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**Anthro 7600**  
**Ethnographic Questionnaire**

**1. Description**

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family

Society: Guajajara or Tenetehara

Language: Guajajarara

Language family: Tupi-Guarani

Tenetehara is the name they call themselves; the name Guajajara is applied to both the people and the language (6, p. 1).

The Tembe are the western group of Tenetehara who share the same language and practice common cultural traditions (1, p. 4).

1.2 Location:

The Guajajara are located in the central regions of the northern Brazilian state of Maranhao (1, p. vii). Villages are situated on the Grajau, Gurupi, Guama, Mearim, and Pindare Rivers (2, p. 134).

1.3 Brief history:

The city of Sao Luis do Maranhao, situated on the Island of Maranhao at the mouth of the river system which drains the Tenetehara territory, was founded as early as 1611 by the French. The settlement was taken over by the Portuguese in 1614 and the area became an important center of European expansion and colonization (1, p. 5). The Tenetehara seem to have inhabited this region since pre-Columbian times and have been in contact with western culture for nearly 400 years (3, p. 147). As early as 1615, an expedition led by La Ravardiere on the upper Pindare River encountered peoples whom he referred to as *Pinariens* and who were likely the Tenetehara (8, p. 138). The history of the pre-Columbia Tenetehara is told through ethnohistoric accounts and European accounts of contact with the Tenetehara, as no archaeological or linguistic studies have been performed. A few people have suggested the Tenetehara originated in the state of Para or further to the west, but there is scant evidence to support these claims (12, p. 53). The Tenetehara are believed to be closely related linguistically to the Tupinamba, both speaking very similar dialects of the Tupi-Guarani language, though the Tenetehara lack some of the cultural distinctions of the Tupinamba, namely the practice of cannibalism (12, p. 61). The population of the Tenetehara is believed to have been preserved (no more than sixty percent population loss) well beyond that of neighboring groups like the Tupinamba for four reasons: 1) the Tenetehara were located far up the Pindare River in an area many found difficult to traverse; 2) small populations of Tenetehara living in dispersed villages did not attract much attention from Portuguese colonists and slavers; 3) the Jesuits made early contact with the Tenetehara and took an interest in the preservation of these Indians; 4) the territory of the Tenetehara was not suitable for establishing Portuguese plantation systems. Despite these factors, the Tenetehara were still subject to some enslavement and decimation due to disease (12, p. 65-66).

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

Initial contact with the Europeans was marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, but the Tenetehara did receive some protection from the Jesuits during the period of 1653-1759, until the Jesuits were expelled from Brazil. During this time, the Jesuits were able to give the Tenetehara time to adjust in their society, given the changing external circumstances, and prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory. The importation of African slaves also eased pressure for acquiring Indian slaves (3, p. 147).

The Colegio Isabel School for Indian Children was founded by Couto de Magalhaes in 1871 but collapsed by 1880; many of the children who boarded there died of disease (8, p. 138). The Tenetehara have lived for nearly 400 years under varying degrees of governmental jurisdiction. The chiefs of the villages are appointed by the Indian Service, with actual authority determined by the villagers. Indian Services has handed down laws regarding polygamous marriage, though in many cases where Indian Services exert authority, the Tenetehara tend to take these assertions lightly (1, p. 21).

1.5 Ecology:

The forest-dwelling Guajajara inhabit a rainforest environment in the Amazon Valley. The topography is low with the exception of a few hilly outcroppings near the Grajau, Mearim, and Pindare Rivers. The land is flooded during the rainy season (December-June) by streams running into the forest from these larger rivers. During the dry season

(July-November) these small streams dry up and the larger rivers see a significant drop in water level (1, p. 5). Seasonal temperatures in the region are typical of a tropical climate and vary little, with a mean temperature of 85° F (1, p. 31). The dense, tropical forests surrounding the Guajajara are rich in hardwoods, palms, copaiba (*Copaifera* sp.), and *babassu* palms, whose nuts are important in economic activity (8, p. 137).

## 2. Economy

### 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

The Guajajara plant a variety of crops-maize, beans, squash, peppers, yams, watermelon, peanuts-in their gardens, but the bitter and sweet forms of manioc provide the main carbohydrate staple (1, p. 34). The Guajajara are extensive agriculturalists and practice the slash-and-burn method of farming (3, p. 149).

### 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

The Guajajara depend on hunting for meat rather than raising domestic animals. Hunted animals include the tapir (*Tapirus Americanus*), wild pork (*Tayassu albirostris*), peccary (*Tayassu tajassu*), deer, capivara (*Hydrocherus capivara*), paca (*Cuniculus paca* Acs.), land tortoises (*Testudo tabulata*), agouti (*Dasyprocta aguti*), and various types of monkeys, armadillo, and birds (1, p. 56). The Guajajara also fish, though less time is devoted to fishing than hunting. They employ three different types of fish traps and the poison of the *timbo* vine (*Paullina pinnata*) for fishing in small streams (1, p. 59).

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

Accounts of the Guajajara indicate clubs used as fighting weapons (1, p. 17). Men are responsible for making bows and arrows (1, p. 47), though hunting is done primarily with muzzle-loading rifles (1, p. 57).

### 2.4 Food storage:

Manioc tubers may be left in the ground for three to four years before rotting (1, p. 37-38). Manioc flour is stored in large baskets lined with banana leaves. These baskets can hold thirty to forty kilos of flour (1, p. 40). The Guajajara sell much of their garden surplus to obtain manufactured goods (1, p. 46). Tobacco leaves are bundled and dried for use in cigars and pipes (1, p. 41).

### 2.5 Sexual division of production:

In more recent times, men have taken over tasks traditionally performed by women. Both men and women carry tubers to the stream to be washed. Men have primarily taken over the role of manioc flour production and, for the most part, do the farming and garden planting, tending, and harvesting. Women tend to household duties and child rearing (1, p. 47-48). Labor is cooperative amongst large extended families (3, p. 153). Houses are built by the men and referred to as the man's house, but are actually considered to be the wife's property (1, p. 50-51).

### 2.6 Land tenure:

The land around a village belongs to the village collectively. Plots of land used for gardens are considered to be owned individually or by the group that works the land. Once the land is abandoned and secondary growth takes over, someone else may claim the land. Barriers built for fishing are considered the property of whomever built them (1, p. 50). The Guajajara move their villages every five to seven years when garden sites near their villages are used up and no longer suitable for planting (3, p. 149).

### 2.7 Ceramics:

Simple, undecorated pottery was noted in 1924, but the practice of making pottery seems to have been abandoned (8, p. 141). The Guajajara used to use clay oven-grills covered with a ceramic plate, though copper griddles are now more common (1, p. 39). Women sometimes use small clay pipes to smoke tobacco (1, p. 41).

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

In large extended families, the leader often makes purchases for the group and determines how the purchases (cloth, salt, knives, axes, etc.) will be distributed (1, p. 53-54). Gardens belong to men, but the garden products, once they are brought into the home, are considered the property of the wife. All household equipment is the property of the woman, who is the primary user of such utensils. Men own bows, arrows, knives, guns, and dogs, who serve as hunting companions (1, p. 51).

## 2.9 Food taboos:

Young boys and girls, during a period of isolation leading up to their puberty ritual, are not allowed to eat any meat (1, p. 81).

During pregnancy and until early infancy, the behavior of the father is as important as that of the mother in ensuring that a fetus develops properly and is protected from malevolent supernatural effects. The most complex rules relate to the killing and eating of certain animals. If the father kills one of these animals or birds, or if either the mother or father eats the meat, “the spirit will enter the fetus, causing some undesirable feature or even physical abnormality in the child” (1, p. 65).

<b>Animal</b>	<b>Effect on the Child</b>
Red macaw	Born half-witted or with a beak instead of a nose
Blue macaw	Born half-witted
Anteater ( <i>Tamandua bandeira</i> )	Born with a white mark on shoulders similar to the marking of a pelt
Anteater ( <i>Tamandua jaleco</i> )	Born almost without a nose
Toucan	Born with a large nose
<i>jacu</i>	Born with white hair; perhaps an albino
<i>Japu-uru</i> (a small bird)	Born with an ugly finger
Jacamim (a large forest fowl)	Born half-witted
<i>Mutum</i> (a forest fowl)	Born with a red beaklike nose
Boa constrictor	Born with a flat head
Black jaguar	Born half-witted and “with the flat face and ugly features of a jaguar”
Brown jaguar	Born half-witted or with a tail
Wild cat	Born with weak hands; “will not be able to hold anything in its hands”
Sloth	Born half-witted and slow of movement
Otter	Born with hands “backwards”—palms outside
Hawk	Born with a hooked nose and claws

## 2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

Canoes, according to the Tenetehara origin myth of the canoe, are constructed from the bark of the *jatoba* tree and used for hunting and travel during periods of river flooding (1, p. 135).

## 3. Anthropometry

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

Males: 160.9 cm (10, p. 83)

### 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):

### 4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

There is little effort among the Guajajara to limit family size, though the rigorous restrictions placed on both men and women during the prenatal period and early infancy may be a somewhat limiting factor. Men seem proud of having several children, and women are eager to bear children (3, p. 150).

### 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

### 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

Women are often “married” by age ten, in that the future husbands moves in with her family as the son-in-law in order to “raise her as his wife.” Men are usually considerably older when they move in with their future wife (1, p. 78).

#### 4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

Marriage is very unstable in the first few months, even to the point of being considered a trial period. It is not uncommon for a young woman to take several husbands in quick succession before settling on a permanent one. It is usually the birth of the first child that stabilizes the marriage (1, p. 92-93).

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

Monogamy is the generally accepted rule, though in some cases, family leaders will have two or three wives. In these cases, the wives are usually close relatives (8, p. 143). "It would be almost unthinkable for a man to seek a second wife outside of his first wife's family group, since he would no be able to work for her family" (1, p. 91).

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

Marriage takes two different forms: either the man marries a preadolescent girl and moves into her parent's house, waiting until after her puberty ceremony to consummate the marriage, or the father finds a husband for his daughter after her puberty ceremony. The former seems to be the preferred arrangement (8, p. 143). Negotiations for marriage may be made when a girl is quite young (eight or nine) (1, p. 90).

#### 4.9 Inheritance patterns:

Upon death, personal property is supposed to pass from the owner to his widow or son. What actually seems to happen is different, though. The leader of the extended family takes over control of the property, or at the very least, ensures that the property stays within the extended family (1, p. 55).

#### 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

In general, parents tend to treat their children with affection, though parents show a preference for girls (1, p. 76). Young children spend the majority of their time with the mother, though the fathers were seen playing with and carrying their children in the village (1, p. 75). Young boys starting at the ages of nine or ten often accompany their fathers on hunting or fishing trips or work with their fathers in the garden (1, p. 77).

#### 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

The Guajajara seem aware of homosexuality from stories they related hearing from the Brazilians, though no accounts of homosexuality among the Guajajara were reported (1, p. 96).

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

Marriage appears to be mostly endogamous, with marriage partners often coming from neighboring Tenetehara villages (1, p. 16).

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

The Guajajara believe that pregnancy only occurs after a woman has had intercourse with the same man multiple times in a period of ten to fifteen days (1, p. 63). A woman who has had multiple husbands may be asked to name the father of her child/children. Generally, she will name her current husband as the father, even if they were not together at the time of the child's birth (1, p. 63).

#### 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)?

Conception is an incremental process and results from continued sexual relations between one man and one woman (1, p. 63).

#### 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

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

Marriage is prohibited between near relatives (1, p. 88).

#### 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

Women seem to enjoy some degree of sexual freedom. Women, eager to have children, will leave a husband whom they believe to be sterile (3, p.150). Men have an excessive sense of personal shame and are said to be timid in sexual contact, so it is usually the bride who initiates the first sexual contact after marriage (1, p. 93-94). Women have considerable sexual freedom in the period following the death of a husband and are expected to have multiple sexual partners in the search for a suitable new husband. Brazilians are said to be shocked by the sexual aggressiveness of the Guajajara women (1, p. 97).

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

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

4.22 Evidence for couvades (sympathetic pregnancy)

Rigorous restrictions on diet and hunting activities apply to both the male and female. Sexual intercourse between the father and mother is suspended as soon as the woman is visibly pregnant and cannot be resumed until the child is "hard," that is around age six or seven months, when the child has gained some muscle control. For pregnancy-associated food taboos applying to both males and females, see 2.9 (1, p. 64).

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

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

4.25 Joking relationships?

4.26 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations  
Matrilineal (1, p. 70)

4.27 Incest avoidance rules

"Marriage is prohibited between near relatives; those whom a man calls mother, mother's sister, sister or female cousin, sister's daughter, daughter of all those one calls "sister", father's sister, daughter, brother's daughter and granddaughter were all given as relatives whom one should never marry" (1, p. 88).

4.28 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

There does not seem to be any formal marriage ceremony (8, p. 143).

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

Mothers name their children a few days after birth. Typically, boys are given their maternal grandfather's name and girls are given their maternal grandmother's name. First-born children are usually named after the mother's parents. Christian names are usually adopted for use at Indian Posts and in Brazilian settlements (1, p. 70-71).

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

Inter-village marriage within a limited area is quite common (1, p. 16), though marriage between the Guajajara and Brazilians is relatively infrequent (1, p. 13). Fathers prefer a son-in-law from the same village, so there is little incentive for the couple to leave the village (1, p. 88).

### **Warfare/homicide**

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

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

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

The Guajajara, with few exceptions, have always lived in peace with missionaries, settlers, traders. The Guajajara were described in 1855 by the president of Maranhao: 'these Indians like peace and work: they are docile,

hospitable and faithful' (4, p. 257), but in 1860, the Guajajara violently rebelled against the harsh treatment of their Director, Joao da Cunha (4, p. 258). Attacks on Brazilians in the area of the Guajajara were reported in the late nineteenth century, though the attacks were attributed to the Timbira or the Urubu. The Gamella also attacked colonists on the lower Pindare River (1, p. 9-10). There is one well-known attack attributed to the Tenetehara. In 1901, thirteen Capuchin missionaries and more than 180 local Brazilians were killed by the Guajajara as they attacked the mission and ambushed anyone who passed by. In retaliation, more than 400 Guajajara were hunted down by military forces sent out by the provincial government of Maranhao (7, p. 51).

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

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

Reported village group sizes (1, p. 18):

20 houses, 130 people

6 houses, 19 people

12 houses, 85 people

~15-160 people per village

Other reported population numbers:

- Numbered ~12,000 in 1830 (4, p. 259)
- Numbered ~4,000 in 1962 (6, p. 1)
- Numbered approximately 2600 Indians in 1967-scattered in at least 35 villages in a triangle marked off roughly by the SPI Posto Goncalves Dias on the north, and by Posto Ararigboia and Posto Manoel Robelo on the south (2, p. 37)
- Numbered ~4,300 in 1977 (12, xi)
- Numbered 19,471 in 2006 (11)

### 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

The Guajajara move their location approximately every five to seven years to take advantage of unworked land. Seasonal movement is limited, and houses are generally constructed a short distance from water sources to avoid river overflow during the rainy season (1, p. 17, 19).

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

Each village has a "Capitao" who is appointed the chief by the Indian Service. Despite this appointment, the "Capitao" does not necessarily have authority in his village. This person acts as a liaison between the village and the government services. Village chiefs are often men who have gained prestige as heads of large extended families (1, p. 20-21). In some cases, the chief also acts as the shaman (9, p. 702). There is no leisure class among the Guajajara. All children are expected to work after their puberty initiation, and all adults, including shamans and chiefs, are expected to work (1, p. 48-49).

### 5.4 Post marital residence:

Post-marital residence is initially matrilineal for the first few years of the marriage during which time the groom is expected to work for his father-in-law (1, p. 23). After two or three years, the couple may move to their own residence near the wife's family (8, p. 143).

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

"The Tenetehara are not even aware of the extent of their own territory and the extent of the population among themselves...people from distant villages are strangers, but if they appear, they are recognized as Tenetehara...and hospitality is extended to them" (1, p. 15). Visits to and participation with nearby villages is common, and though "the villagers in the Pindare region knew the names and approximate size of each village on the Pindare and those on the trail between the Grajau and the Pindare Rivers...most people had only the vaguest idea of the location, the size, and the number of Tenetehara villages on the Grajau, Mearim, and Gurupi Rivers" (1, p. 15).

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

"As soon as a child learns to toddle about, it must be taught where and with whom it may play" (1, 74). Children are generally unwelcome in other people's houses (1, p. 74). Boys and girls generally play together with little concern for work until about the age of five or six, when young boys acquire more freedom to roam around the village, and young girls are expected to help their mothers with household duties (1, p. 76-78).

### 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

### 5.8 Village and house organization:

Villages are usually situated on areas of higher ground about a half kilometer from a river or stream. Houses in the village are usually arranged in two lines facing a cleared, central plaza (1, p. 17). Typically, houses are single-family houses and are constructed as one large room, though partitions may be included in cases where a large extended family dwells together. The houses have no windows, and often have a roof extension, which serves as a covered outdoor area for cooking, performing ceremonies, and socializing (1, p. 22).

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

In the past, large, pavilion-style ceremonial houses were constructed in the central plaza and used by both men and women for ceremonial dancing and singing. This practice seems to have gone by the wayside, however, and ceremonies are now held in private residences (1, p. 18). Temporary shelters are often constructed near agricultural fields, and entire families may move to these centers for several days during peak farming activity (1, p. 19).

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

Hammocks woven from native cotton are suspended from the house poles and rafters (8, p. 140).

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

Extended families are based on temporary matrilocal residence and widely extended bilateral kin groups; social structures are limited to extended family and the bilateral kin group (3, p. 151). Less formalized social structures allow for villages of varying sizes and villages are typically made up of several extended families. Extended family groups may break off from a larger village to form a new settlement (1, p. 27)

### 5.12 Trade:

Trade does not seem to have been important in traditional society, though that has changed in modern day society. Trade among the Guajajara takes place primarily with rural Brazilians. Many agricultural staples such as manioc flour and tobacco are now purchased from rural Brazilian traders (1, p. 45). *Babassu* nuts are an important economic commodity and are collected as an object of trade (1, p. 60). Deer, wild pork, and peccary are sometimes hunted for their hides which can also be sold to traders (1, p. 56). These hunted and collected items are frequently exchanged for manufactured products such as knives and utensils, clothing, gunpowder and shot, and fishhooks and lines (1, p. 62).

### 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

Outside of a village chief, there is little evidence for social hierarchy (1, p. 20). Each village is an independent political unit and there is no formal tribal organization (1, p. 15).

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

### 6. Time allocation to RCR:

#### 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

Shamans use tobacco in the practice of treating illnesses and in ceremonial life (5, p. 107). Shamans make 40-50 cm long ritual cigars from whole dried tobacco leaves. They smoke these cigars, reaching a state of tobacco narcosis through inhalation of large swallows of smoke (5, p. 139). In fact, shamans are referred to as "tobacco eaters," and tobacco is considered as valuable as any food staple (5, p. 171). Once the tobacco spirit has entered his body, the shaman no longer feels fire and can put his cigar out on his body, walk across hot coals, or swallow embers (5, p. 183).

Shamans are believed to be able to manipulate supernatural beings to cure illnesses and to cause illnesses in others. There are three categories of supernatural beings: culture heroes, forest spirits, and ghosts. All but the culture heroes are considered dangerous and villagers must seek protection from the shaman who can manipulate and control the spirits (8, p. 145).

#### 6.2 Stimulants:

The Guajajara regularly smoke tobacco and occasionally smoke hashish (*Cannabis sativa* L. var. *indica*) for recreational purposes (5, p. 108). Tobacco is also a necessary element for shamanistic ritual, and though hashish is used moderately for recreational purposes, its use in healing ceremonies is strictly forbidden (1, p. 41-42). Both men and women enjoy smoking 30-50 cm long cigars as a pastime (5, p. 107). To make the cigars, bundles of tobacco leaves are wrapped in the leaves of the sororoca plant (*Phenakospermum guyanense* Endl.) and tied with a vine. Some tobacco is cut off the bundle, shredded, and wrapped in tauari (*Courartari* sp.) bark paper then smoked (5, p. 108). There is no indication of alcoholic beverages in traditional society, though alcoholic drinks may be purchased from Brazilian traders (8, p. 145).

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

Puberty rituals are held for both boys and girls. In addition to the puberty rituals, two seasonal ceremonies are held: the Honey Festival and the Maize Festival.

The Honey Festival takes place during the last days of the dry season and lasts for several days, though preparation can take months and involves the collection of wild honey throughout the dry season. The Honey Festival involves dancing and singing, and festival participants consume all of the honey collected over the past few months by making a drink consisting of water and honey (8, p. 146). The festival continues until all of the honey is consumed (1, p. 125).

The Maize Festival takes place in the maize growth period between January and March, is a more simplified ceremony of feasting and dancing, and includes shamanistic performances to protect the maize during the growth period (8, p. 146). At present, the Maize and Honey Festivals are performed infrequently, if at all. The puberty rituals are still held, though in a much simplified form (1, p. 175).

#### 6.4 Other rituals:

#### 6.5 Myths (Creation):

The Guajajara have many creation myths pertaining to themselves and their most valuable cultural objects and commodities. These myths include (1, p. 131-137):

- The creation of man
- The origin of agriculture
- The origin of manioc flour
- The theft of fire
- The origin of hammocks
- The creation of wild pigs
- Tupan creates woman
- Creation of the moon
- The star which follows the moon
- The origin of canoes
- The origins of beans and maize
- The origin of the Honey Feast
- Tupan brings the rain
- The voice contest
- Tupan and the half-witted child
- The twins: Maira Yra and Mukwura Yra

Many more stories regard animals and human-animal interactions. In many cases of folklore, the stories reflect the mixing of cultures and traditions (European, African) with those of the Tenetehara (1, p. 128).

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

Gourd rattles are used to accompany singing and a “trumpet with a bamboo stem and cow’s horn resonator is used during the Honey Festival” (8, p. 144). No traditional games were noted among the Guajajara, though boys played tops and marbles “in the same manner as the Neo-Brazilian children of the region” (8, p. 144). Traditional art forms are represented by decorated basketwork, incised and painted gourd receptacles, and feather head adornments (8, p. 143).

#### 6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

Honey Festival: chief of the village leads the festival (1, p. 122)

Maize Festival: the performance of the shaman is central to this festival (1, p. 123)

Though both males and females may become shamans, female shamans are very rare (1, p. 109).

#### 6.8 Missionary effect:

Despite nearly 400 years of contact with outsiders, the Guajajara religious culture seems to be little affected by influence of missionaries. Their religion is still based on the shaman's control over supernatural powers (1, p. 173).

#### 6.9 RCR revival:

Ceremonies are practiced less in modern Guajajara society. The pressures of modern economic life require more attention, leaving less time for lengthy, involved ceremonies (1, p. 122).

#### 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

There is little mourning after the death of a Guajajara villager. Few people accompany the body to the burial, and even relatives will make excuses to avoid accompanying the funeral procession. Corpses are rolled in a mat or placed in a wooden box to be buried at a nearby cemetery (1, p. 172). The Guajajara believe both animal and human spirits live on after death. After the death of the body, the Guajajara believe spirits go to live in an ideal village where there is want for nothing. Other spirits become malevolent and must be controlled by the shaman (1, p. 104). They believe in and are afraid of ghosts. Immediately upon sighting a ghost one must be treated by a shaman or they may die (1, p. 105).

#### 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

#### 6.12 Is there teknonymy?

### 7. Adornment

#### 7.1 Body paint:

Girls and boys are painted black with genipa before the isolation period leading up to the puberty ritual (1, p. 83).

Men are painted with genipa for the Maize Festival

#### 7.2 Piercings:

#### 7.3 Haircut:

#### 7.4 Scarification:

There are some accounts of the scarification of boys taking place after the puberty ceremony, though others refute these accounts (1, p. 82).

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

Red and blue macaws are hunted for their feathers, which are used to make decorations (1, p. 56). Yellow toucan feathers are used as adornment in the puberty ceremony (1, p. 84).

#### 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

##### Puberty ritual:

Boys: bodies dyed black with genipa, wear headbands of cotton string with yellow flowers made of toucan feathers, white down is glued to the hair, chest, and arms, red cotton bands tied above the elbows and knees (1, p. 84)

Girls: bodies painted black with genipa, white down glued in their hair (1, p. 84-85)

Relatives loan glass beads to both boys and girls for adornment during their puberty ceremony (1, p. 84-85).

##### Maize Festival:

Men: faces painted with *urucu* and genipa and white breast feather of a hawk glued in their hair (1, p. 125)

Women: white hawk feathers tied in their hair and positioned in a striped pattern over the upper portion of their bodies (1, p. 126)

#### 7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

See 7.6

7.8 Missionary effect:

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

## **8. Kinship systems**

8.1 Sibling classification system:

The kin classification system is a bilateral one. All relatives of one's own generation are called "brother" or "sister" and the terms for classifying kin extend to include distant relatives (1, p. 25).

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

Men who have multiple wives usually marry women who are relatives (1, p. 91)

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

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

1. Infanticide is only practiced in the case of the birth of twins. It is thought that twins are the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused abnormalities. In some cases, "abnormal" children are allowed to live (3, p.149).

2. When a child is born, the placenta is buried near the wall inside the house. If the placenta is found and eaten by a dog or other animal, the child will surely die. If the mother, during the "lying-in period" following the birth of a child, scratches her eyes, the child may become blind (1, p. 69).

3. Among the Guajajara, both sexes have pointed incisors. The teeth are chipped to a point with a small knife and a block of wood is placed in the mouth to keep it open during the procedure (1, p. 80)

4. Children are taught to never ask for food except in his/her own father's house. Parents are said to be ashamed if a child asks for or accepts food in another's home (1, p. 74).

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