

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Zoró, Mondé, Tupi-Mondé

1.2 Location: Brazil, Mato Grosso, Rondônia, Aripuana Indian Park, Apidia River, tributary of Igarape Tanaru, near Pimenta Bueno (3)

1.3 Brief history: For the past few centuries, the Zoró have lived the area now designated as the northwest Mato Grosso and the south of Rondônia. Rubber extractors and mining companies began invading these indigenous lands in the 20th century. Officially contacted in 1977, the Zoró were the last of the Tupi-Mondé to encounter the regional pioneer fronts. At that time, their population was estimated at between 800 and 1000 people. Within one year after contact, their number was reduced by half. The invasion of Zoró lands by squatters and loggers continued and worsened through the 70s and 80s, leading to epidemics (malaria, tuberculosis, influenza, hepatitis, etc) and further depopulation. Even the removal of the invaders from the Zoró area in the early 1990s failed to put a stop to illegal logging activities, and so conflict between the Zoró and the settlers continued. In recent years, the Pangyjej Association (APIZ) has taken various initiatives to protect the Indigenous Zoró Territory and its natural resources, as well as supporting school education and production projects such as Brazil nut gathering (paraphrased from 1.a.).

1.4 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: After contact, the Zoró moved to the Igarapé Lourdes Indigenous Territory of the Gavião where they were greeted by the American fundamentalists of the New Tribes of Brazil Mission (and were exposed to malaria and hepatitis, reducing their numbers drastically). They later sought refuge there again, and were provided much needed healthcare by the missionaries. Since that time, the Zoró have been made into a faction of “believers” by the New Tribes Mission and have been progressively losing more and more of their traditional culture, including family structure, economy, and religious rituals. They are now organized into separate houses, each containing only one nuclear family, and their days are divided into “work” days (Monday-Friday), in which they cultivate communal fields, a “personal” day on Saturday, and Sunday, which is devoted solely to worship of the Christian God (5).

1.5 Ecology: The Mato Grosso, the main region where the Zoró reside, is an area comprised mainly of widespread wetlands containing complicated networks of many rivers and lakes interspersed with bits of savanna, rainforest, and fragments of mountain range. The Pantanal of the Mato Grosso has some of the richest faunal concentrations in the world. There have been over 160 bird species observed in the Pantanal. Winters (from May to September) are dry, with temperatures dropping as low as 0 ° C. Summers are wet, with 70-80% humidity and average temperatures landing around the 25 ° C mark although highs may reach 40 ° C (7). There are also some Zoró villages located in Rondônia, 70% of which is covered by Amazonian rainforest, a wet biome with no dry season that contains more than 1/3 of all the world’s animal species (6).

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): manioc, maize are main staples cultivated, but also include chicha, beans, yams and other various root crops, banana, cotton, tobacco and peppers (1.a.)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: various game, to include peccary, armadillo, caymen, forest fowl, and monkeys (1.a.)

2.3 Weapons: bow and arrow, timbó poison (for fishing in dry season) (1.a.)

2.4 Food storage: Until the mid-1980s, the Zoró did not encounter significant food surpluses, so there was no great need for long-term food storage. Today, each village possesses a storehouse where surplus products are kept. Occasionally, older surplus must be burned off to make room for new harvests (5).

2.5 Sexual division of production: men hunt, clear land and prepare fields; women plant and harvest, collect fruits and honey (1.a.)

2.6 Land tenure: In 1987, Zoró land was not legally demarcated. The Geographical Service of the Army surveyed and marked the boundaries of Zoró territory at the end of 1985. It was interdicted by Decree 81.587 and set aside for later demarcation. Because of this,

and other changes in social order imposed by FUNAI and The New Tribes Mission, the Zoró are unable to protect their land and encountered many clashes with settlers in the 80s and 90s (5).

2.7 Ceramics: No explicit data, although it may be inferred that decorative/ceremonial ceramics are made in the bekã (an encampment close to the village serving as a workshop). Men specifically use the bekã to create ceremonial objects, but it is highly likely that women are involved in the production of ceramics, especially those with daily functional purposes (1.a.).

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: food sharing between extended family units, villages (inferred) (1.a.)

2.9 Food taboos: consumption of felines, deer, and vultures prohibited; only the oldest in a family unit may eat all animal species (except for the aforementioned felines, deer, and vultures) (1.a.)

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? No apparent canoe/watercraft usage traditionally, recent photographic evidence (2)

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): No data

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): No data

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): No data

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): No data

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): No data

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): No data

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): No data

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: No data

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: No data

4.8 Arranged marriage, bride purchase/service, dowry: Husband must perform bride-service to father-in-law for a period of time after marriage (1.a.).

4.9 Inheritance patterns: Patrilineal; close similarities with kinship systems of other Tupi-Mondé groups; known for their tendency towards avuncular marriage and oblique kin terminology. There is recent evidence suggesting “a trend towards generational equalization (in particular, the use of a single term for maternal uncle and paternal aunt, *kutkut*) and a heightened preference for cross-cousin marriage” (1.a.).

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: Not noted, but possible conflict inferred (1.a.)

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: Not noted

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): Endogamous (1.a.)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized? High likelihood of OPP, although not specifically stated. “The Zoró consider marriage to parallel cousins (children of same-sex-siblings) incestuous, whether these [relationships] are real or classificatory” (1.a.).

4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”): Not noted

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? Likely, but no specific data

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: No data

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin): 1/3 cross cousin, 1/3 avuncular, 1/3 don’t involve significant relations (in mid-1980s; tradition probably saw a higher frequency of close relations joined in marriage) (1.a.)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? No significant restrictions mentioned

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: None presented

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? No data

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: No data

4.22 Evidence for couvades: Yes; couvades rituals are common among the Mondé, including a 7-day seclusion, and abstinence from physical activity and certain foods following the birth of a couple's child (1.c.)

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): Not noted

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? No data

4.24 Joking relationships? Not noted

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: Village association is patrilineally based (1.a.)

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: No parallel cousin marriage; strict taboos against incest relating to cosmology and religion (belief that those committing incest will "die a second death") (1.a., 1.c.)

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? Likely, but not noted

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? No specific data, although names are used to provide a system for addressing people (1.c.).

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) Usual preference is within community, post-marital residence with wife's family (1.a.).

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: No specific noted percentage

4.15 Out-group vs. in-group cause of violent death: Occurrences of both out-group and in-group violence (1.a.)

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: lack of centralized political structure (in-group) and conflict over resources during migration with other Tupi-Mondé, specifically the Cinta Larga and Suruí, along with revenge killings (outgroup) (1.a.)

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): The closest neighboring groups are the Cinta-Larga and the Suruí, both of whom the Zoró have historically clashed with. In fact, at the time of contact, the Suruí were the fiercest enemies of the Zoró, and were technically the ones who gave them their name. Zoró is a shortened form of Monshoro, which the Suruí used to describe their enemies to the north to visiting FUNAI officers in the late 1970s. The Zoró call themselves Panyjej, although they have assimilated the term Zoró over the years (1.a., 1.b., 1.c.).

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: variable, between a few dozen and over 100 (1.a.)

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): Agriculture keeps village groups at same location until resources are drained, then entire village migrates to new ecological niche (1.a., 6).

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): There is no centralized authority or political power, which is the most likely cause behind the high occurrence of inner-group violence, although kinship ties and ritual obligations maintain alliances. Zoró social organization takes the form of local groups of various sizes composed of one or several extended families. These groups are centered on a prestigious man known as the zapijaj or 'house-owner' and affiliation with a group, or village, is based on the paternal line (1.a.).

5.4 Post marital residence: temporarily uxorilocal (1.a.)

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): In the late 1980's, following contact and relocation by FUNAI, the Zoró were unable to defend their land from invading settlers (mainly loggers), although they stockpiled bows and arrows and went through rituals preparing for war hoping to warn off the encroaching settlers. This is one indication that the Zoró are a very territorial group, a trait that persists even now. Historically, the endo-warfare between the Zoró and neighboring Cinta Larga and Suruí is also an indicator of fierce territoriality (5).

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): There is an apparent division around adolescence between males in females when the males join adult hunting groups (inferred 1.a.).

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: Not noted

5.8 Village and house organization: The village normally contains one to three large oblong malocas with swiddens located a short distance away (1.a.).

5.9 Specialized village structures (men's' houses): specialized workshop structure called a bekã (1.a.)

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? Hammocks (inferred by practice of burying dead in their hammocks, 1.a.)

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: see 4.9 and 5.3

5.12 Trade: No explicit mention of trade relations, but given their territorial nature, highly self-sufficient economy and production of various crops and game, trade seems unlikely and unnecessary (1.a., 5).

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? Only manner of social hierarchy is the distinguished "head of house", the *zapijaj*, who also performs shamanic duties (1.a.)

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR: Not specified, but traditional festivals could last up to 3 months out of the year, so presumably quite a large allocation of time (1.a.).

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): During the main ceremonies, shamans answer requests made by the spirits in order to provide for the people (giving presents in return for the location of a herd or the success of a harvest, etc) (1.a.).

6.2 Stimulants: None noted

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): The "Young Woman's Festival" is a rite of passage shared by all members of the Mondé group marking a girl's entry into womanhood at the time of her first menarche. The girl remains secluded in the loghouse for a designated period of time. There is also a couvade following childbirth for the new parents, in which both the mother and father must remain secluded for a period of 7 days and abstain from physical activity and certain foods. Elaborate funerary rituals are also observed (1.a., 1.c.).

6.4 Other rituals: Festivals were traditionally held during the rainy season at the time of the maize harvest. Each village held one of the main festivals per year, which is understandable considering they lasted an average of three months!

The most important festival was Gojanej, which celebrated the visit of the water spirits: the shaman incorporated the malula spirit ('giant armadillo') who the participants had to placate with presents (arrows etc.) and serve chicha and maize flatbread. Each family also presented a live cayman on the village clearing, which was then served to the guest after being killed inside the house. In the Zaga Puj festival the shamans invoked the spirits who protect the hunt, the extraction of honey and fruit gathering – in repayment of the spirits, the families expose the cultivated produce – such as manioc, yams and cotton – on lines strung up around the village. In the Bebej ('white-lipped peccary') festival, meanwhile, the shaman communicated with the

owner-of-the-peccaries in search of valuable information for the hunters on the location of the peccary bands. Finally there was the Gat Pi ('sun path') festival, which was directed towards the spirits inhabiting the celestial world (1.a.).

6.5 Myths (Creation): Nothing specified, but likely involving cosmology (1.b., 1.c.)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): ornate formal headdresses, body painting, festival instruments (1.a.)

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: males have the most active role (village leader is shaman, only men are appointed this) (1.a.)

6.8 Missionary effect: The Christian New Tribes Mission, along with FUNAI has imposed a socio-cultural system on the Zoró in which they work in communal fields Monday through Friday and Sunday is reserved for Christian worship.

Since the time when missionaries began working with them, the Zoró have been progressively abandoning their rituals. Today the Zoró are *crentes* (believers); in their village is a little wooden church with a cross nailed to the roof where the Zoró hold services on Sunday (5).

6.9 RCR revival: Slight revival since publishing of the Silva article (1.a., 5)

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: dead are rolled up in a hammock and buried inside their house about 1 meter deep, their belongings are destroyed and their pets killed (1.a.).

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? Yes (1.a.)

6.12 Is there teknonymy? Not noted, but seems unlikely.

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: zoli tattoo (bluish circle around face) as identity mark (1.a.)

7.2 Piercings: adults' nasal septum, lower lip (1.a.)

7.3 Haircut: Nothing specifically stated, but from images appears to be a modified bowl cut (2).

7.4 Scarification: None, other than piercing

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): macaw feather (septum), tembetá, metiga (lip) (1.a.)

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: headdresses (eagle/macaw feathers attached to double bamboo ring); festival body paint (1.a.)

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: traditionally only men wear headdresses (1.a.) possible use by females present-day (2)

7.8 Missionary effect: When traditional ceremonies ARE observed, body paints and adornment are employed, but these rituals are becoming more rare. Facial piercing, especially in women seem to have decreased in popularity (2, 5).

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: Only in conjunction with revival in ceremonies

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: sister and parallel female cousins both known as *mbat*; brother and parallel male cousins both called *zano* (1.a.)

8.2 Sororate, levirate: Some evidence for levirate marriage, but not overtly stated (1.a.)

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): preference for cross-cousin and avuncular (between maternal uncle and niece) marriage (1.a.)

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

- Zoró children favor small capuchin monkeys as pets (2).
- Until fairly recently (within the last century), the Zoró were not distinguished from the general population of Tupi-Mondé speakers collectively known as the Cinta-Larga, or "broad-belts" (1.a.)

- Rubber tappers and miners nicknamed them *Cabeças-Secas*, or “Dry Heads” possibly due to the Tupi-Mondé practice of shaving their heads in response to diseases or during mourning (1.a.).
- It has been argued that the Cinta-Larga, Gavião and Zoró languages are simply dialects of Tupi-Mondé since they are mutually comprehensible (1.a.).
- The Mondé language family is almost entirely extinct (3).
- In 2008, the Zoró population was measured at 599, the highest it’s been since contact in the 1970s (1.a.).

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