Caitlin Sharkey – Questionnaire

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family
♦ Society: Suruí Paiter, Paiter translates as “the true people, we ourselves”
♦ Language: Tupí-Mondé. Almost all women are bilingual, in both their own language and Portuguese, and this may also be the case for men as the Paiter have increasingly more contact with the non-indigenous population.
♦ Language Family: Tupí

1.2 Location:
♦ Between the borders of Rondônia and Mato Grosso, approximately 60-61°W and 10-12°S
♦ Located on roughly 248,000 hectares of land in the Sete de Setembro Indigenous Land reserve

1.3 Brief history:
♦ The Paiter originated in Cuiabá, Mato Gross but were forced from this territory into Rondônia by white colonists in the 19th century. Decades of exploitation of their land by outsiders preceded official contact, which was initiated by FUNAI in 1969. Immediately following contact, the tribe was plagued by epidemics of several diseases, including measles, flu, malaria, and tuberculosis. These nearly decimated the already struggling population. The government finally demarcated the land of the Paiter in 1976, but illegal squatters continued to inhabit their territory until 1981. Their land continued to be encroached upon by outside settlers and government projects due to the rapid influx of migrants to the region throughout the 1980s.

1.4 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:
♦ The POLONOROESTE program is widely recognized as a major detriment to the traditional way of life of the group. With it, the government began many developmental projects on the native land and brought many outsiders to live illegally within Paiter land.
♦ Intermittent missionary groups from Baptists, Catholics, Lutherans, and the Assembly of God. These have caused a breakdown in traditional religious practice to some degree.
♦ Long history of conflict with non-indigenous populations attempting to exploit the resources of their land including, but not limited to, white colonists, rubber tappers, agriculturalists, and miners.

1.5 Ecology:
♦ Located in the Rio Branco River Valley with many intertwining small- to medium-sized rivers. The area is mostly covered in open rainforest, but dense and interfluvial rainforest are also found here. Climate is typical of all tropical environments: hot and humid with a clear distinction between rainy and dry seasons.

2. Economy
♦ Suruí Paiter are traditionally horticulturalists that supplement their diet with hunting, fishing, and gathering natural food staples from their environment. They practiced the domestic mode of production, providing solely for the self-sufficient subsistence of the family group. However, contact with the non-indigenous population has caused major shifts in the social and economic stability of this group. The Paiter overtook the abandoned coffee plantations...
of illegal peasants expelled from the Paiter’s land in 1981, and began growing coffee to sell in the urban market economy. They also began selling lumber from their land to earn money to buy status items and commercially produced goods. This reliance on outside income has broken down their traditional subsistence system, causing a lack of self-sufficiency and poor nutrition that has negatively impacted the health of the group.  

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):
- Yams, manioc, potatoes, rice
- Unlike many other Amazonian tribes that rely extensively on manioc, the Paiter traditionally specialize in the cultivation of maize. This constitutes their main crop, and a major staple of their diet. However, they also grow a variety of other foods including bananas, kidney beans, and peanuts, among others.

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:
- Larvae collected from the coconuts of the tucama palm are considered a delicacy. Similarly, crabs are a highly valued protein source, possibly because of their rarity. In addition, the Paiter hunt a wide variety of game animals including monkeys, birds such as guana and curassow, and armadillo. Armadillo are hunted in the traditional way, by digging deep holes into the animal’s burrow, where it becomes trapped and then killed. Fishing is also a major source of protein.

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns:
- The classic weapon for hunting is the bow and arrow. Paiter men are introduced to this weapon early on, as it is customary for grandfathers to give small bows to their grandsons at birth. Arrows are painted with genipap dye, decorated with peccary fur and feathers, and rubbed with borkaa resin from the borkaa plant as a symbol of luck. Other hunting weapons include traps for catching game and spears used for fishing.
- In the case of tools, the Paiter traditionally made stone axes. More recently, they have access to metal tools like machetes but, as late as 1995, did not yet have basic tools for cultivation and utilized their machetes for this purpose. Some of this may be changing as the group interacts more often with the non-indigenous consumer world.

2.4 Food storage:
- Jirau – refers to a storage platform suspended from the ceiling of a dwelling, although it may or may not be used solely for food storage. Women also weave baskets of varying sizes in which they keep and transport items, including food.

2.5 Sexual division of production:
- Men’s Responsibilities: hunting, clearing cultivation fields, making arrows, financial management
- Women’s Responsibilities: domestic duties, including child care and cooking, food gathering, making household items
- Both men and women take part in fishing and horticultural activities. Both will sometimes attend hunts as well, although only the men are responsible for catching the game.

2.6 Land tenure:
- Land is not considered a commodity for ownership, but rather, belongs to the community as a whole. Typically, each man is responsible for 2 hectares of land, although the land can be distributed differently to conform to kinship ties.

2.7 Ceramics:
Clay is abundant and of high quality in the Paiter territory, and for this reason, ceramics are a much respected art form of the people. These vessels are used to transport food and water, for storage, and in the process of eating and drinking.

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:
♦ Kinship status is a major determinant of obligatory relationships among the Paiter. All food obtained, either from hunting, farming, or gathering, is distributed according to kinship relations. There are also rules requiring men to dedicate portions of their labor to kin with which they no longer reside.

2.9 Food taboos:
♦ Several animals are not to be eaten or hunted. These include jaguar, turtle, tapir, alligators, and deer for some Paiter sub-groups. In addition, with the exception of electric eel, “fish with skin” are considered transmitters of disease, and therefore, only “fish with scales” are consumed.
♦ Other animals are restricted solely for children and include deer, anteater, tapir, and trumpeter.

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?:
♦ Not Mentioned

3. Anthropometry
♦ In recognition of the degree to which the breakdown of the Suruí Paiter traditional subsistence pattern has impacted the health and economic status of tribe members, Santos and Coimbra took body measurements of different socioeconomic subgroups within the community. Categories 1 & 2 represented the low-middle status groups and were not statistically different from one another in terms of anthropometric measurements. However, Category 3, which represented the wealthiest segment of society, had much higher measurements than either of the other two. It is interesting to witness the nearly immediate transition that contact with the outside world can affect on a traditionally economically egalitarian culture.

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*Copied from Santos and Coimbra
3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):
♦ 152.7 cm

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):
♦ 53.35 kg

4. Life History, mating, marriage
♦ The predominant source of information on this category came from Valencia et al. and thus, unless otherwise noted, that author can be taken as the source. In addition, the data of Valencia et al. was collected mainly from female participants and thus pertains only to women/girls unless otherwise specified. Because reproduction is most often associated with women, I was unable to obtain data on male statistics in most cases.

4.1 Age at menarche (f):
♦ Average age is 12

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):
♦ Average age of first birth and first pregnancy are both 15

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):
♦ Suruí Paiter desire large families with as many children as possible. Women will often continue to reproduce into their 40s with sometimes upward of nine or more children.
♦ Males often suggested an ideal number of children to be 20, while females consistently desired five.
  o This may have some explanation in the practice of polygynous marriage. Males could possibly fathom considerably more children than women because cultural proscriptions allow multiple wives.

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):
♦ Average IBI is 22.3 months

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):
♦ Average age is 13.8
♦ Modal age is 13
♦ With greater opportunities for education and the changing nature of the society, some individuals are opting to postpone marriage until much later, sometimes into their 20s.

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:
♦ Although divorce does occur when couples claim to “not understand each other well,” for the most part marriages are considered fairly stable. Exact statistics on divorce rates were not included.

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:
♦ Polygyny represents the traditional form of marriage. It is not unanimously supported although it is still practiced and permitted. Usually, tribal leaders will take part in polygynous marriages and have the most wives.
♦ The more recent marriage pattern has been exogamous interethnic marriage, whereby males marry members of nearby clans. This has served as partial solution to the skewed sex ratio created by polygynous marriage and small populations.

4.8 Arranged marriage, bride purchase/service, dowry:
♦ Women are not married until after their menarche and period of seclusion. However, “engagement” for girls usually occurs around 10 years of age, and she may even be promised
to a man by as young as 7. Marriages have even been arranged upon the girl’s birth, although this is not as common.

4.9 Inheritance patterns:
♦ There is no inheritance among the Suruí Paiter, except in the case of leadership or chieftanship, which is passed down from father to son. All other possessions are buried with the dead.

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:
♦ Offspring are intensively breastfed for significant periods of time. The main proscribed time frame is at least one year, although two or more years is common. However, the child is usually forced to wean as soon as the mother becomes pregnant again.

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):
♦ The Paiter are organized into several villages or clans. Therefore, exogamous marriage, whereby a spouse is chosen from an outside clan, is the norm for both polygynous and interethnic forms of marriage.
♦ Marriages are also exogamous in the sense that it is desirable to marry someone from one’s opposite ritual half (see question 5.11 below).

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

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape
*** In regard to questions 4.13-4.16, I was unable to obtain information related specifically to cultural beliefs about conception. However, based on the available research, I believe some inferences can be made in reference to the society’s sexual behavior and, therefore, sexual beliefs. For example, polygyny is the norm and extramarital affairs may occur, especially among males, but Valencia et al. notes that the Paiter do not demonstrate the kind of promiscuity to be expected. It is considered taboo or embarrassing for women to express desire for sexual encounters. In addition, women are expected to refrain from sexual intercourse once they become pregnant, and the postpartum couvade ritual is intended to prevent contamination of the baby by semen passed through the breast milk. Therefore, because intercourse ends with pregnancy and semen is considered a contaminating agent, partible paternity and incremental conception are unlikely. Instances of rape and violence were not found, but traditional narratives describe rape and abuse toward unfaithful women. This type of violence to force conformity to sexual mores would be expected of a non-promiscuous society.

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)
♦ Avuncular marriage – mother’s brother is the ideal spouse, and a daughter is usually promised to him for marriage after her seclusion for menarche. Cross cousin marriage is also permissible, but a cross cousin is not seen as the most legitimate husband if mother’s brother is available.

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?
It does not appear so, although this was not specifically stated. Girls’ marriages are arranged, sometimes at very young ages. Cultural proscriptions regulate female sexual behavior following the birth of her children. Women generally follow these rules, while men may be relatively more liberal with sexual encounters. In addition, many myths passed down through the generations tell of abuse and rape of unfaithful women and warn of death for speaking of promiscuous activities. While these stories may not be entirely applicable at present, they do inform the reader about the cultural attitudes of the society.

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

None mentioned

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

This issue was not specifically addressed. However, because polygynous marriage is common, and because the additional wives are often sisters or members of the same family, it would be relatively easy for a child to be cared for by the additional wife/wives since they are related. Thus, kin selection would come into play.

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

4.22 Evidence for couvades

Couvade is practiced. There are cultural norms for both men and women following the birth of a child. Women must be secluded in longhouse huts, much as the girls in menarche must be, for a certain amount of time, during which she is only to nurse the baby and perform no work. Both men and women are subjected to dietary restrictions, and sexual intercourse is forbidden for the first year after the baby’s birth. For men, this includes intercourse with his additional wives or extramarital affairs. New fathers must sleep in a separate room until the year has passed.

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

Because this does not appear to be a partible paternal society, there does not seem to be a distinction between different types of fathers.

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

4.24 Joking relationships?

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

All sources that I have consulted have asserted that the Paiter are a patrilineal society. However, “Countries and the Cultures” suggests more specifically that they are actually a bilateral society, and only clan membership is traced through the patriline. Because this source does not elaborate on that assertion, and because no other sources have made this distinction, I cannot comment with certainty on the accuracy of the statement. It can be said with certainty, though, that the Paiter are not a solely matrilineal society.

4.26 Incest avoidance rules

Parallel cousins are the equivalent of a direct sibling relationship and thus constitute an incestuous marriage.

Incest is morally deplorable in Paiter society, and infanticide is committed against any offspring borne out of such unions or sexual relations.

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?
There are formal practices, but not necessarily a formal ceremony. The female is secluded for menarche. Upon leaving her hut, she signals that she is a woman and usually becomes married immediately. She is painted lavishly in genipap dye and decorated in bridal attire.

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

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

Marriages are mostly exogamous, with partners coming from adjacent clans. There may be some difference in males and females simply because polygynous husbands often take additional wives from the same family as their first wife, which may be more common if the males’ and the females’ families come from the same community. However, that is a matter of speculation really.

Warfare/homicide

The Suruí Paiter are historically a warring society, although I could not find statistics on the prevalence of the practice. This could possibly be because warfare toward outside groups has significantly declined in recent decades, and violent conflicts have not been noted since the early 80s.

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

Outgroup violence appears to be the most common

- History of violence and conflict with non-indigenous populations exploiting their land and stealing their resources.
- Enemies with the neighboring Zoró tribe, last reported killing committed against this tribe was the murder of a family in 1978.
- Last reported violence in general was the forced drive of invading squatters from their land in 1980.

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

- The Zoró killing was a revenge murder for previous killings against the Paiter carried out by this group.
- Other killings were defensive strategies to protect their territory from intruders.
- Traditional narratives often have undertones of vengeance and avenging wrongs committed.

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

- The Paiter have the most frequent association not with nearby indigenous groups, but increasingly with the urban non-indigenous population. Many higher status tribe members live outside their villages in homes closer to towns. These urban centers are also the centers of the market economy, so indigenous society encounters this world ever more frequently.
  Unfortunately, they are highly discriminated against in these areas.
- Other Tupí-Mondé groups in proximity of the Paiter include the Zoró, Gavião, Aruá, and the Cinta Larga.
5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:
♦ The Suruí Paiter population is distributed among 10 villages, with a total population in 2003 of 920 persons. One outlying village has an abnormally high population of 187, leaving an average of 81 persons for the other nine villages.

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):
♦ Not seasonally nomadic. They do, however, seasonally rotate ritual halves (see 5.11 below for further description). At the proper time, the people of the forest return to the village to overtake the duties of the people of the garden and the people of the garden retreat to the forest. The timing of major events and scheduling is based on this patterning.

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):
♦ Chief system with chiefs representing the many villages and clans, and inherited power passed from father to son.
♦ Power is greatest for those with the most male kinship ties.
♦ There are also ceremonial chiefs.

5.4 Post marital residence:
♦ Patrilocality was the traditional pattern, where the new wife would live with her husband’s in-laws. Now, however, the preferred system is for the husband to have a house already built for the couple to establish their own residence.

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):
♦ The Paiter land was demarcated by the government in 1976, so its boundaries are officially fixed. However, the government has also been lax in enforcing its rules, and thus their territory has continually been exploited for its resources and dwelling space since demarcation. As has been noted, the Paiter have previously used force to expel intruders. More recently, however, they are fighting back politically by forming the Metareilá Organization to expel intrusive lumber workers and government policies while promoting environmental sustainability to protect their lands.

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex):

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

5.8 Village and house organization:
♦ Historically, the Paiter practiced communal living in large palm-thatched longhouses that served as home to several nuclear families. Sometimes they housed a domestic group of brothers and their wives and children.
♦ More recently, the traditional village plan has been abandoned, and dwellings have been modeled after the homes of the non-indigenous people. The nuclear family is now becoming more common since large extended families do not live in the smaller peasant-modeled homes. These homes are still significantly crowded with an average of seven people per household.

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens’ houses):
♦ Isolation huts/longhouses built by men for seclusion rituals

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?
♦ Within traditional longhouses of several families, hammocks are hung in proximity to the nuclear family from low beams that separate the nuclear families from one another.

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:
The Paiter are divided into 2 moieties:
- Iwai – represent the ritual half of the garden/field, responsible for food and beverage and put on festivals for the opposite half:
  - Dedicate much effort to growing and cooking food for celebrations for the entire village.
- Metareda – represent the ritual half of the forest, make gifts and offerings to the other ritual half during festivals.
  - Collect useful raw materials and provide subsistence for selves away from the main village.

Each moiety has a strong sense of connection and obligation to the members of their moiety, community bonding.

5.12 Trade:
- Trade, or rather, sale of market goods takes place in nearby urban centers. Paiter leaders bring the crops of the village to sell at the market and use the income to buy commercial goods.
- Trade also takes place between the two ritual moieties during Mapimaí festival.

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?
- Traditionally an egalitarian society, the recent impact of non-indigenous culture has shifted the balance of power so that wealth and power is isolated in the hands of a few economically advantaged individuals and their kin. These few control the allocation of money and, therefore, have been able to purchase the most commercial goods and status items. They do not participate in labor activities, yet still control the wealth.

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)
6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):
- Receive status as shaman by learning from the patriline, through dreams or visions, or by nearly experiencing death. Shamans must apprentice for significant periods of time and overcome many spiritual obstacles.
- Spirits are believed to be responsible for illness as well as healing. Shamans, therefore, invoke the spirits in curing ceremonies and attempt to force them to heal the sick.
- Breath is an important part of the shamans’ power, so they “blow” over the people they are trying to protect or cure.

6.2 Stimulants:
- The Paiter both grow and use tobacco, although I was unable to locate data describing the prevalence of such a practice in rituals. They also make a soup-like beverage of fermented peanuts called makaloba, which they continuously ingest and then regurgitate in order to induce a state of drunkenness.

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):
- First menarche represents the passage of a female from childhood to womanhood. At this time, the menstruating girl is said to be “akapeab,” and she is isolated in a secluded longhouse for a proscribed period of time. Seclusion may last anywhere from three weeks to five months, and during this time, only the girl’s mother may visit her. After the girl has completed her period of isolation, she will almost immediately marry the man she was promised to and begin living with his family.
Both males and females were traditionally ushered into adulthood by facial tattooing rituals, but this is no longer practiced.

6.4 Other rituals:
- As listed on the ISA website, the Paiter participate in a wide range of festivals to celebrate aspects of their daily lives. Many of these are no longer practiced because of conflicts with missionaries:
  - Mapimaí – creation of the world
  - Ngamangaré – the new garden
  - Weyxomaré – painting
  - Hoeyateim – for controlling the spirits
  - Lawaãwewa – building the new house
  - Ytxaga – fishing with timbó
- Also celebrated is a Hoeietê feast of shamanism and cure for the shamans to contact the spirits in times of distress or hardship.

6.5 Myths (Creation):
- Believe all beings were created from nothing and sprouted from the ground like yams or from the yam itself.
- Their myths (taking place in the time of their ancestors) all represent animals as people, to whom people could marry, fight, or even make love.
- Another common creation myth is “The Moon,” which also has strong moral undertones related to sexual mores. The myth explains that the moon was created by a brother and sister forced to live in the sky by the shame of committing incest. The dark side of the moon is the brother, whose incestuous identity was discovered because of the genipap dye his sister smeared on his face.

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):
- Naraí – bamboo staff decorated with macaw feathers and carried by shamans, supposedly possess the power of spirits by housing them inside.
- Music important – flutes announce the arrival of visitors to the village, large bamboo flutes also used in ceremony because they contain spirits.
- Basketwork and ceramic production

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:
- Very few. Some sources suggest that there are no rituals in which women cannot participate. Mindlin suggests that there is only one such ritual, the Nibama ritual. In either case, women are usually free to take part in rituals.

6.8 Missionary effect:
- Many of the traditional rituals performed by the Paiter have been abandoned or changed because of conflict with the beliefs of the Western religions that have invaded. In some cases, the shamans no longer practice or are encouraged not to tell the mythological stories passed down from their ancestry. These traditional practices are being replaced by “more appropriate” Christian traditions, including the adoption of Christian holidays and celebrations.

6.9 RCR revival:
- Mapimai festival was held for the first time in 12 years in 2002 to commemorate the dead, but these and other such festivals are still being replaced.

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:
Death was created by man, according to ancestral narratives. When people pass away, their souls are faced with a long trail of difficult obstacles they must overcome. Those who are courageous will cross the trail, and their souls will be able to reside in eternity with the souls of all the shamans. Incestuous or cowardly individuals will have to remain forever in the “village of useless souls.”

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

The dead of this group are never named. It is considered detrimental to both the living and the dead to speak the names of those who have passed on. If spoken, the soul of the dead will return to haunt the living and will not be able to cross the trail into eternity.

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

Not Mentioned

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

- Genipap dye – used in festivals and ceremonies, including the marriage rites of young girls.

7.2 Piercings:

- Tambetá – decoration for the piercing below the lip, still carried out on young children around 7-8 years old.
- Arrow or rod through the septum.

7.3 Haircut:

- Both males and females wear their hair cut short.

7.4 Scarification:

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

- Women string necklaces of shells, beads, nuts, or seeds.
- Headdresses, collars, and painted cotton belts worn sometimes.

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

- Facial tattoos used to be given to boys and girls during festivals marking their passage to adulthood, although this practice has been largely discontinued.
- A headdress of hawk feathers is said to symbolize warfare.
- Maxingáp (special leg rattles), headdresses, and feathers important for ceremonial purposes.

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

- As a general inference, it appears that septum piercing is only practiced by males.
- Males traditionally wore penis cases, though most people wear clothes currently so this is somewhat archaic.
- Males paint females with the genipap dye during festivals.

7.8 Missionary effect:

- Facial tattooing has become taboo because of contact with non-indigenous society.

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

- Closely associated with the Iroquois kinship terminology. The pattern does not completely fit because there are instances of marriage between a man and his sister’s daughter.
8.2 Sororate, levirate:
♦ Sororate – polygynous husbands may take additional wives from the same family as his initial wife, predominantly sisters or cousins³.

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

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):
♦ Suruí Paiter have been hit particularly hard by disease compared to other groups
  o The average rate of Tuberculosis within Rondônia is 37.5 cases per 100,000 people
  o Among the Paiter, the rate is 814.2 per 100,000
  o If you consider solely two of the 10 Paiter villages wherein the heaviest distribution occurs, the rate is nearly three times as high as the overall average⁷.

♦ When the Paiter first began coffee cultivation, approximately half of their population became infected with a potentially fatal soil-dwelling fungus, and 57% of those infected were dying from it. This risk of mortality was nearly eliminated with the introduction of simple medical care⁶.

♦ They represent an extremely young population, with 51% of their entire population below the age of 15⁷.

♦ When respectable visitors enter the village, it’s customary not to speak to them or even answer their questions, but to just listen and allow the guest to speak⁵.

♦ Left-handed men are considered the best hunters and warriors because they are thought to be lucky, dexterous, and the most accurate with their weapons⁵.

Numbered references