lacking centralized authority (but this may be changing with increased pressures from invading settlers). Each village tends to act as a politically autonomous entity.

The Ka'apor lack classes of rich and poor, and professional and craft specialization. (2.17)

**6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)****6 Time allocation to RCR:****6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):**

Many Ka'apor believe in the healing and divinatory powers of ĩriwar, an indigenous female water deity invoked in shamanism, the concept having been partly borrowed from the Temb . (1)

Some Ka'apor say their authentic shamans (paye) died in a cosmic flood, but shamanism is a reality in some villages, though it seems to have been borrowed from the Temb . The Ka'apor shaman of today invokes the "ancestors" (yande ram\_\_\_) and assorted divinities such as ĩriwar (glossed as m e d' gua, or "Mother of the Waters") who are believed to help the shaman in divining the future, restoring depleted game supplies, and diagnosing and curing illnesses.. (1)

It is believed that there is a significant African-Brazilian influence in Kaapor shamanism.

Shamanism involves public performance, attended by all ages

**6.2 Stimulants:**

Tabacco smoking (1)

Men smoke cigars at dawn before the infant naming ceremony. (1)

Awareness of hallucinogenics such as marujiana and 'vine-red' but are not consumed by the Ka'apor (2.98)

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

Birth- A wife gives birth inside a ritual room of seclusion in her house, sealed off by a door made from woven leaves of bacaba palm, or her entire house is ritually secluded. She gives birth in a kneeling position, supported by female kin. The husband alone among men is permitted to assist. After the child is born, the husband and wife must remain inside the ritual room for about 15 days. During this time the parents are permitted to eat only tortoise meat and manioc flour. (2.22)

At the incidence of first menses- There is an initiation rite in which her head is shaved. It is only when the girl's hair reaches shoulder length that she is permitted to marry. Incisions are made on her legs with an agouti tooth during the initiation rite. (2.19)

In detail, the girl is secluded in a ritual enclosure for about twelve days. Upon emerging from the enclosure, her adult attendants shave her head; apply strings of live, stinging tapi  ants (*Pachycondyla commutata*) about her waist and chest; and prick her legs with an agouti tooth, drawing blood. The new menstruant (yai-ram ) undergoes a cognate ordeal among the Way pi, suggesting it is of considerable antiquity, dating perhaps from the origins of the Tup -Guaran  family itself. (1)

**6.4 Other rituals:**

The infant naming ceremony is often anticipated with anxiety due to the possibility of quarrels during the ritual drinking. It may also be the first time for husband living uxorilocally to be fully accepted into the residential unit of his parents-in-law. (2.18) The naming ritual occurs about 6 months after birth. (2.22)- the most public ceremony in Ka'apor society.

**6.5 Myths (Creation):**

Concept that menstrual blood is polluting to society.

Cf. 6.4- The name ceremony as an affirmation of Ka'apor fertility and of the exogamous ties between residential clusters that enable the population's survival and growth. (1)

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

Same as 7.7 and 7.5. Featherwork as the most renowned work of the Kaapor, where a large part is created by older males, and displayed at infant naming ceremonies.

Also prominent Ka'apor geometric designs. These are painted by women on faces in Urucu juice and on Calabash bowls in dye derived from the bark of Makuku trees. (1)

Other material culture- includes house and landscape architecture, tools, weapons, utensils, hammocks and clothing.

Although pottery is being replaced by imported aluminum and copper utensils, it is not altogether lost at present. (1)

### **6.7 Sex differences in RCR:**

Same as above, in which older males create featherwork regalia and adornments to be used at infant naming ceremonies.

### **6.8 Missionary effect:**

Some profess a belief in Tupã-ra'ir ("Thunder's son," or "Jesus Christ"), as the Christian deity has been introduced by fundamentalist missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who were active in the area from about 1963-1985. (1)

### **6.9 RCR revival:**

### **6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:**

cf.6.12. The importance of first-born children.

Huxley states that at the incidence of death, another prisoner would have been killed in revenge. Until the was carried out, the widow was not allowed to remarry. "Death breeds death, and revenge revenge" 4.128

### **6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?**

No- "Urubus like to name their children after noteworthy ancestors" (4.120)

### **6.12 Is there teknonymy?**

Teknonymy serves as much to identify a man and woman with each other as it does to legitimize the link to their children. The name of the first-born only is taken and retained even if the child dies. (2.24)

## **7. Adornment**

### **7.1 Body paint:**

Cf. 6.6.

Urucu, a red paint from a fruit is painted over the face. Stripes down the cheek, a stripe over the chin, a stripe at the bridge of the nose: or a mask of red is painted around the eyes and over the cheeks and nose. (4.65)

### **7.2 Piercings:**

After the umbilical scab of a baby falls off, the father designates usually his wife's brother to pierce the infant's ears. If male, the lower lip is also pierced so that he may insert feather ornaments as an adult. (2.22)

### **7.3 Haircut:**

cf. to 6.4 and shaving girl's head at incidence of first menses.

Husband and wives cut their hair to the length of the traditional tonsure before drinking to a full moon, the day before an infant's naming ceremony. (2.23)

Hair is also cut as an act of mourning. (4.125)

### **7.4 Scarification:**

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

As before, featherwork as the most renowned art for the Kaapor. Coming from numerous birds, including Manakins which requiring hunting in the forest canopy. Older male artisans make diadems, earrings, necklaces, wristbands and bracelets, and lip plugs from feathers. (1)

Dead also buried with feather adornments, as well as his weapons. (4.125)

### **7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:**

The above described in 7.6 are used in an infant naming ceremony.

**7.7 Sex differences in adornment:**

In this instance- sex difference in manufacturing adornments, where older males make diadems, earrings, necklaces, wristbands and bracelets. Lip plugs are also made from feathers, and displayed in infant naming ceremonies (1)

**7.8 Missionary effect:****7.9 Cultural revival in adornment"****8. Kinship Systems****8.1 Sibling classification system:****8.2 Sororate, levirate:**

Unlikely, since most marriages besides those of headmen are monogamous.

**8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):****9. Other interesting cultural features :**

**9.1.**The Kaapor name itself seems to have derived from the Ka'a-pypor 'forest-footprints' of "footprints of the forest." (The origin of the name has also been likened to "forest dwellers" ("moradores da mata" although this is actually best expressed by the Ka'apor name for hunting-and-gathering Guajá, their neighbors, which is Ka'apehar. Furthermore, the term Urubu means "vultures" was applied to the Ka'apor people during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century by their Luso-Brazilian enemies, which is incidentally the etymology given by Ka'apor informants themselves, though they do not refer to themselves by this term when speaking to outsiders.

-Huxley (4.58) states, "the Urubu Indians call themselves caapor, or wood-dwellers"

**9.2** The Ka'apor are linguistically unusual in Amazonia in having a standard sign language, used in communicating with the deaf, who up until the mid-1980s made up about 2% of the entire population. This incidence of deafness was evidently due to endemic and noenata yaws that has since been eradicated. (1)

**9.3** Life expectancy is about 45 at birth, and 55 to 60 for those that survive childhood. (1)

**9.4** The house is built from a rectangular ground plan, and has a pitched roof. It normally houses a nuclear family or at most one extended family. The houseposts are mainly made from rot-resistant acariquara. Rafters and beams are from about 20 hardwood species. (1)

**9.5** The word for wild banana in Ka'apor is *pako-sororo* 'hunger banana

The domesticated banana spread rapidly across northern and western South America after its introduction in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. (3.31)

In fact the Ka'apor differentiate between domesticated and nondomesticated plantations, which is exemplified with cocoa.

Kaka'l for the domesticated and kakaran'i, 'cacao-false' (3.35)

**9.6** The gift of tortoises from husband to wife is extremely important in Ka'apor culture. The wife cannot partake in any other meat besides the yellow-footed tortoise during menstruation. Only a woman's husband can supply her with tortoise meat, which he must have captured himself. This must also be done during postpartum. (2.21)

**9.7** A newly married couple's sexual activity is generally confined to the forest on a bed of acai palm leaves, and not in the house of the wife's parents. (2.21)

**9.8** The penalties men face for failing to hunt tortoises for their menstruating women include ostracism, cuckoldry, ridicule, and divorce—none being desirable conditions for a man in Ka'apor society. (5.407)

**9.9** Ka'apor men spend about 37 minutes and women about 44 minutes a day keeping themselves and their household clean. No significant difference between the amount of time the genders spend on hygiene. (2.85)

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