

# Food production or cultivation of life? Remarks on the Guarani action and contemplation in their growing crops

Rubia Carla Formighieri Giordani<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Universidade Federal do Paraná,  
Departamento de Nutrição, Setor de Ciências da  
Saúde. Curitiba-PR, Brasil

Funding: CAPES Process 2307-10-3

Correspondence  
Rubia Carla Formighieri Giordani  
E-mail: rubia@ufpr.br

## Abstract

This article presents an ethnography produced among the contemporary Guarani from the *mbya* ethnic group living in an indigenous land in the state of Paraná, Brazil, and scrutinize how activities geared towards food production are deeply connected with the Guarani thought regarding existential aspects and the relationship with divinity. Plant growing for human consumption produces specific modes of formation and reproduction of the Guarani social world. Daily actions involved in plant growth must be in balance with contemplative attitudes, enabling the concomitant experience of the ordinary and sacred dimensions of Guarani human life on Earth. Thus, it can be considered that agriculture manifests a laborious way to manufacture the inner, the domestic life, but also its strength acting upon relations with the outside world, the *socius*, expressing in its own way, the dependence of the Guarani realm on their gods. Plant production would, at the same time, modernize the Guarani condition and their descent from divinity, while simultaneously reproducing sacred plants in the dwelling of gods and here on Earth.

**Key words:** Guarani. Food Culture. Sacred. Agricultural Practices.

The participation of growing crops in the Guarani diet has been widely documented from colonial historiography<sup>1,2</sup> to twentieth century ethnographies. Chase-Sardi,<sup>3</sup> Schaden<sup>4</sup> and Cadogan<sup>5</sup> highlighted the persistence of clear-plots, mainly maize cultivation, among different Guarani groups in Paraguay and Southwest Brazil. Schaden<sup>4</sup>, which considered them essentially agricultural, stresses the “community-based production and consumption” [our translation] as an authentic form of social organization that is built on the extended family. One can still find, in a raft of contemporary ethnographies, in the works carried out by Ladeira<sup>6,7</sup> and Garlet<sup>8</sup>, a detailed description of the relationship between displacements, territories, (re)conquest and the production of a collective welfare, conventionally called *teko*<sup>9</sup> in Guarani ethnography. The authors emphasize the key role of agriculture practices, mostly maize crop and its permanence, possibly associated with its use in the important children naming religious ceremony, the *ñemongarai*.\*

This article presents an ethnography<sup>10,11</sup> of contemporary Guarani people from the *mbya* ethnic group that live and move across indigenous areas in the extreme west of the State of Paraná, Paraguay and Argentina. From mythical narratives, dialogues and data collected through direct observation and ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Itamarã/Paraná Indigenous Land, this article presents a description of the relationship that Guarani from the *mbya* ethnic group have with the place in which they live and cultivate their own food, in order to investigate the activity productivity in a sociological and symbolic perspective.

Throughout the text, one can note how certain aspects of dietary behavior, those clearly related to the positive values that plants assume in the Guarani diet,<sup>12-14</sup> are kept due to their cosmological origin, as well as their cultivation, which is considered a possible revitalization of the union with gods during their life in this world (*Yvy Pyau*).

The cultivation of crops in clear-plots and around the houses goes beyond the food sphere and acquires a particular symbolic productivity in the Guarani lifestyle.<sup>15</sup> In the light of Guarani people thought, food production engenders specific forms of sociability<sup>16</sup> lined with mechanisms for the formation and reproduction of their own world, or with those who recognize and identify themselves as Guarani. Domestic life, their clear-plots and areas contiguous to their houses, daily activities<sup>17,18</sup> associated with plant growth, all must be balanced with contemplative attitudes, allowing to simultaneously experience the common and sacred dimensions of Guarani human life on Earth.

---

\* Chanting and prayer sessions are held during the period considered a season of rebirth and renewal for Guarani people, the *ara pyau*, which coincides with the maize harvest. During this ritual, the deity reveals to the shaman the names of children.

## Sociological and cosmological considerations on the agricultural practices

A story about the original *kokue* (planting field), narrated by the shaman *Karai Poty* from Itamarã, tells that the gods made the plans grow for the Guarani. According to the myth, a couple was looking for a place to make their *kokue* and, after a long walk, they found an area that seemed to be suitable for plantation. With a small ax made from a piece of wood and a sharp pebble, they cleared the weeds and then burned down. In the evening, when everything was clean and the ground prepared to receive the seeds, the couple did not know what to do. They thought of what could grow there, but they had no idea where to go to look for fertile seeds to make the land yield food. *Ñanderu Tupã* (deity) sent a heavy rain during the night, and the next day, pumpkins, peanuts, watermelons and other plants have grown, plants that the Guarani cultivate in their planting fields since then.

In *Itamarã*, clear-plots are often open in the neighboring area between the house and the woods. After clear-felling, with the aid of metal tools like machetes and hoes, ground vegetation clearing takes place through a burning operation.<sup>19</sup> The creation of clear-plots is considered a difficult step and it is usually conducted through cooperation networks between families. There, the persistence of growing crops has different nuances in their contemporary forms, and their cultivation remains associated with some plant species, which are of use for women in the kitchen, with the application of several cooking methods. With these plants, I was told, they prepare food to be used in religious rituals at the *opy* (house of prayer), food to “make the children grow”, to feed people and to circulate among their relatives with exchanges and gifts, as well as other uses I could not notice.<sup>20-22</sup>

Varieties of native plants are usually identified through their plant characteristics, such as color, size and particular flavor. The nomenclature generally indicates these characteristics or qualities, for example, *avaxi ju* (yellow corn) or *manduvi pytã guasu* (large red grains) and *jety mandio* (long potato similar to cassava).<sup>19</sup> According to Guarani professor Tupã Jeguavy, these are specific characteristics that can confer Guarani legitimacy to the plant. Many cultivars are identified by the Guarani as real plants, created by the gods to serve Guarani as food, medicine or instrumental use.<sup>13,23</sup> This identification is performed using the name of the plant and adding the suffix “ete”, which commonly refers to white people.

This sacred origin appearing in the myths has two implications for the Guarani diet. First, it assures cultivars a central position in the Guarani food system and a certain preference of their consumption. Secondly, these vegetables are associated with desirable dietary habits that result in a light and agile body, a notion valued by natives and considered essential to form a benchmark to pinpoint different food combinations.<sup>12-14,24</sup>

Paradoxically, plants considered sacred can share the same planting fields with the species coming from the *jurua*\*\* or species of unknown or ignored origin, except the real corn, for which it is a privileged area in Itamarã is reserved. Regarding the origin of the plants, I have the impression that they receive divine predicates only when it is extremely safe. Moreover, ignorance is related to an absolute disregard for their origin. As we shall see, this does not reduce their cultivation and consumption along with that of other species.

It is well known that maize has a prominent role in Guarani society.<sup>3-5</sup> The plant is important in the sociological context underlying the exchanges between relatives and mobility between villages,<sup>7</sup> besides intermediating representations in the cosmological field, such as the myth narrated by *Karai Poty* on *Kuaray* hero, who used *mbyta* (a type of a corn dough) to pick up the bones and reconstruct his own mother's body that was devoured by jaguars. Thus, it is not surprising that they use corn to prepare multiple recipes, including those used in rituals at the house of prayers.<sup>12</sup> The Guarani prepare a fermented drink called *kaguyjy*, consumed on a daily basis for singing sessions and dance rituals, in addition to *mbojape*, a type of bread especially served with honey (*ei*) during the children naming religious ceremony - the *ñemongarai*.

With literal or literary differences in general, ethnographies give a central role to corn in the Guarani life ritual, and this is a much-debated subject. Cadogan<sup>25</sup> described on the period prior to maize cultivation, the separation of corn cobs to be taken to the *opy*, where they would be smoked in a smoke obtained from burning tobacco in a ritual called *avaxi ñemongarai*. Ladeira,<sup>6,7</sup> Assis<sup>23</sup> and Garlet<sup>8</sup> also described the children naming religious ceremony as something markedly linked to *ete* maize cultivation, which Cadogan<sup>25</sup> also included in a larger ceremony that celebrates the harvest and presents the cultivars to the deities - the *tembiu ñemongarai*.

*Tupã Jeguavy* explained that plants considered sacred must be "baptized" during the *opy* through a smoking process of a few specimens collected in Guarani planting fields with *petyngua* (a kind of wooden pipe). In Itamarã, once a year, the Guarani people, together with the *ñemongarai*, choose the names of their children and the celebrate the *avaxi ete* maize harvest. On this occasion, older women prepare *mbojape* and put it in the *opy* to be tasted after the ceremony. In another period of the year, an exclusive ritual to "baptize" their sacred foods such as honey, yerba mate, beans, sweet potatoes is held. Eventually, if there are children to be named, the shaman takes this opportunity to perform the ritual.

Despite the fact that maize clear-plots, called *avaxi ete'i*, are not sufficient for an expected increase in consumption, the baptizer-shaman's daughter always keeps some specimens to serve

---

\*\* Word used by Guarani to refer to non-Indians.

during the rite. However, I observed that in *Itamarã*, when there is an undersupply of *ete'i* corn cobs to prepare the *mbojape* served with honey in the morning following the *ñemongarai* night chants, another variety, that can be obtained from white people, is used in the ceremony. Likewise, the ritual that uses tobacco and precedes the planting and food ceremony in which crop samples are presented, although this does not have everyone's approval, especially some older Guarani's, the *ete'i* plants can be substituted by varieties acquired from white people. At first, both the ceremony that precedes the plantation and the one that closes the cycle are related to the food that will be consumed by the Guarani. Thus, in the absence of the original variety, non-Guarani varieties of certain species act as substitutes in ritual sessions, or serve only to trigger the symbology related to consumption. The product derived from the relations with the *jurua* variety, obtained through the corn production geared towards businesses in city locations, is excluded from this process.

In *Itamarã*, in addition to working in a collective farm, where they usually plant cassava or corn that generates profits for their Association, nuclear families have private clear-plots. In those plots, they mix maize crops, as they are very skilled at crop management, and also produce other species used in everyday cooking and rituals.

If clear-plots destined towards white people are associated with men, women, in the great majority, except those who are menstruating (prevented from doing this work), and the more elderly, are almost daily involved in farm activities. I have the impression that it would be more appropriate to associate men with crop production geared towards the political negotiations of crops with white people in the city, an activity related to *jurua* variety. Participation in collective decision-making meetings on farm issues is limited to men, although the production process does not relinquish the female working force. If the land preparation was once a man's function, nowadays is just a mechanized stage in the village, and the sowing periods rely on women's massive cooperation. The harvest, in turn, requires the involvement of both men and women, however, the use of rewarded male physical strength lies within a complex game that can involve gift exchange, reciprocity and the affirmation of kinship relations.

In the piece of land that each nuclear family has in *Itamarã*, objectively assigned to produce vegetables for the purpose of sale, other crops, such as pumpkin, peanut, banana, cassava, watermelon, bean, sugarcane and sweet potato, are mixed and happily grown by women. The Guarani consume raw or roasted vegetables, extract juices, prepare great fermented foods, produce flour, meals and scrambles with cassava flour, cook puddings, pies and breads. In other words, plants that had been under women's intense care are those which, as they told me, "make Guarani people grow".

## Enchanted gardens and the union with divinity

I use the word “garden” relying on the image it evokes for the idealization of an original space. If those built-up spaces in ancient times served to seek contemplative grounding or for a mere socialization process, nowadays they also refer to the Judeo-Christian myth of Paradise or Eden. However, resorting to the origin of the term and obviously surrounded by risks, I use the word “garden” to name these green spaces, which, so to speak, are designated for growing plants around the houses. As they cannot be anything else but western gardens, I use a metonymy due to the relationship it establishes between the word and its original form. I preferred “garden” to “vegetable-garden”, as it seemed to me a potentially interesting term for the metaphor used in this article, i.e., a space by which the cosmos re-creation process and the original union between the Guarani and the deities circulate, through a continuous reproduction of the original plans left for the Guarani. On the other hand, “vegetable-garden” involves the design of a set of techniques aimed at producing species domesticated by humans to comply a nutritional or medicinal purpose and, as I see it, anchored in the Western rationality, which has little to do with the way how the Guarani relate to their plants.

The context of food production extends to spaces locally and collectively agreed as suitable areas for production, i.e., from delimited plantation fields to the areas around the houses, where it can be seen observe more or less dispersed cultivars. Vegetables, tubers, roots, cucurbits, flowers, herbs and some spices brought by *jurua* such as marjoram, lemongrass, salvia and parsley are all mixed there. Women do their best to take care of these spaces during the different stages of this task. I saw them spending a few hours a day, sometimes also surrounded by children, cleaning weeds, making holes for depositing thw seeds and extracting plants to prepare the meals.

The adjacent areas to the houses suggest little concern with the structure. However, banana trees and sugarcane are arranged in strategic places to provide shade for the rest of the plants, as well as other functional combinations, such as grass among leguminous plants, roots among cucurbits and the space reserved for *ete'i* corn. The predominance of informality and carelessness regarding the plant arrangement and implied in the seedbed, suggests, in my opinion, the prevalence of the centrality of plants and a certain contemplative attitude towards their growth.

Growing in locations carefully separated for *ete'i* corn and another type of maize identified as proper to white people are also reported in other ethnographies.<sup>6,7</sup> Interestingly, this attention is limited to corn. Considering what my data allowed to evaluate, I heard descriptions of cultivars identified as authentic that were planted together with plants from the white people. That is, Guarani and non-Guarani varieties from different species were combined. This was, for example,

the case of seasonings and flowers in the growing fields. On the other hand, I found Guarani and jurua varieties of the same species sharing the same growing area, for example, *ete'i* beans mixed with bean sprouts acquired from the *jurua*.

There is a significant amount of fruit trees planted around the houses, which were donated by non-indigenous associations in order to improve the variety of Indian food items. Growing in a disciplined manner in the area adjacent to the house, for some Guarani, they were more appropriate to comfortably tie the hammock and drink *terere* (beverage made with yerba mate) than to satisfy their appetite. From time to time, the Guarani remembered to tell, while laughing, that these curious plants produce some types of edible fruits, as the *jurua* told them.

This was also the case of a project on vegetable-gardens developed by an NGO. It was possible to identify their remains in some houses: an attempt to symmetrically arrange the seedbeds, which, in their own way, the Guarani accompanied and cared for. On the other hand, the mismatch between the expectations of *jurua*, on one side, and the Guarani claims on the other, also included the species to be cultivated. The lack of passion for the vegetables and leaves available on the plantation field was notorious. The fact was regretted by some of most enthusiastic white people that were fighting against what they considered an intriguing food monotony and who, on several occasions, I witnessed trying to convince the Guarani to implement a vegetable-garden system. The Guarani laughed and asked me if I liked the green leaves.

On the other hand, one could not help but noticing that in the growing fields around the houses, with which women are concerned almost exclusively, vegetables used for the daily diet of families grow. In addition, plant growth seems to be a subject that easily cheers up tempers in *Itamarã*. Clear-plots with leafy plants were praised by proud owners; nonetheless, those which did not grow, received protests, especially those from people saying that the growth was interrupted by the envy<sup>\*\*\*</sup> of their neighbors. Any action, as small as it may be, shows a dangerous side of kinship that threatens conviviality.<sup>26</sup>

However, this does not mean that the Guarani protect their growing fields from the eyes of others or that they are afraid of the community's attention towards the development of their plants. About watermelons, for example, the subject of the desire for this specific food rather than be related to envy, brings greater productivity. Frequently, the disappearance of a fruit involves children's careless actions and inspire a spirited preparation of the event. Expecting other people's

---

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Envy, *akatey*, and anger, *-poxy*, causes disease both in the person that generated them and in the one to whom the feelings are directed; it is the opposite feeling to what is cultivated at the core of the group and the appropriate way to deal with relatives. This theme has huge productivity among the Guarani, taking into account their tendency to search for a reaffirmation of kinship relations in the village. It points to an unstable and uncertain aspect of familiar relations that most of the time, among the Guarani, awakens the desire to move to another village in order to not face situations that generate this uncertainty.<sup>26</sup>

inevitable desire to eat juicy watermelons that prodigiously sprout near the houses, these situations were often considered to be under a veiled agreement and without further rumors. The shaman's daughter anecdotally told me about the theft of fruits as "things that disappeared in the garden". This behavior was considered very different from something imbued with greed. "And after all, what happens with watermelons?", I asked her. She answered me with a smile: "I think children come to eat them".

If the strength of lush vegetation has a great meaning among the Guarani, it is because they tacitly expect this or the vegetative growth from the perspective of those who wisely accompany the reproduction of divine replicates that remain from the dwelling of gods. The *mbya Tupã Jeguavy* and his wife said that those Guarani plants grow nowadays in Guarani clear-plots, because they originally grew in the house of gods and are still produced there the same way they are produced here. These places are absolutely enchanted, because they are the continuation of others, divine, where the Guarani want to reach. Based on that, we can extract two propositions. The first suggests that there is a definitive break between the divine and the human spheres, i.e., according to Guarani terms, there is no absolute distinction between the *Yvy Mara'ei* (Earth without evil) and *Yvy Pyau* (the present Earth), but a communication, which, among other methods, manifests itself through plant reproduction there and here. The second proposition derives from the first one. Just as the house, the clear-plots express a genuine relationship with divinity and generation of humanity.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, one can consider agriculture as the manifestation of a laborious way of manufacturing inner, domestic life, but also its strength acting upon relations with the outside world, the *socius*, expressing in its own way, the dependence of the Guarani realm on their gods. Plant production would, at the same time, modernize the Guarani condition and their descent from divinity, while simultaneously reproducing sacred plants in the dwelling of gods and here on Earth. Waiting for the plants to sprout and grow leafy is like receiving gifts, since that "*Ñanderu* gives and make them grow", said *ol Karai Poty*.

Humanity is between nature and supernature, and the deities that constitute the human existential base also control animals and make vegetables grow. The plant belongs to the realm of nature, but nature does not absolutely impose itself to divinity, reviving the bond between humans and gods.

If the deity is outside the Guarani *socius*, the Guarani otherwise seek to upgrade their everyday dependence on the gods, to preserve individuals and the *socius* itself. The desirable modes of human life, which are estimated solely from deity assumptions, are also included in the original forms of Guarani sociability. By watching and listening to older Guarani, I believe that, in short, what we seek to resume, day after day, with these beautiful fields that grow almost spontaneously under the contemplative eyes of the Guarani, is the continuation of earthly life, the extension of the person's existence through the re-creation of ties with divinity.



## Joy and frugality and the divine dependency

I think the contemplative and faithless attitude towards fruit trees planted around the houses is part of a perspective that I will call “frugal”. In fact, good fruits are those placed in the path of the Guarani by *Nãnderu* (deity); just as the animals are placed in the way of the hunter.<sup>6,23</sup> Therefore, as hunting is a measured activity, i.e., animals should not be excessively slaughtered on pain of retaliation measures taken by the spiritual owner of the species, plant reproduction requires in the same way, moderation, energy saving.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, if the set of activities performed during maize production for commercial exchange with white people is seen as painful, this is due to the fact that it is opposed to the rhythmic growth of plants given by gods to the Guarani and are joyfully protected. The reservation is that, following the logic of restraint in daily activities, maize that will be sold in the future, although exhaustive, does not escape the economy of frugality, which is reflected in a very fluctuating adherence of this socially regulated activity, especially if one get some advantage from it. Even though, relying on the coordination of leadership bodies, the local map of agricultural activities geared towards business remains more or less informal.

My observations suggest that restraint is applied to all daily activities, considering the moderation required to get involved, to spend physical energy and put desire into action. It is noticeable not only in activities considered painful when dealing with work on the land, but also in recrimination regarding the exaggerated tenacity in hunting, social behavior or exaggerated food consumption.

Characteristically, plant cultivation around the house involves the same work steps that are typically required in Western agriculture, except soil correction, weed control and agricultural treatments. Thus, this activity suggests comparatively longer intervals and increased informality than the assumptions of conventional horticulture may bear up. In these green spaces, seeds are randomly distributed, edible species are mixed among flowers and herbs, there is a lack of a proper alignment of the plants and a disordered aspect which ignores the symmetry inspired by the organization of the plants in a format previously determined and based on geometric shapes.<sup>28</sup>

Restraint expressed by the number and intensity of human interventions connects directly to the supply ensured by gods of the Guarani cosmos. In other words, if these authentic species, genuine replicas of those present among the gods, are designated for the use and benefit of the Guarani, the deity will directly act on plant growth. This is what the shaman assured me whenever I teased him asking about the fate of their gardens when he traveled and spent much time away from home. “Sowing is a Guarani task, but not prosperity”, he warned. Making plants

sprout and grow is a consequence of the incisive action carried out by *Ñanderu*. In my opinion, for the Guarani, the act of growing plants dissociates itself from a controlling attitude and gets closer to concise modes of action and to an almost contemplative conduct typical for the “*amitié respectueuse*”<sup>28</sup> which the sacred plants require.

These modes of treatment and plant cultivation by the Guarani, who respectfully await the spontaneous growth, involve what Haudricourt<sup>28</sup> defined as a negative indirect action, when he analyzed yam cultivation in New Caledonia: “*il n’y a jamais pour ainsi dire contact brutal dans l’espace ni simultanéité dans le temps avec l’être domestiqué*”. This indirect action that inspires a return to original nature, in the case of New Caledonia natives, suggests to the Guarani that live here the endless recreation of original forms, reviving their bonds with deities and the constant renewal of life in *Yvy Pyau*. Also, it is related to the concept of *Yvy Mara e’ý*, “the land without imperfection”, as an old hunter explained to me once. The intention to recreate, in my opinion, expresses awareness of finitude and the continuity of the earthly life<sup>26</sup>, rather than solely a reference to the set of economic and ecological practices unequivocally justified by a search for the Land Without Evil. According to Pissolato<sup>26</sup>, this awareness, more than representing an absolute break between, so to speak, the current condition and another deeply expected by the divinities, indicates the possibility, within the limits of life’s finiteness, to realize it fully, to make it grow parsimoniously.

## References

1. Meliá B. El guaraní conquistado y reducido. Ensayos de etnohistoria. 4 ed. Asunción: Centro de Estudios Antropológicos de la Universidad Católica; 1997.
2. Meliá B. A terra sem mal dos Guarani: economia e profecia. *Revista de Antropologia* 1990; 33:33-46.
3. Chase-Sardi M. El precio de la sangre: tuguy nee repy estudio de la cultura y el control social entre los Avá-Guarani. Asunción: Centro de Estudios Antropológicos; 1992.
4. Schaden E. Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guarani. São Paulo: EDUSP; 1974.
5. Cadogan L. Como interpretan los chiripás (Avá Guarani) la danza ritual. *Revista de Antropología* 1959; 7(1-2):65-99.
6. Ladeira MI. Espaço geográfico Guarani-Mbyá: significado, constituição e uso. São Paulo: Editora Unesp; 2008.
7. Ladeira MI. O caminhar sob a Luz. O território Mbyá Guarani e a beira do oceano. São Paulo: Editora Unesp; 2007.
8. Garlet I. Mobilidade mbyá: história e significação [Dissertação]. Porto Alegre: Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul; 1997.

9. Meliá B. El modo de ser Guaraní en la primera documentación jesuítica (1594-1639). *Revista de Antropología* 1981; 24:5-6.
10. Clifford J. Sobre a autoridade etnográfica. In: Clifford J. *A experiência etnográfica: antropologia e literatura no século XX*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ; 1998.
11. Geertz C. *Local knowledge: further essays in interpretive anthropology*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
12. Tempass M. Quanto mais doce melhor. Um estudo antropológico das práticas alimentares da doce sociedade Mbyá-Guarani [Tese] Porto Alegre: Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul; 2010.
13. Tempass M. Orerémbiú: a relação das práticas alimentares e seus significados com a identidade étnica e a cosmologia Mbyá-Guarani [Dissertação] Porto Alegre: Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul; 2005.
14. Clastres H. *A terra sem mal, o profetismo Tupi Guarani*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1978.
15. Hubert A. *L'alimentation dans un village Yao de Thaïlande du Nord: De l'au-dela au cuisiné*. Paris: CNRS; 1985.
16. McCallum C. *Gender and sociality in Amazonia: how real people are made*. Oxford: Berg; 2001.
17. Overing J, Passes A, organizadores. *The anthropology of love and anger: the aesthetics of conviviality in native Amazonia*. London: Routledge; 2000.
18. Overing J. Elogio do cotidiano. A confiança e a arte da vida social em uma comunidade amazônica. *MANA* 1999; 5(1):81-107.
19. Filipim A. O sistema agrícola Garani Mbyá e seus cultivares de milho: um estudo de caso na aldeia Guarani da Ilha do Cardoso, município de Cananéia, SP [Dissertação] Piracicaba: Programa de Pós-Graduação em Ciências, Escola Superior de Agricultura Luiz de Queirós, Universidade de São Paulo; 2001.
20. Godbout JT. *O espírito da dádiva*. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas; 1999.
21. Seeger A, Damatta R, Viveiros de Castro E. A construção da pessoa nas sociedades indígenas brasileiras. In: Oliveira Filho JP, organizador. *Sociedades indígenas e indigenismo no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Marco Zero, UFRJ; 1987.
22. Mauss M. Ensaio sobre a dádiva: forma e razão da troca nas sociedades arcaicas. In: Mauss M. *Sociologia e antropologia*. v. II. São Paulo: EDUSP; 1974.
23. Assis V S. Dádiva, mercadoria e pessoa: as trocas na constituição do mundo social Mbyá [Tese] Porto Alegre: Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul; 2006.
24. Giordani RCF. Comportamento alimentar entre os Guarani. *Cultura e alimentação* [Tese] Curitiba: Co-tutela Programa de Pós Graduação em Sociologia, Universidade Federal do Paraná; 2012.

25. Cadogan L. *Ayvu rapyta: textos míticos de los Mbya Guaraní del Guairá*. Asunción: Fundación Leon Cadogan; 1997.
26. Pissolato E. *A duração da pessoa*. São Paulo: Unesp; 2007.
27. Souza J, Resende P. *Manual de horticultura orgânica*. Viçosa: Aprenda Fácil; 2006.
28. Haudricourt AG. Domestication des animaux, culture des plantes et traitement d'autrui. *L'Homme* 1962; 2(1):40-50.

Received: April 15, 2015

Revised: May 06, 2015

Accepted: July 11, 2015