1. Description

- 1.1 Name of society: Wayapi, waya (warrior) + yapi (to shoot an arrow) = "warriors who hit the mark."
 - Language/Language family: Tupi-Guarani, Tupi macrofamily
- 1.2 Location: The Wayãpi are located throughout both French Guiana and Brazil (Federal Territory of Amapá) with uninhabited areas between subgroups. Current settlements are located at the junction of the Camopi and Oyapock rivers, at the headwaters of the Oyapock in French Guiana, and along the northwestern tributaries of the Amapari and Carapanatuba rivers in Brazil
- 1.3 Brief history: Originally resided in the lower Xingu and crossed the Amazon River around 1736 (DuMont). In the 19th century the Wayãpi population was drastically reduced due to disease. See below since most of their history has been related through contact with missionaries. At the beginning of the 19th century there were 6,000 Wayãpi; twenty years ago however, the population was 310 in Brazil and 525 in French Guiana.
- 1.4 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: From about 1700-1730 the Wayāpi came into first contact with the Jesuit missionaries. They were sent by the Portuguese to fight against the French colonists, which led to a mass migration from their old lands to their current lands. They migrated from the lower Rio Xingu to the Rio Jari, and dispersed towards the north along the Jari and the Amapari Rivers. Between 1780 and 1815 the Wayāpi were totally isolated. After 1820, some northern Wayāpi began to make contact with French officials again but most remained isolated. In the 1940s the villages at the Oyapock headwaters were contacted by French geographers. In 1973 the settlements in Brazil were contacted by the FUNAI. Since then, the northern and southern communities such as Camopi and Aramirä have been moderately acculturated, while some communities such as Trois Sauts and Mariry remain traditional. There is evidence of two uncontacted groups located at the headwaters of the Eureupousine River in French Guiana and the Rio Yengari in Brazil. The Wayāpi today are considered French citizens and are protected by regional decree (Grenand, 28).
- 1.5 Ecology: For many years the Wayãpi hunted with bows and arrows which kept the prey levels in balance. However, the introduction of the shotgun has led to some overexploitation of species. In particular, the white-lipped peccary, a sacred animal to them, has not been seen in the area for at least one generation (Grenand, 32).

2. Economy

- 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Manioc, sweet potatoes, cush-cush yams, bananas, maize, ground nuts, pineapple, gourds, papaya, sugar cane, pumpkin, cashews and some peach-palm fruit (only in Southern areas) (Campbell).
- 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Tapir, monkeys (howler, spider), Cayman, sloths, fish, deer, peccary, birds (toucan, falcon, macaw, japu) (Campbell).
- 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: Nets and timbó poison for fishing, bow and arrow and shotguns for hunting. The bow and arrow is also used to shoot fish (Campbell).
- 2.4 Food storage: Sloths are kept alive in some cases and tied to a tree until they are killed and eaten (Campbell).
- 2.5 Sexual division of production:
 - Women: Manioc production, planting and tending to gardens, gathering, cooking, child care, make ceramics and cotton textiles, hammock weaving. Also allowed to participate in collective fish drugging parties

- Men: Cutting down trees and bushes for farmland, planting and tending to gardens, hunting, fishing, building houses, making canoes, paddles, and weapons, create feather works, and weave baskets. Some men also earn money as part-time civil servants such as boatmen or guides.
- 2.6 Land tenure: Virgin land is unclaimed until it has been cleared and planted, in which case it becomes the property of the man who cleared it. Shared hunting and fishing groups between close communities, but distant villages are not allowed without permission. The discoverer of a fish-stunning poison vine or a palm tree colonized by grubs is the owner and must give permission to others. All lands are threatened by gold miners, colonization, and tourists.
- 2.7 Ceramics: no data
- 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: Typically the first one to find something is the owner. However, it is common to invite relatives to enjoy it.
- 2.9 Food taboos: Do not eat male spider monkeys due to their musk, although male howler monkeys are ok. Some Wayãpi refuse to eat the coati, while surprisingly others don't have a problem with it. The Wayãpi do not frequently come across Marmosets while hunting, and therefore do not consider them food (Campbell).
- 2.10 Canoes/watercraft? Small dugout canoes with paddles are still made, but big outboard-motored canoes are bought from the Saramaka and Karipuna Indians in the lower Oyapock.

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): A girl becomes a woman at her first period which begins her rite of passage into adulthood (see passage rituals)
- 4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): no data
- 4.3 Completed family size (m and f): A nuclear family resides in one household. In the past there were collective households, but now it is more common for extended family to just live near each other. Sometimes they share the same manioc production tools.
- 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): no data
- 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): Males are about 20 years old at first marriage, while females average around age 15. It is not uncommon however, for girls to marry younger and men to marry older.
- 4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: In the younger generations divorce is very rare and in older generations it is unheard of unless the female is sterile.
- 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: Polygyny is actually not very commonly practiced since the population is so low. However, that does not mean that polygynous relationships are not respected.
- 4.8 Arranged marriage, bride purchase/service, dowry: Marriages are arranged by parents following the kinship rules of 'not-sister' and 'not-brother' (described in more detail below). Husbands are expected to work for their father-in-laws.
- 4.9 Inheritance patterns: Each individual owns their sex-specific objects such as weapons for men and manioc production tools for women which the opposite sex does not touch. In the past when a person died they

were given a plot in the forest which they then owned; no one was allowed to go there. They were dressed ceremonially and buried with their most important possessions. Their house was no longer used and objects that were too big to be buried were destroyed. In more modern times however, the high cost of Western objects such as guns and boats meant that they were too valuable to be destroyed and therefore were passed down to the family as a whole. Houses are now occupied after death as well.

- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: Children are always kept closely to the mother for protection from spirits and are not weaned until age 3 or 4. Afterwards they become very independent. Parents never pressure their children to learn skills such as growing food or making art and they are expected to imitate this behavior on their own. Children are expected to listen intently while their elders speak and teach them. Children are rarely punished however.
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals; No data
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): Typically endogamy is practiced in a village. However, in times where there are more unmarried women than there are men to marry them, exogamy is practiced. New males are lured to the village in order for the village to grow in size and increase the number of men to work for father-in-laws.
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? Unbelievably, Campbell hardly discusses birth, conception, or paternity in his book so I will try and answer these next few questions the best that I can, given what I've read. The Wayāpi people seem to be fairly prude considering their shame associated with adultery, their overall sexual discretion, the violence towards promiscuous women, and the lack of polygyny. Based on this information I will make the assumption that there is one true father. However, Campbell does talk about the kinship between child and their father's brothers. All uncles are called father by their nephews, while the only other distinction made is that of 'not-brothers', men who are not your uncle.
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows"): Since both males and females participate in couvades restrictions, I assume that the mother is not just considered a receptacle. I think it would seem odd that she spends so much time restricting what she does, what she eats, and where she goes if she does not have some role somehow.
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? No data
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: No data on coercion or rape, but there is data on wife beating. One account describes the village being awaken from their sleep by a screaming woman. Her husband was found on top of her, beating her face. He then dragged her by her hair until he was held back by the ethnographers. The husband accused her of sleeping with another man, but he could not prove it since walking in on them would be shameful. The wife however, also asserted that he had been cheating on her at the time. After some quarreling, the two appeared to make up (Campbell, pg. 105).
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin): Cannot marry those considered 'brothers' or 'sisters', no matter how close the relation actually is. Individuals of marrying age can only marry 'non-brothers' and 'non-sisters' (Campbell, pg. 119-137). Cross-cousin marriage is preferred, and 55% of current marriages are to cross-cousins.
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? No, one particular story involves a young woman being berated for allegedly sleeping with every man in another settlement (Campbell, pg. 104).
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: No data, but considering the violence towards women for alleged infidelity and the shame associated with cheating I would assume this is not practiced (Campbell).
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? If a mother dies, the husband is expected to marry her sister.

- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: No data, but the preference seems to be for a higher son-in-law population because of the labor they provide (Campbell).
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades: In his book Campbell states that there is evidence for couvades, but unfortunately he doesn't go into much detail here. He does however mention that a newborn child must be protected from Anaconda, and suggests that both fathers and mothers take certain measures to protect the child before and after birth. These measures include what activates the parents can do, what they can eat, and where they can go. The men go into isolation and follow other restrictions. Because of this babies are always held tightly in a sling by their mothers (Campbell, pg. 202-204).
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): Although Campbell suggests that there is only one father, he does acknowledge that there are distinctions among terms. Your mother and father are called *mama* and *papa*, respectively. You will use the term *papa* however, not just for your own father, but for all the males 'like your father'. These males are basically considered 'brothers' of your father. The males that are 'not like your father' are basically just 'not-brothers' of your father and are called *pa'I* (Campbell, pg. 123).
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? Husbands are expected to avoid their mother-in-laws and respect their father-in-laws by working and providing gifts of food, etc (Campbell).
- 4.24 Joking relationships? Playful nicknames and teasing is customary (Campbell, pg. 8).
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: At any given time there are four kinds of people around you: sisters, not-sisters, brothers, and not-brothers. These classifications also extend into older and younger generations. Basically, everyone who is a sister or brother of your mother, no matter how closely they are related by blood, is in some sense a sister or brother to you. The same goes for your father's side. Possessions and secret names are passed down through these lines of descent. For example, women obtain a secret name that is passed down from the women on their mother's side (Campbell, pg. 7-9, 120-123).
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules: Women can only marry men that are 'not-brothers' and men can only marry women who are 'not-sisters' (Campbell, pg. 120-123). See more below in sibling classification.
- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? There is not one specific marriage ceremony. In one ritual, the marriageable men stand in a line shoulder to shoulder. The marriageable women then stand in front of each man, hand him a piece of manioc cake, and then give him a spirit-animal name. Another involves marriageable women grabbing the belts of marriageable men and forcing them to dance while the man shouts suggestive comments at her (Campbell, pg. 104).
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? Proper names are private and never used in public to address someone. Relationship terms are used instead. Children's names are not private, and can be used to address older relatives (ex: "Hello, Bobby's Big Sister). Close friends use playful nicknames. Portuguese names were given to the Wayãpi by Brazilians, and they use these to get around the private names (ex: the leader's name is not really Waiwai, but his real name cannot be revealed). Private names are considered shameful if said out loud, but are not used during conflict to evoke shame either. In order to evoke shame, a kinsman can change someone's public name (ex: daughter's husband) to something that excludes them from the family (ex: 'not real' daughter's husband) (Campbell, pg. 7-9)
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) Marriage is preferred to be within a community. However, sometimes males are recruited into the village as new son-in-laws.

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: No data

- 4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: Murders are usually caused by revenge or conflict. In one particular case a Wayana man named Sarapo was beaten to death with an ax handle by two Wayāpi men because of claims that he had previously killed five Wayāpi men. He had also taken and married a Wayāpi woman many years ago, and accusations of violence towards her also contributed to his death (pg. 107-109). His murderers were related to all of his victims in some way (Campbell, pg. 114).
- 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: Historically war involved revenge or was a means to settle some kind of agreement. There are reports that cannibalism of war captives was practiced at one time but ended due to the missionaries trading guns for captured people. Currently the small population size and government have basically eliminated war from their culture.
- 4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): Neighbors of the Wayãpi are the Emerillon and the Wayana. For many years the Wayãpi have been included in a trade network with the Wayana (Grenand, pg. 28; Campbell, pg. 108). In French Guiana the government has forced some of the Emerillon and Wayãpi to live in one commune, with a Wayãpi leader and a council made of both groups.

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: Historically the Wayãpi lived in large villages with one important leader. Due to their recent decline however, reports state that they now lived in small, seminomadic villages comprised of extended family with a central family leader. Villages in French Guiana are much less mobile now since the government introduced schools, field hospitals, solar-power and electric-generating plants, and even a town hall.
- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): Currently the Wayãpi are pretty stationary due to schools set up by the missionaries or due to relations with the government. However, there are some more nomadic groups in which a nuclear family has split off and grown in size by recruiting new son-in-laws. In terms of food seasonality, from December to June they rely on mammals, in July they rely on birds, and from September to November they rely on reptiles (Grenand, 30).
- 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): There is some kind of political structure in place. They call their chiefs such as Waiwai "Our Big One" and shamans are also held in high esteem. Campbell states though that Waiwai is not a decision-maker for the village and that no one expects him to be. He states that Waiwai primarily gives lectures on how people should act such as the virtue of not being lazy, but that even then no one really pays attention (Campbell, pg. 116). I think Campbell describes it best when he says,
 - "...the picture presented by these communities is one of power-degree-zero, hierarchy reduced to a minimum, authority no more than a posture, coercion no more than a gesture," (pg. 117).

Wealth is accumulated by ownership. Men with the most daughters are typically the wealthiest because of all the gifts they receive from the various son-in-laws. Also, because of the labor force they provide son-in-laws are considered a commodity in themselves and a man with lots of son-in-laws in considered wealthy.

- 5.4 Post marital residence: A bride moves her hammock to that of her husband's parents. However, after a year or two the pair is free to move wherever they choose to build their home, whether it is closer to the wife's parents or the husband's.
- 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): As of now the Wayãpi territories are sanctioned and protected by either the French Guiana government or FUNAI. However, Campbell implies that gold miners have/had their eye on protected Wayãpi areas and assumes that some illegal mining is going on. He also suggests that the Wayãpi do little to actively try and stop this (Campbell).
- 5.6 Social interaction divisions? (Age and sex): No data

- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: Playful nicknames and teasing are common (Campbell, pg. 8).
- 5.8 Village and house organization: Extended kin usually live in clusters and share a manioc-producing area. Traditional dwellings have raised floors and thatched palm roofs. Modern homes also have raised floors, but now have planked walls and metal roofs.
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): Since the women do all of the manioc production, they have special houses dedicated for their use (Campbell, pg. 49-57). Also, Campbell mentions that there are special areas where people in isolation for disease, menstruation, or birth go.
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? Everyone sleeps in hammocks made from cotton thread by the women.
- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: The lineages that are followed are those of your 'brothers' and 'sisters', and the 'brothers' and 'sisters' of your parents (Campbell, pg. 120-123).
- 5.12 Trade: Entered in a trade network run by the Wayana Indians (from the Tapanahoni River in Suriname to the Rio Amapari in Brazil). Other groups believed to be involved in the Wayana trade included "Bush negroes", Wayana, Apalai, Trio, and Emerillon. The Wayãpi historically traded cotton thread, hunting dogs, tobacco, letterwood for bows, and feather headdresses in exchange for axes, knives, cutlasses, and fishhooks. They currently trade Western products too, such as ammunition, tools, fishhooks, pans, and glass beads. Trade today is restricted due to increasing control of the national boundaries.
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? Hierarchy is very minimal. They acknowledge their leaders as Our Big One and respect shamans (Campbell, pg. 116). The current leader is a man named Waiwai. Sharing-out system: Those with the most to share become leaders in the community. Rules for proper conduct: must respect father-in-law and avoid mother-in-law.

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

- 6 Time allocation to RCR: No data
- 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): Shamans are called *paye*-people. *Paye* does not necessarily mean shaman though and it is defined more as a magical characteristic that people, trees, animals, etc can all possess (Campbell, pg. 186). Shamans serve as curers, cursers, doctors, mediators between worlds, ritual specialists, seers, conjurers, prophets, priests, and soul-guides (psychopomps) (Campbell, pg. 192). They cure people by chanting and blowing tobacco smoke over the ill and rubbing the body. Village cures are done by going into a trance in a special hut and rattles are used (Campbell, pg. 193).
 - Shamans have spirit helpers in the form of small animals such as invisible caterpillars or maggots. These spirit helpers are like pets and are chosen for you by the spirit creatures such as Tapir, Peccary, Jaguar, Armadillo, Monkey, Anteater, Blue Butterfly, and Vulture (Campbell, pg. 195). The spirit pet lives inside you and teaches you songs and gives you 'mirrors for your eyes'. These mirrors allow you to see what is not there and to know some hidden knowledge (Campbell, pg. 195 and Fausto).
- 6.2 Stimulants: Pink-colored beer made from yams called caxiri is used to induce drunkenness during sprees. This beer has a short high, which is repeated by vomiting and drinking more until the belly is distended (pg. 102). Tobacco and hyperventilation are used to alter consciousness, since other hallucinogens were unknown to the Wayãpi (Campbell, pg. 193).
- 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): Girls at the first menstruation go through a rite of passage, while no similar initiation is done for boys. Their head is shaved, she is isolated, and she is not allowed to touch the bare earth. A belt is woven and tapicium ants are placed inside. The belt is then placed on the girl's arms, legs, back, abdomen, and forehead while she is held down by her mother. This is believed to prevent her from being lazy (Campbell, pg. 56).

6.4 Other rituals: Various dances take place to honor certain occasions such as the hawk dance, the butterfly dance, and the maize dance which can only be done at night (Campbell, pg. 103).

6.5 Myths (Creation):

- Believe in an 'earthly paradise' called the Land-of-Immortality where a 'cultural hero' usually named Maira had fled to. Often groups migrate in hopes of finding it (Campbell, pg. 180).
- In the Anaconda story, a snake came to a house in human form and taught the sisters of the ancestors how to paint their bodies and then seduced them. The brothers killed Anaconda, and the corpse filled with maggots. The maggots became tiny people who the ancestors fed and raised. These people eventually became the Aparai and the Wayana, neighbors of the Wayapi.
- Ruled by the spirit-owners of trees, certain animals (such as the jaguar), and the most importantly the Owner-of-Water, Anaconda.
- 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): Beads were highly desired, even hoarded. Basketry is also made. During rituals singing and dancing takes place. Special decorated arrows are made. Instruments such as panpipes, turtle shells, and flutes are used. A link to clips of Wayapi music is included in the references.
- 6.7 Sex differences in RCR: Women must go through the painful rite of passage at menarche, while men do not have a similar ritual (Campbell, pg. 56).
- 6.8 Missionary effect: It is reported that the Wayāpi once practiced cannibalism, which the missionaries quickly put an end to. Missionary schoolrooms have been set up in Wayāpi villages and have had a great effect on their culture, especially which the construction of permanent settlements (pg. 58-69).
- 6.9 RCR revival: No data, but given their drastically low numbers, Campbell feared their culture would soon be lost.
- 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: The origin of death myth states that our ancestors 'answered the call of the rotten tree', despite having been warned not to. A ladder to the sky is made of arrows that are shot and attached to each other in a chain (Campbell, pg. 175). Death is believed to not be caused by disease, but by the will of the *paye*-people. The shamans send 'mental' darts that pierce a person's body and kill them. Typically a shaman from another group such as the Aparai or Wayana is blamed. Shooting stars are said to be darts from the other shaman that miss (Campbell, pg. 196).
- 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? No data
- 6.12 Is there teknonymy? Yes, see naming.

7. Adornment

- 7.1 Body paint: Bodies are painted in anticipation of a spree, a night of drunkenness and the relaxing of normal social restraint,
- 7.2 Piercings: No data
- 7.3 Haircut: No real data, but pictures suggest that they did not have any particularly special hair cuts
- 7.4 Scarification: No data
- 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): Headdresses are made with beads and colorful toucan feathers. Hunters climb trees and sit silent for long periods of time, waiting for colorful birds to shoot just for their feathers. Strips of bark were dried and dyed black and made into these headdresses,
- 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: Headdresses are worn during dancing ceremonies.

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: No data

7.8 Missionary effect: No data

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: No data, but headdresses are now traded for other goods.

8. Kinship systems

- 8.1 Sibling classification system: There are two groups of names: one for women, and one for men. These two groups can be further subdivided into generational levels: there is a level for 'people in an older generation', one for your generation, and then one for 'people in a younger generation'. Your generation is then divided again into four groups: women like you (something like sisters, *nyanya*), women not like you (not-sisters, *tõ'i*), men like you (brothers, *kakanye*), and men not like you (not-brothers, *emen*) (Campbell, pg. 119-137).
- 8.2 Sororate, levirate: Both are practiced often.
- 8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): The older generation and younger generation can both be divided into their own sister, not-sister, brother, or not-brother terms. There is only one term for grandmothers (*sa'i*) and grandfathers (*tamu*) though, and only one term for all grandchildren (*pary*) (Campbell, pg. 119-137).

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

- The number four is very important. There are only terms for the numbers 1-4, and then after that the terms stand for things like 'a lot' and 'many'. The kinship and naming system is broken up into groups of four terms in each different generational level (brother, not-brother, sister, not-sister).
- Since they run and hunt barefooted, the feet are very important. Wounded feet are bandaged and treated carefully and intimately, which is odd in a society that has no formal touching such as handshakes.
- The sexual division of labor is imbalanced. Women must take care of all manioc production, child care, and household duties. Women are shamed by being called lazy and must go through a painful ritual to prove that they aren't.
- Menstruating women are not allowed near water since they believe the Anaconda can smell the blood and will make them ill and die.
- Main deity is Yaneyar (pg. 176).
- Campbell implies throughout his book that cannibalism may have been practiced at one point and that it was stopped at some time, but he provides no real evidence to back up this claim.
- Occasionally during sprees a man or woman will commit suicide by hanging themselves with their tangas from their roof poles (Campbell, pg. 158).
- The mysterious death of Taro, a 16 year old man: One day Taro went hunting and disappeared. He was found three days later on the ground naked, with his tanga around his neck. He had a broken knee, and a wound to the arm and stomach. His bow and arrow were set against a tree and his knife was stuck into the ground near him. His death has been speculated to be either a suicide or another murder committed by Sarapo (Campbell, pg. 158-159).
- An interesting example of the treatment of women: Campbell had a conversation with a Sertanista (a man put in charge of contacting isolated groups) in which the man warned him that he would not be able to resist the sexual temptations of the Wayãpi women. Campbell doubted him, but upon arrival realized that the man had carried on a sexual relationship with a Wayãpi woman there. Campbell claims that no one outside him and the Wayãpi know this fact. Because of this affair, and presumably the diseases contracted from it, the woman could only produce deformed children. The men of her village believed this was due to her promiscuity with a Brazilian. Years later another Sertanista took her from the village and had her sterilized without her knowledge. Campbell shows real concern for the fact that the Brazilians don't know/don't care that she was taken advantage of and that she has no idea that she has been sterilized by Brazilian doctors (Campbell, pg. 230-231).

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