

# The Ingarikó (Kapon) on the Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Land

## 1 INTRODUCTION <sup>1</sup>

Despite its contributions, the ethnography about the Carib groups in the area of *Circum-Roraima*,<sup>2</sup> has left many problems to the present researchers. One ethonym may be concealing several linguistic groups, or, on the contrary, several ethonyms may refer to just one single language. Besides, the same ethonym may encompass several social units or just one single social unit. A certain social unity, or an ethnic group, can be named based on an external definition to that group or the ethonym may be originated and perceived from an internal denomination.

Classically, two ethnic groups predominate in that region, such as: Kapon,<sup>3</sup> formed by the sub-groups: Ingarikó,<sup>4</sup> Akawaio and Patamona (Migliazza, 1980) and Pemon composed by the sub-groups: Macushi, Taurepang, Arekuna (Koch-Grünberg, [1917] 2006).<sup>5</sup> The Kapon (Ingarikó) have always lived along the highlands of Paracaima while the Kapon (Akawaio and Patamona), in their majority, have always lived in Guyana; The Pemon (Taurepang and Arekuna) have lived in Venezuela while a minority of them have lived in Brazil. By other hand, the Pemon (Macushi) are grouped more strongly in the region of 'Lavrado<sup>6</sup> Roraimense' in Brazil (Homet, [1958] 1959) and in west of Guyana.

Butt (1983-84) arguments that the name Kapon is a self-denominated one, and Akawaio, Patamona and Ingarikó are

“nicknames” of regional use in Brazil, in Guyana and in Venezuela, respectively. To the author, the group Kapon shares a set of cultural habits and forms just one single linguistic unity perceivable in the set of religious and social inter-relations, even so, the author has considered as Kapon just the Akawaio and the Patamona.<sup>7</sup> Edwards and Gibson (1979) identify as “tribes” the Awawaio and the Patamona, being this late a branch of the first, while Whitehead (1996) presents the Patamona people and language as being Ingarikó. Migliazza (*op. cit.*) admits that the Kapon contemplate the three sub-groups, however, each one speaking their respective language that is mutually understandable.

In front the impasse caused by the authors for trying to classify the sub-groups ethnically and linguistically, whose ideas will not be discussed in depth here it is searched for the opinion formed by the Ingarikó just to know how they perceive themselves in this context. Particularly, the Ingarikó point out who is Akawaio, who is Patamona and they all assume that the three form the group Kapon that is a basis of their origin. All of them confirm the same religious and socio-cultural organization although each sub-group defends their respective dialects,<sup>8</sup> and specifies positions within the context of the country they live in.

Nowadays, however, the Ingarikó share a hybrid feeling,<sup>9</sup> that under their name, members originated from the Pemon group can be shielded and incorporated. This situation generates a paradoxical reading because being the Pemon group originally from another group, what happens to their individuals when they are incorporated in the group of the Ingarikó? Would they assimilate the sets of cultural habits proper to the Kapon group?, and would they start belonging to this new group despite their origins? From this, it is a good opportunity to try to update the question: “who are the Ingarikó, really?”

According to Balibar and Wallerstein (1988:50), the indivi-

duals of multiple origins who group themselves, perceiving themselves as members of one same “nation”, they must be constituted as *homo nationalis* through a set of traces and social acts. These traces can mark the feeling of collective representation so that the internal difference between the social groups is relative before the symbolic difference “between us” and “the others”. Even though, most of the time the limits are not so clear. Most of the time, the own members of the group decide who is part of it or not.

In parallel to Balibar’s concept, the present article deals about the ethnicity based on the ideas of Poutignat and Streiff (1998, p. 65–69) that have defended assimilating theories. These authors perceive the assimilation as a process of inter-penetration and fusion that permits the integration of different groups in one common cultural life. In this perspective, the assimilation is seen as a cyclic relationship that is established between the ethnic groups that experience first the competition conflicts and then the adaptation. Such process implies in the confrontation of two or more groups of the welcoming society who see the interaction between the social segments as a progressive adjustment in the acceptance of the newcomers.

In essence, the assimilating theory postulates the universalism and the standardization of the way of life and the behaviors of a socially dominant group that incorporates one or more socially dominated groups. By other hand, that the ethnicity is not a set of cultural traces that is not temporal and unchangeable like: languages, beliefs, values, rules of behavior, symbols and rites – passed in a same way from one generation to another, but a set of possible actions and reactions within a dynamic society.

From the linguistic *stricto sensu* point, Gildea (1998) classifies the Kapon as a language that encompasses the speaking Akawaio, Patamona, and Ingarikó. However, for the last 12 years, the Ingarikó conscious that there are differences among

the Kapon, they have been assuming a political conduct to claim the recognition of their dialect as a language (Cruz, 2005a, b).<sup>10</sup> They believe that there is a political and a cultural basis that accept them as one unity of the Kapon diversity which makes them different from the Akawaio and from the Patamona for their peculiarities and that reaffirms them as Brazilians who speak Ingarikó.

Starting from this point of view, it is interesting to think that theoretically and pragmatically speaking any language is first of all a dialect, and that the 'language' status can be a consequence of a set of assumed attitudes, especially by those who speak it (Halliday *et ali.*, 1974:100). As a rule, the linguistic community formed by its speakers is the one who elects the standard dialect to the detriment of other dialect(s) all based on certain criteria, for example, on the social stratum of the speakers or on other geographical and political criteria.<sup>11</sup>

This way, Halliday (*op. cit.*) says that there are several forms to examine and define a language. One way would be through guidelines found in the Descriptive Linguistics which treats a language based on its regulating rules. Another way is by means of the Institutional Linguistic which interdependently studies the isolated or contacted linguistic communities or the variety and the varieties languages or attitudes related to the language. However, there is not an exact and visible theoretical trace of distinction between Descriptive and Institutional Linguistics because they can fuse themselves.

Thus, this paper presents as an ethnographic sketch that focuses the Ingarikó. Mattos (2001) justifies that an ethnographic study is done through direct observation of the everyday forms of living of a particular group of people who are associated as a representative social unity. For that aim, the expository methodology must be extracted from the very scenario investigated, in this case the Ingarikó scenario. This initiative is fomented by consultation to literature, to records, by making

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open interviews (testimonies or statement) made within traditional families and their elderly that live in the indigenous villages of the Manalai –, Raposa Serra do Sol (TIRSS) in the State of Roraima, Brazil.

## 2 LOCATION AND POPULATION

The international boundaries that limit the countries: Venezuela, Brazil and Guyana are indicated by geographical accidents and rivers: Between Brazil-Guyana there is the water of the River Ireng or Maú; while the limits between Brazil-Venezuela there are the High Lands of Paracaima. The three countries divide among themselves the Mount Roraima (See 3.2 and 5), a vital point for the Carib peoples mythology of the indigenous land Raposa Serra do Sol as well nearby lands (Figure 1).

**Figure 1. TI Raposa Serra do Sol and National Park of Mount Roraima**



In the Brazilian territory, the indigenous Ingarikó area is really a privileged one.<sup>12</sup> In the center of the region the lands are bathed by the Rivers Panari,<sup>13</sup> Uailã and Cotingo, being this late the most important of all regarding its extension, and by being potentially navigable, and for having its birth on the Mount Roraima.

By perceiving its internal location, the indigenous villages, regionally known as 'malocas', are distributed in seven distinct areas, spreading from the high river births of the Rivers: Panari and Cotingo till the beginning of the lavrado region.

In 1992, the Kapons (Akawaio) population in Venezuela counted to 811 individuals and in 2000, in Guyana, these indigenous inhabited the Mazaruni River basin were about 5000 individuals (Forte, 2000:317-318). In Brazil, in 2000, the Kapon counted to around 800 individuals as to records found in the medical units of each village. In addition, collaborators in distinct places (Cruz, 2000, field notes) made the counting.

The Ingarikó population is formed by children, teens, adults and the elderly; these late being the minority among them. One reasonable explanation for the elderly being the minority is guessed besides the diseases, the wars, by the words of Santina Domente<sup>14</sup> a lady of approximately 75 years of age,<sup>15</sup> when she testimonies that formerly the Ingarikó did not use to have large families. On the same testimony, Santina said that the elderly used to raise their children into lonely thick jungles to protect them specially from the figure of the character "Canaimé" (See 3.2).

Table 1 brings information with the names of the villages, of respective tuxauas and population recorded in 1999 and reviewed in 2000.<sup>16</sup>

**Table 1 - Ingarikó villages, tuxaua and population.  
Roraima-Brazil, 2000**

<b>Village (Maloca) Por- tuguese names</b>	<b>Name of the Tuxaua</b>	<b>Population</b>
Awentēi II <sup>17</sup>	Miguel Jones	Around 40
Cumaipá	Mariano de Sousa	60
Manalai	João Sales Ingarikó	280
Mapaé <sup>18</sup>	Brasilino Martins	20
Pipi	Paraná	Around 10
Sauparú	Benedito de Sousa	77
Serra do Sol I and Serra do Sol II <sup>19</sup>	Francisco de Sousa Orlando S. Andrade	180
<b>Total</b>	<b>08</b>	<b>667 (Around 800*)</b>

Source: Health units and field notes.

The given names of the villages are toponyms and some have morphological segmentation, while others do not, for example: *Awentēi* 'Place where the water turn in'; *Kuma-pai*=The well of the toad, 'the place of the toad'; *Mana-ya*=Kind of plant-tree, 'Plant tree';<sup>20</sup> *Mapa-ye*'=Fruit, kind of plant, tree, 'place where these plants trees are found'; *Pipi*It has not been possible to find its meaning; *Sawī-paru*=Kind of fresh-water fish (piaba), 'place where this fish is found', 'small fish'; *A'nai-yen*=Corn shaped like a mouth-place of the corn, 'a place where the corn (sun) rises'.

Besides these records, two other indigenous villages or "malocas" are located in the Ingarikó area: *Kanawapai*,\* with approximately 64 people, and *Sarawó*\* with approx. 45 people. The both are regarded by the Ingarikó as being constituted by Patamona who have migrated from Guyana to Brazil.

## 2.1 Indigenous village of Manalai

The community Manalai,<sup>21</sup> a district of Uiramutã, there were approximately 280 people between 1990 and 2000 who were distributed among 13 families living in the district center and 32 living out of it. The origin of each family reflected the composition of the sub-group by lodging different individuals of other ethnical origins.

The traditional Manalai families receive their names from their parents and go as far as their 4<sup>th</sup>. generation: Luis, Soares, Severino, Sales, Domente, Maurício, Bento Brasil, Pereira, Inácio, Moisés and Camilo being these last names of Patamona and Akawaio origins, respectively.<sup>22</sup> When a person receives a name, it is added the surname of one of the families above that in turn add a last name: Ingarikó. Maria Luis Ingarikó (Self name + name of family of origin + N (group)). There are two problems when naming the individuals: a) this method of counting does not facilitate when researching for the reconstruction of the genealogy of the sub-group when it overpasses the 4<sup>th</sup>. generation; b) the family when adopt the grandparent surname on forming a new generation, ends up omitting the origin of the mother(s). It is considerably important for a future socio-linguistic researching because: a) most old men had more than one wife, generally from different ethnic backgrounds and speaking different languages; b) as the mothers are the ones responsible for the education of their children, it is hard to identify which was the first language acquired by them.

It is obvious that the understanding of the indigenous population way of life is rather complex, and the onomastic description,<sup>23</sup> as well the description of the parentage description, both are not out of the prevailing general rule. This way, stays the doubt that leads us to think that if the context above is an inventive re-creation of the indigenous population that try to adapt, or not to adapt this system to the one used by the current society.



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Table 2 synthesizes the origin of the Manalai families. The data were collected in 1999 from the family chiefs and then updated in 2000 by the records made in the health posts of the indigenous village. The main census question made by the researchers was: "Which is the origin of your family?"

**Table 2 - Origin of the Manalai families.  
Roraima-Brazil, 2000**

Origin of the family	Sex		
	Male	Female	By-total
Ingarikó	136	137	273
Akawaio	4	5	9
Patamona	2	3	5
Makuxi	1	1	2
Taurepang	1	-	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>290</b>

Source: Health units and field notes.

The data of the table above show three important questions: first, there is a populating equilibrium in the family regarding the gender of the individuals even though it is not clear yet how they do the populating control; second, even though it is not known how the populating control is made, there is the knowledge that there is an operating method used in this community; finally, the predominating family is of Ingarikó origin followed by the families: Akawaio, Macushi and Taurepang, just to remember that in the indigenous village of Serra do Sol the inter-ethnic marriages are the more representative ones. These data suggest that the Ingarikó incorporate members of the Pemon group, and such context, according to some of Manalai inhabitants, makes the group becoming a mixed one and for others, this is a sub-group that accepts different members,

but they refer themselves as being distinct from others including from the Akawaio and Patamona themselves.

The idea of accepting and incorporating may be linked to the assimilation theory (Poutignat e Streiff-Fenart, 1998), while the family context signals a process of inter-penetration and fusion that permits the integration of different groups and inter-group in their cultural life (See 4.4). For that, it is needed that the community defines some criteria like: where, how and when the members may or may not take part of it. Once the criteria are not defined in this present study, the herein thematic remains as a suggestion for future researching.

Table 3 shows coherently with the testimonies made by the elderly when they relate that many Ingarikó were killed and the remaining have survived alone and live isolated in the thick of the jungle. One example is Inacio's background story, who is an elder of approximately 80 years of age that neither has a family, parents nor other descendant memory stories

**Table 3 - Age group of the Manalai inhabitants. Roraima-Brasil, 2000**

<b>Age group</b>	<b>Percentage*</b>
(0-12)	39.3%
(13-20)	31.0%
(21-49)	18.3%
(+ de 50)	8.6%
(Perdidos)	2.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

\* Applicative of the tabling - Program SPSS version 10.0.

As to João Sales, the tuxaua of the community of Manalai, his father, the shaman, Sales Ingarikó (of Patamona and Tau-repang origins) was the founder of the indigenous village. It is estimated that the formative process of the Manalai, under the

models of crowding/housing, has started more than 80 years ago just at the time that Fr. Elwes visited that region between 1919 and 1920 (Butt Colson 1998:159-150, note 51). For the tuxaua, Manalai is an indigenous village that is as old as the Serra do Sol.

The Manalai, besides comprising the center itself, it comprises other smaller villages more known as family places that are located along the *Panarí* and *Kuatin* Rivers coming to a total of 8 units that are: *Iperesipai*, *Kusanpesipi*, *Seuke*, *Panarikenpo*, *Kuarinkau*, *Inepuruken*, *Meikau*, and *Awentëi I*. Everybody agrees that the oldest village of this river is *Iperesipai* known a long time ago by the name of *Serenamu*.<sup>24</sup> All this gathered information opens a preceding to say that either *Manaya'* and *Iperesipai* have not being originally created as indigenous IngariKó villages but as a Patamona-Taurepang and Akawaio, respectively. It is believed that a socio-environmental mapping of the region be necessary so that it may come to give a better view of the original IngariKó places.

### 3 FACTS ABOUT THE CONTACTS

The historical memory about the Kapon, as a whole, substantiates their current identities and reveal a rich and complex past with full of experiences, sufferings, and dominion. For certain, such opinions about this reality may come to be altered when new sources of information be available, such as: historical, anthropological and archeological ones.

The history of the colonial occupation in the Guyana Plateau (geographic area that embraces part of the Guyanas, Venezuela and Brazil) involving The Portuguese, The Spanish, The English, The Dutch and The Carib indians, this will be a start point for understanding the current formation of the Carib people of the North of Brazil.<sup>25</sup>

Among other issues, the dispute for the demarcation frontiers in the Plateau of the Guyana discussed by Brazil and En-

gland during the XVIII century was one of the process that most contributed to the desegregation of the Carib indians in that region (Farage, 1991). According to the author, the colonial occupation process of the region was marked by revolts, escapes and wars. At the same time, the indigenous population was regarded as simple labor forces and slaves. The basis that legitimated these practices may have the roots in the past age of the "Pre-Colombian period" that under the title of "just war" (Cunha, 1985a),<sup>26</sup> it would allow the imprisonment and the enslaving of the indigenous population in different parts of the Brazilian territory, or on the Dutch indigenous policy that was established on that plateau through the West India Company. While the Dutch had ownership on the Caribs as their "great commercial allies", the Portuguese had them as their slaves and as souls to be conquered.

After years of conflicts, the result of the contact between the indigenous population and non indigenous, has corroborated, in part, for the conquer of the Amazon lands, in particular, the territory of Roraima by the Portuguese, of Venezuela by the Spanish and of Guyana by the British.

### 3.1 Religious Missions

The first incursions of the religious movements to the Highland of Guyana were less enterprising ones compared with the missions on the Brazilian coast areas comprising the conquer of souls and indigenous lands. There were different religious orders, for instance, Jesuit, Adventist of the 7<sup>th</sup> Day, Benedictines and Anglicans that plunged themselves into the interiors of Guyana and nearby lands.

These missions, particularly the Moravian brothers (Moravian Brethren) contacted the *Akeweien* (Akawaio) in 1746 in Berbice and probably in Essequibo also, Guyana (Staelin, 1913-1919).<sup>27</sup> But it was around 1870 that the Anglicans penetrated on the mountains of Paracaima, west of Guyana to

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baptize the indigenous population that lived there, such as: Patamona, Macushi, Arekuna and Wapishana (Butt Colson, 1998). The presence of the Anglican Missionary, William Brett (1868), had its importance because he gathered material for four decades. From his records, it is known that the indigenous population of Kapon seemed to be Christians of extreme religious zeal.

The Roman Catholic Church had as its great contribution the Fr. Elwes that traveled in that area for 20 years establishing then political-religious contacts with the indigenous population and other religious institutions. The proliferation of the different religious orders created a complex situation to both missionaries and Indians. It was from this complexity situation that the union between the Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Adventists of the 7<sup>th</sup>. Day was made.

The religious allied decide to “create”, or in other words, to revitalize, the religion called “Aleluia”<sup>28</sup> whose idea is summarized as one “religious syncretism”: a system of faiths and indigenous rituals all joined with the Christian religious principles that were propagated by the religious trends above mentioned (Butt Colson, 1985:103-104). This way, the “new” religion, Aleluia, permitted the Indians to “maintain” their culture and tradition provided these values were associated with the biblical concepts and principles defined by the different orders. From then on, by and around 1911, the central religious power was delegated to the Caribs, more precisely to the Akawaio that started to command the other ethnic divisions. Today, the political-religious power concentrates in the indigenous village of *Amokokupai* in Guyana with the regulation of the Anglican Church.

The colonization and the religious movements in that region consequently made the alteration of the cultural and spiritual structure of the Carib Indians. By other hand, it can not be discarded that from an inventive process, the new

cultural elements adopted by the Indians, and the preservation of certain traditional values, may come to result in one singular “transformation”.

### 3.2 Inter-ethnic Conflicts

The most present arguments in the Ingarikó testimonies, specially among the elderly, are the ones related to the word “war”. This may be an indication that the contacts are also mediated by the inter-ethnic conflicts.

To Santina, the Ingarikó have always lived in that region, along the Cotingo, Panari Rivers, and in the region of lavrados. According to her, during the period of the wars, the Ingarikó built their houses to protect themselves against their major enemies, the Arekuna, brave and feared by all. Santina said that she had visited these houses at the lavrado region but she has never lived in one there. The war memories also shared by the young and the adults that perpetuates orally when families have passed these memories from fathers to sons.

Santina has pointed the practice of anthropophagy as a marking fact for the cultural universe of the local groups. Even before the wars, the Ingarikó practiced the cannibalism<sup>29</sup> that is, “they ate persons as if they were hunted games”.<sup>30</sup> In spite of a temporal confusing succession, she said that that cannibalism only started to be known after other people started to know the Ingarikó. This might be a way of indicating that the own Ingarikó spread up their news as an strategic conduct as a kind of protection and a way to gain respect, consequently, they established their reputation and got notoriety before the other groups.

Parallel to cannibalism, there were also the symbolic representative figure of a character named *Kanaimẽ* which means ‘The great killer’. He is being might be a spirit who transforms itself into a human being or other forms, also transforming itself in animals, and at the same time, it can be a real person, a

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community member, and so on. The Canaimé is a being already introduced in the literature, among others, by H. Coudreau (1887) and Koch-Grünberg ([1917] 2006) who linked this character to other Carib ethnic groups, for example, Macushi, Taurepang and Arekuna.

It is worth asking if the names: “canibal”, “warrior” and “canaimé” serve to characterize the situations of inter-ethnic conflicts even mitigated during the last fifty years. However, as to the Caribs of the region of Serra do Sol, the character canaimé is the most feared element by several ethnic groups and it occupies a significant space among them, being the internal conflicts of inter-ethnic relationship supposedly generated by him.

According to Bento Brasil, a man of approximately 65 years of age, there is another view about the formation of the Ingarikó sub-group. For him, the Ingarikó are the Akawaio, the Serengon or the Serengok that came from Kukui and Mazaruni Rivers, both located in Guyana, and they arrived to the region pressed by factors, such as: the presence of the white man, the inter-ethnic conflicts and by the religion. The population sought shelter in the high lands of Paracaima and probably fleeing from colonial and inter-ethnic war actions. Furthermore, as to Bento says, those people knew that the area of Mount Roraima was inhabited only by *Makuinamë* ‘The great hurter’. The name *Makunaimë* was published by Carl v. Martius ([1867] 1969, p. 226) as *maicù namá* “deus” in Macushi while the term equivalent to ‘Creating God’ in Ingarikó is *Siki* ‘flee’ brother of *Makunaimë*. Besides these ethnic groups, the Ye`kuana, a Carib Group, lives today in the west of the State of Roraima, and they have *Makunaima* as one of their divinities.<sup>31</sup>

At last, Bento affirms that today the Ingarikó are a mixture of several ethnic groups like: Akawaio, Patamona, Arekuna, and Macushi in spite of the former conflicts, specially the ones against the Arekuna. In his opinion, the Arekuna were the winners of the inter-tribal wars because they joined with the Tau-

repang. The Taurepang, in their turn, were the big war strategists, or being: the “warriors” that won the fame and respect of by Carib as a whole nation. By ending his speech, Bento said that formerly there was just “one language”, and that now there are “several mixed languages”.

### 3.3 Governmental Institutions

It seems that due to the historical course of the wars and the colonization process that occurred between the middle of the XVI to the XX centuries, it is supposed that the Ingarikó spent long time isolated from the contact with the majority society (Trindade, 1994). During this time they were secluded, but this indigenous people were able to organize themselves by performing a way of self-sustainable life with the production of food gotten by bartering with the nearest allied, by conserving their traditional medicine,<sup>32</sup> above all, by overcoming the difficulties imposed by their survival needs in the thick jungles of the region.

In spite of the records of Im Thurn (1883) and Koch-Grünberg ([1917] 2006), do not have chronological precision until the Thirties on the contact of the Ingarikó with the Brazilian society. To notice that in 1932 the Demarcating Commission of Limits contacted the Patamuna of the Maú (Ireng) River in the Brazilian side, between the estuary of narrow Timão River and the meeting of the Ireng-Scobi (ISA, 2008).<sup>33</sup>

The relationships with the Ingarikó were resumed, among others contacts, in 1975 and 1978 made by the Indian National Foundation (FUNAI, 1978). Even after re-encountering these Indians by FUNAI staff, they were left in the anonymity till the early 1980's as to records made by Migliazza (1980:10).

It is worth noting here that during certain time the Ingarikó were appointed as a sub-group that diluted itself among the Macushi that in many occasions that the Macushi were performing the function of tutors of the Ingarikó always representing those in the State affairs and in the social Brazilian movements.



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These were opinions of the Political leaders of the Manalai.

It was only in the early 1990's that the Ingarikó won their recognition and started to act more strongly together with the other ethnic groups as well with the Roraima society. They became more known in the Brazilian territory by their beautiful hand-woven-straw crafted items (baskets and others), by the organization of their schools, and by their participation in the political process of land demarcating of the TIRSS. Such a land demarcation was officially published on December 11, 1998 by the Government Official Letter Nr. 820 of the Brazilian Justice Ministry and signed on April 15, 2005 by the Brazilian President Decree Nr. 10495 (DOU- The Brazilian Union Daily Official Newsletter- of April 18, 2005).

In Brazil, the denomination: Terra Indígena (Indigenous Land – TI) became strong in the decade of 1961's when at that time of the creation of the Parque Indígena – Indigenous Park- of Xingu. The proposal for creating a national indigenous park designated the State to perform the task of defining, through public politics, the preservation of the indigenous cultures. Between the 1970's and the 1980's the Xingu model was adopted as a paradigm for the FUNAI demarcation projects as a measure to keep the indigenous people memory and their way of life preservation (Oliveira, 1999).

During the last decade, the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 incorporated other criteria to the definition of the TI denominating it as "land traditionally occupied". The current interpretation of it, by the Brazilian jurists, perceives that on such land, the Indians may toil a regular, stable way the occupation of their land, and follow their usual costumes and way of life.

#### **4 THE MOVING CULTURE**

The Brazilian Indigenous people, particularly the North Carib groups, have been submitted to the most hideous procedures of de-structure of their societies since the arrival of the first

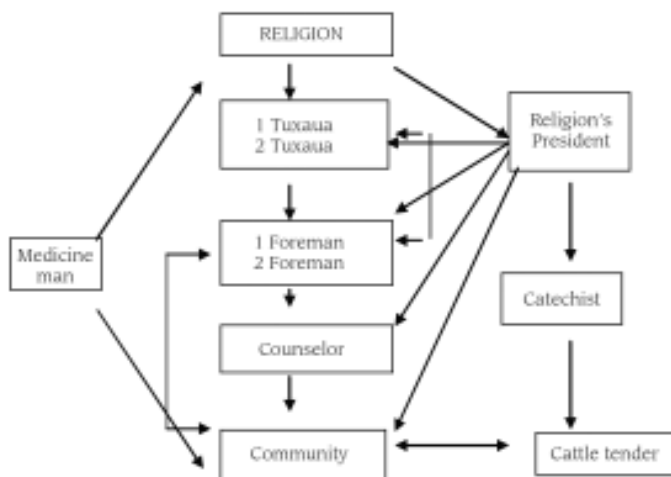
Europeans. However, part of these Indians succeeds in partially keeping the autonomy and the control of their culture and their social life.

For example, the Ingarikó still insist on keeping multiple marriages (See 4.1 e 4.2), keeping their passage rites either for the girls and for the boys<sup>34</sup> keeping their death rituals, and above all, keeping alive the memory and the part of their creating God, called *Siki*.

#### 4.1 Political and Social Organization

Presently, among other possibilities, the social and political organization of the Ingarikó, may be represented by a hierarchic structure ruled by the Aleluia “religion doctrine”. The construction of the diagram, hereunder related, was possible thanks to the testimony made by Martins Domete Ingarikó, that according to him, the same political-organizing structure is also established with some adaptations among the Aka-waio, Patamona and Macushi, except the religion for the last ethnic group.

#### Ingarikó’s political field structure



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In the hierarchic order, the posts are occupied by the first tuxaua (same as captain), second tuxaua, first and second foremen, counselor and cattle tender, being the community the basis of the structuring for the political field. Besides, there are also the posts of religion president, the catechist, and the medicine man. In case there is any impossibility for the heads of the posts to perform their functions, the second-placed ones will perform the duties of the absentees.

It is the responsibility of the first tuxaua to represent the sub-group as well to decide about the political agreements that are of the community interest. To be a tuxaua, the indian needs to show great talking ability, organizing capacity, ability to build communal plantations, to be a good hunter and to know about the ancient culture of his people. Some indians are trained to be the tuxaua since their childhood, however, many of them give up the post alleging that the responsibility burden of the post is too heavy for them.<sup>35</sup>

The foreman works as an intermediate between the tuxaua and the community. The foreman is the person who is responsible for the distribution of the daily tasks, for example: the planning of the hunting, the building of houses, the planting of new lands and other collective tasks.

The counselors come after the foreman and those act together with the community by articulating with the other superior officials whenever there are internal or external political subjects that need to be solved consensually.

It is up to the community to give opinions about all the subjects of collective interest, to participate in the collective tasks, as well to choose a person to occupy a post of cattle tender. A cattle tender can be any member of the community that can be responsible for the maintenance of the Cattle Project.<sup>36</sup>

The president, or the religious clergyman (pastor), as he is usually called, is a person that promotes religious cult and that can perform duties in the community organization along with

the tuxauas. In general, he is responsible for the formation of new members of the church such as the catechist that in turn act together with the community by teaching them hymns, prayers and preparing the children for their baptisms, and above all, teaching them the dance and to teach them the Aleluia rituals.

As to the medicine man duty functions, they are not clearly described about where and when he can perform them. Many times his performances may be required to meet a discreet demand to be solved, for example, health problems in the community through curing rituals. As to Martins, the shaman can either perform a inter-dependent task in he community by using his traditional knowledge, and at the same time, he can take part in the Aleluia religion.<sup>37</sup> Such a behavior, implicates in saying that the Ingarikó accept simultaneously the traditional practices as well the practices of the Aleluia religion being this a well-understood context by all because religion is a religious syncretism.

However, today, new religion rules have been imposed which precepts must be followed by its followers, such as: the prohibition for drinking the traditional drink “caxiri”,<sup>38</sup> during the ceremony of Aleluia, also about polygamy and bigamy (See 4.2).

It is worth saying here that if the structures of political power are dynamic ones, they can require other strategies in order to be kept in the society context. Particularly, the Ingarikó are organizing themselves in general assemblies since 1997 by discussing other problems and solutions inherent to their communities. Among many discussed topics, the five assemblies held till 2002 the subject was about the political organization of he Ingarikó regarding the national society, the questions about the demarcation of the indigenous land and the National Park, but also about their desire to have the religion Aleluia duly recognized and to become an official religion in the country.

For this, in February 2003, it was created the Ingarikó People Council (COPING), a non-profitable entity aimed to defend the political, economical and social interests of the Ingarikó (Mlynarz, 2008). It is expected that this strategy may come to make the people multi-relation web stronger keeping the Ingarikó interests duly oriented and not to let it to be fragmented.

#### 4.2 Marriages

Among the Kapon, marital status was consecrated regarding alliances that sometimes were inter-ethnic ones. Polygamy used to be socially accepted and one leader could have as many as five wives according as relates Fr. Cary-Elwes (1921) *apud* Butt Colson (1998:51). The practice of sisterhood polygamy, i.e., when a man marries several sisters, was common among the Indians. There are still today cases of bigamy among the Ingarikó. João Sales, the Manalai tuxaua, has two wives, Aulida (Ingarikó) and Celestina (Patamona).<sup>39</sup> The prerogative for an individual may come have more than one wife lies on his working potentiality. If an indian is a good man, strong, and if he has conditions of working that enables him to have more than one family, the marriage arrangements can be made without any problem at all.

However, the practice of polygamy and bigamy has had different opinions among the community. Some think that this is “a practice lost in the past” and that the Aleluia religion bans this type of marriage; others think that this can be made if the couple wishes to form family nuclei. It is interesting to remark here that the well known clergyman (Pastor), Marco da Serra do Sol, had three wives.

Many adults confess they need to go to Guyana to find their wives there or look for them among other groups in Brazil. When it is about the marriage ceremony among the younger members of the community, they tend to follow new marriage rituals brought by the religion: It is a religious ceremony common to any contemporary church.

One of the unique practices that the young Indians still want to follow in their traditional marriage is that they need to be aggregated to the brides' parents family nucleus. The bridegroom must work for his father-in-law and to show to the bride's family that he is able to support his new family also.

From the notes above, it is visible that the cultural and social feelings are re-created when the Indians are exposed to new social values.

### **4.3 Celebrations and dances**

Celebrations happen inside the communities and it can have many motivations. For instance, when some communities have surplus crops, the Indians invite members of other communities to enjoy the event together. In truth, they do not have enough room to store all the surplus food produced there. These commemorations are dependent on rainy season, *iwakan*, and consequently, the success of the crop harvesting.

It is worth to note that the new generations have been changing their cultural habits, for example, while the elderly do not eat 'jaguar' - *kaikusi* - neither 'armadillo' - *kaikan* - this for mystical reasons, the young Indians are adopting a new custom not rejecting any kind of food.

One classic example of the commemorations is the traditional dance of *Parixara*. That can be held whenever there is a series of motivations, but when danced by other ethnic groups like: Taurepang, Macushi and even by Wapishana, motivations can vary. However, to the Ingarikó the dance *Parixara* is alive and it is danced mostly to celebrate the crop harvestings when at that occasion other motivations are incorporated, as well. For this commemoration to be held, it is needed time and planning, such as: They start the commemoration 15 days before its official opening day when the community men, in groups, go hunting. Other groups prepare the drinks at the caxiri house, a place where all drinks are stored. A group of women goes

out to gather manioc roots and others make cassava bread 'beiju' and caxiri. They also re-plant new manioc stalks at that occasion. After 15 days, when the men return from hunting, the women of the community go out to receive them and serve them food and drinks. All arrive at the community village singing and dancing. Then they pray and thank for the hunters' return. Then there is a competition game, like: "let us see who is the faster drinker". The winner group is supposed to drink a canoe full of caxiri faster than the others do. The canoe full of caxiri is expected to be on the riverbank. After, a group will refill the canoe. After the group drinks the canoe fill they go to the caxiri house while the women try to bar their passage by tossing manioc starch on their faces to impede them to see their way around. The winner is the one who can drink the caxiri in the canoe and in the caxiri house the fastest.

During all the commemoration, which can last as long as one week, food is continually served in the community and the Aleluia is intercalated danced.

#### **4.4. Work and economy**

Among other possibilities, the division of work in the community is organized in two ways: activities that are made collectively by the groups and activities that are made according to the involved function. For example, to prepare the 'timbó', to mow the grass, and to fish. These are collective activities and all take part in them: children, teens, adults and the elderly. For men they are supposed to go hunting, to weave palm leaf straw, to prepare the plantation lot. The women are supposed to organize the social events, the making of caxiri and the maintenance of the planting lots.

To one's good observing eyes, the community women seem to have the speech control once their opinions and arguments are most of the time accepted by the others. Other outstanding feminine aspect is the one of those women from Akawaio and

Macushi origins. By belonging to external groups, they need to work themselves harder in their chores, and this way, they show that they can be respected and completely accepted by the other women of the community.

The Ingarikó subsist mostly from hunting, fishing, from vegetal food producing, such as: manioc, sugar cane, sweet potato, corn, etc. Some non-native food like: pineapple, orange, mango, pumpkin. They control the production of such food by controlling the planting of it in only specific villages so that none village may produce the same food as the others do. This policy seems to be based on the concept that as they barter food among themselves, one community is always in need of food produced by the others.

Besides, having an economy based on planting and harvesting, the Ingarikó make other kinds of trade in parallel. From a standpoint view of an ample economy, the indians have a varied form trading with their relatives of Guyana, Venezuela and Brazil. The Ingarikó are extremely wise when trading and bartering their goods specially when they want to acquire food like: sugar and salt, and goods like: batteries, hammocks, garments etc. The Ingarikó source of income comes from the making of crafted pieces, like: product made of woven palm tree leaves, etc. which are sold in Boa Vista, and from a product of greater value that is their canoes.<sup>40</sup> The indians have night habits. Besides enjoying fishing and hunting, they also like to go boating during the night. By the way, there are registers made by Im Turn (1883, p. 384) that refer to a certain group of indians with night customs when they went out on the ravines of the Paracaima hills during the night.

Nevertheless, from what is informed above, this scenario has been changing since 2004 when the Brazilian Government granted the indians 'retirement' and then the factor money started to make part of the daily life of the Ingarikó. The community routine has been altered as long as they need to go from a villa-



ge to another at least once a month to receive their retirement benefit. It is obvious that the use of currency as a new instrument makes a singular experience to them when they had not been prepared to deal with this new recourse before. The consequences of this new reality still need to be studied and estimated in depth.

#### 4.4 Education

The Brazilian national policies for the indigenous people school education was defined by the Brazilian Ministry of Culture and Education (MEC) in 1993 published in the official paper *Directives for the Brazilian Indigenous People School Education, National Policy* and it had as a principle the reckoning of the indigenous people rights among others: their right to keep their native language and its teaching.

The MEC adopted the concept of inter-culturally based on studies about the Brazilian cultural diversity and re-defined the school as a space place for dialog, for discoveries and not more as a body of "civilization" and "integration" to the national society. This institution also handed the specifying concept to reckon the differentiation marked by the existence of 220 indigenous nations and their 180 languages/dialects (Rodrigues, 1986), once all these people have specific cultural traditions and live distinct historic processes in Brazil.

When the indigenous school was conceived under these principles, it started to be observed what was the reality of the school education in the Ingarikó area. In the middle of 1990's the State of Roraima Education Secretariat tried to introduce the bilingual teaching of Portuguese and Macushi in the Ingarikó area, however not obtaining much success.<sup>41</sup> The perspective was complex because there were Macushi teachers in the basic school who spoke little Ingarikó and they taught in Portuguese and in Macushi. Although the children were monolingual in Ingarikó in spite of understanding Macushi, the interac-

tion of students and teachers became a very difficult one.

Until 1999, there were six small elementary (four first grades) schools in the Ingarikó area. From March, 2000 the First Degree teaching was created at the Manalai and then in 2001 it was created at Serra do Sol because the own community requested a higher degree of school teaching to keep the students in the community.<sup>42</sup>

Not all the indians agreed with the schools contemporary method of teaching (curriculum, methodology, school time). In their opinion their children were “becoming lazy, having no time to go hunting and the work at the planting lots lagging”. Besides, according to Aulida, the school was not catching up with the community since “the education that is taught at school is different from their own which teaches our culture”. She said. However, many of the community members could see that the school, as a free space, could help the children to tell *Panton* ‘people stories’. For this reason, the school kept encouraging the elderly to participate in the educational process by having their participation there so that they could talk about their experiences, values and myths.

Presently, many Ingarikó are high school graduated, some have been approved to Government Public Contests and now they are teachers at the schools where they had studied in, and so, they teach the Ingarikó language, science, math, geography, etc., and together with other Macushi, Taurepang and Wapishana teachers, they form a new group of educators in their region. By the way, 3 Ingarikó, and others of different ethnic groups, are College students in the Intercultural Course (Insikiran Nucleus) of the Federal University of Roraima today.

However, this context has also increased the change of habits of the youth that started to receive salaries, and others working as health agents besides the retired ones. They all started to depend on transportation to move from one village to another to receive their benefits at least once a week. This is an

occasion when many products and crafted items are transported to the villages.

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The territorial location of the Ingarikó is seen, as exposed in this context, under a new perspective, i.e., as an area that is part of the TIRSS. The Raposa Serra do Sol name is motivated one compound by the union of the names of two great villages: *Maikan* 'Fox' a county of Normandia, where the ethnic group Macushi is predominant, and *A'nayen* 'Serra do Sol' a county of Uiramutã, where the ethnic group Ingarikó predominates. So, it is a space where exists a multicultural coexistence between the Macushi, Ingarikó and Wapishana also.

The overcoming problems created during the difficult steps in the process of demarcation of TIRSS were finally solved with the ratifying of the Lands on April 15, 2005. Today, this process would be consolidated with the land de-occupation by the non-indian farmers and the payment of their land benefits if there had not surged another conflict from a request of a group of Roraima politicians that are associated to the rice-planting farmers that claim the ownership of heir rice-planting areas (Silva, 2008) by the Supreme Federal Court (STF). Such circumstantial fact has generated tensions between the indigenous and non-indigenous population while this slow process remains.

Another question that has generated tensions between the Ingarikó and the other ethnical groups is the creation of the National Park Mount Roraima (PARNA) on June 28, 1989 which was effective before the homologation of he TIRSS. In this case, the park created as a Unit of Conservation (UC), without a previous consult to the indigenous population, it has brought many questions to these people because the current legislation for this category of conservation would be of little control by them. The result would imply in an overlapping bureaucracy of

the UC over the indigenous lands that is called Double Affectation (Mlynarz, 2008; Lauriola, 2008). In order to try to solve this problem, institutions like FUNAI, IBAMA, UFRR, and the indigenous representatives are discussing alternatives in order to decrease the impact on the indigenous communities (Frank *et al.*, 2006).

The Ingarikó, in their turn, are directly the most hit by this situation since one part of their territory is located within the Park. Other Ingarikó indigenous communities are also in the Park together with some of the Macushi ethnic group. This means to say that the two villages could be moving exactly inside of the Land, but for another area out of the PARNA.

It is pertinent to record here that there are archeological sites in two indigenous villages: one near Roraima Mount in *Karamanpatai*, in the Mapaé where it was found vestiges of anthropomorphic and landscaping paintings; and others in Manalai where, along the river *Panari* several Indian cemeteries type *wisipi* 'with human bones' were found. In this last village, there are vestiges of a fort mentioned by Martins and Santina on the border of the river *Seuke*, a place where great battles of Ingarikó and Patamona against the Arekuna were fought. Besides these sites, the Serra do Sol Indians say about the existence of various cemeteries considered as sacred places by them. Such events *per se* reveal the importance of the region for the physical and cultural survival of these peoples.

Both the subjects: revision of the Decree of the homologation and PARNA are on the top of the agenda discussions for the demarcation of the indigenous lands in a national context involving the government side, the civil society, and the academic society, as well. Diverging, complex opinions demand a deep reflection. As soon as the impasses are overcome, the indigenous population and the other society segments will have a challenge about the management of the land and the re-affirmations of the plural forms of the modern and traditional technologies.

# THE INGARIKÓ (KAPON) ON THE RAPOSA SERRA DO SOL INDIGENOUS LAND

The study presented herein is an essay that points out some traces identifying the Ingarikó in one ethnographic context: it is a ethnic group in a transition process that at the same time that they keep peculiar traces of their people, they are also being integrated in the non-native culture, and so, they assimilate new values: it is a group that incorporates and obliges members of different origins; one part of the Ingarikó: youth, adults and the elderly enjoys their contact with the “white”, and think that this tend to be a healthy relationship between them and hat it that will bring new cultural and informative knowledge to both cultures; while the other part says that it is reluctant with the insertion of new values that are seen as something that may de-structure their cultural basis.

At last, despite the conflicts generated by the contacts made among different peoples, it is interesting to emphasize here that it was for the presence and for the resistance of these indians living in that region that the lands along the north of the Brazilian boundaries were and continue to be secured, preserved and guarded in benefit of the Brazilian nation. For this, the idea defended here is that the north geopolitical boundary of Brazil continues to be delimited under the protection of the main Raposa Serra does Sol actors the indigenous peoples.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> This essay is a part of the First Chapter from my PhD dissertation *Fonología e Gramática Ingarikó-Kapon Brasil*, Vrije Universiteit, 2005a-Amsterdam. I wish to thank the College of Letters (VU) and the Dutch Foundation for the Advance of the Tropical Research (WB39-275) for providing the partial financial and institutional support for this research.

<sup>2</sup> Term used by Cesário Armellada when referring to the highlands and lowlands that surround Mount Roraima (Butt Colson, 1985, p. 104). Multiple cultures and myths linked to the Carib peoples traditionally flourish in the *Roroimê* ‘large green mount’ in Ingarikó (See 3.2 and 5). Reis (2006) offers detailed descriptions on this point, indicating geological traits and coordinates.

<sup>3</sup> The name Kapon was first recorded by W. Hilhouse (1832, p. 232, 236), a functionary of the British Crown who worked in Guyana (currently the Cooperative Republic of Guyana). Descriptively, the name Kapon may be understood as *ka+po-n>ka+po-n=sky+Locative-origin* ‘people (who came) from the sky’.

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<sup>4</sup>Aside from other names, a possible etymology for Ingarikó is given by the segmentation of it parts: *inga-rĩ-komo>inga-rĩ-ko*=hills, thick woods-element of cohesion-collective:origin 'hill inhabitants'; another possibility would be *inga-rĩ-koto>inga-rĩ-kok>inga-rĩ-ko*'=high woods-element of cohesion-group of people, 'people from the thick woods, from the mountain'; the latter segmentation is more plausible for the present study. Butt Colson's record (1983-4, p. 96) approximates the description that proposes *inga* "mountain top" -*ri* "belonging to" and -*kok* "people". However, the author broadens her interpretation when linking a meaning that is possibly analogous to the term Kapon – thus, the meaning of "the above people", "people dwelling in the sky".

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<sup>5</sup>Much earlier, J. Williams (1906) *apud* Butt-Colson (1998, p. 49, 142-147) identified the Akawaio (Sericon or Serengong), Macushi (Makou), Arekuna (Serecuna) and Ingarikó or Patamona (Incaco) tribes, without, however, making a distinction between the groups.

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<sup>6</sup>The 'Lavrado' is a sort of savannah, with short shrubs, in the northeast of Roraima. The area is mainly inhabited by the Macushi, but the Wapishana and Taurepang also live there, in smaller numbers. And a small part of the Ingarikó also inhabits that region, near the Macushi area. Some Ingarikó who married indigenous individuals from these ethnic backgrounds also currently live on lavrado. In time, the inclusion of the term 'ethnic' background (with didactic ends) is used to indistinctly cover the terms 'group' and 'subgroup'.

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<sup>7</sup>Based on the records of Fr. Cary-Elwes (See 3.1) Butt Colson (1998, p. 6) states that there are only two peoples of the *Circum-Roraima*: the Kapong, made of the Akawaio and Patamona; and the Pemong, including the Macushi, Taurepang and Arekuna. The forms of grouping different ethnic backgrounds, classifying them with regard to cultural traits (one of which is strongly conjugated by the Hallelujah religion) is a process that is still in construction, for both groups shared the same religion in the recent past. Furthermore, these groups have historically shared a vast mythology and stories from the region, which could be further explored from a comparative standpoint.

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<sup>8</sup>Among Weber's ethnicity theories *apud* Barth (1969), "language" and "religion" play an important role in the formation of an ethnic group if its members share a common linguistic code or the same ritual system. Weber also states that large dialect or religious differences may occur between peoples who, nonetheless, perceive themselves as members of the same group.

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<sup>9</sup>Im Thurn (1883, p. 109) first refers to the Ingarikó as a "hybrid" indigenous people: formed by the Macushi and Arekuna.

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<sup>10</sup>The author carries out the analysis based on data on Akawaio. With the studies by Fox (2003) on Akawaio and by Cruz (2005a) on Ingarikó, it is evident that there are at least dialectic and lexical differences between the two records. As with the Kapon-Pemon linguistic classification, this discussion merits a more in-depth investigation, with further studies on the three subgroups. For the moment, in the absence of new perspectives, the political tendency of the Ingarikó is to legitimize their speech as a language. In the words of Koch-Grünberg ([1917] 2006, p. 127) regarding Ingarikó: "... I can note hundreds of words of the language with the bald old man from Muréi Creek, who is an Ingarikó. This language is a close relative of Makuxi, but diverges from it in some expressions. The timbre is completely different...".

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<sup>11</sup>For example, Mandarin became the national language of China in detriment to a number of other dialects, including Cantonese, which was spoken by a large portion of the

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population. Linguistic pluralism in China stems from an ethnic, cultural and religious blending (Blum, 2000).

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<sup>12</sup> In 1998, an expedition involving researchers from the Universidade Federal de Roraima (UFRR- Federal University of Roraima), Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE- Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), Museu Integrado de Roraima (MIR- Roraima Integrated Museum), Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e Recursos Renováveis (IBAMA- Brazilian Environment and Renewable Resources Institute), Escola Técnica Federal de Roraima (Federal Technical School of Roraima), National Indigenous Foundation and State (FUNAI) and Tourism Bureau documented new geodesic paradigms, recognizing that the frontier region in the northernmost portion of the country was no longer Oiapoque (Amapá), but rather the region in which Mount Caburá (Roraima) is located. Mount Caburá has an altitude of 1465 m and is on the border between Brazil and Guyana (Arantes, 2008). Internally, this geographic point is located in the Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Land, more particularly circumscribed in the Ingarikó area. On Mount Caburá, there are a number of geographic points that display semanticity, for instance, the main rock receives the compound name: *wopawarai wopa-warai*=circle (basket)-ASP similar to, Lit: 'a stone that looks like a basket'. Furthermore, *Waiyan* River springs from this mount, *waiya-n*=tapir-origin, meaning 'place of origin of tapirs (birth/reproduction)', Uailá in Portuguese.

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<sup>13</sup> According to the Manalai's inhabitants, in the riverheads of the Panari River and Mount Caburá (Brazilian most Northern geographic point), there are still some hostile Indians, who avoid contact with other people, even the Ingarikó. Although some say they are Ingarikó, no one knows exactly who those Indians are (Cruz, 2000, field notes).

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<sup>14</sup> Santana Domete Ingarikó, Martins Domete Ingarikó, Bento Brasil, Luciano Soares, João Sales, Aulida, Celestina and Inácio (all residents of Manalai) are the eldest informants who participated in the interviews and gave their statements. The fact that none of them speaks English is curious, for they would have isolated themselves in the jungle in either Brazil or Guyana, fleeing from contact (See 2.1). Fluency in English was expected, as the Akawaio and Patamona speak the language.

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<sup>15</sup> In this context, determining the age group of an indigenous individual is nearly always an arbitrary issue. On a visit to the village of Sauparú, there was a woman who the Ingarikó indicate as the oldest person in the community. Her name is Rosa Sousa and is approximately 93 years of age. To the surprise of the two professors present, in the course of the conversation, it was discovered that she is a Makuxi and married an Akawaio. Despite her origin, both she and her children adopted the positions that they are Ingarikó. On another occasion, on the Contão land, I met Lúcia, who was married to Antonio of a Makuxi background; she told me she was Makuxi as well, but that her mother was Ingarikó. These two examples stress that the idea of belonging among these groups is not yet elucidated and therefore the subject merits further study.

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<sup>16</sup> The option to maintain the record with the number of the times is to offer paradigms together with the current numbers, which total nearly 1180 individuals (COPING, 2007, personal communication).

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<sup>17</sup> *Awentêi* I is included in the Manalai area, thus not being considered an independent village such as *Awentêi* II.

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<sup>18</sup> In the surroundings of this village there is a place called *Karamanpatai*, reported by C. W. Anderson (1906, p. 21-22. F.C.0, n 10943: November) as *Karamangbak-toi*. More recently, B. Colson (1998, p. 159, note 54) confirms that in that village lived the Akawaio.

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<sup>19</sup> The Serra do Sol I and II land division occurred due to internal political and religious issues. In 2002, from the last census taken among the Ingarikó, Serra do Sol was founded, becoming a single land.

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<sup>20</sup> The *mana*, a kind of plant/tree ‘arumã’, has a very important meaning for the group, since it is the source for their wickerwork.

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<sup>21</sup> Village in which the fieldwork was carried out between 1999 and 2002. The preliminary survey on the social (ethnographic) formation of the Ingarikó was finished in 2000 and the remaining time was dedicated to the linguistic research. A total of 11 months were spent with the Ingarikó. New information pertinent to the discussion is also included in the present study.

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<sup>22</sup> Sales was a Patamona who married an Taurepang, who gave birth to João, Manoel and Gelita Sales. Regarding the origin of the parents, the children state that their family of Ingarikó origin, although they curiously call Moisés’ family Patamona.

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<sup>23</sup> The main informant of this study, Martins Domente Ingarikó (known and called by this name until recently), changed his name upon obtaining his identification card, coming to call himself Martins Jan Edman. All individuals in the village have a traditional name that is only revealed when there is closeness and trust between the parties.

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<sup>24</sup> Butt-Colson’s (1998, p. 162, note 119) records show that the ancient *Serenamu* village was inhabited by the Akawaio.

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<sup>25</sup> Besides the Caribs, the Wapichana Indians, from the Arawak family, are also included in this historical context, even though they are not part of the present research.

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<sup>26</sup> The historical concept attributed to the “fair war” was theological and juridical, as well as being grounded on the medieval right to war (more details in G. Thomas, 1982, p. 49 and Cunha, 1985a, p. 63).

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<sup>27</sup> The mission of the Moravian destined to the peoples of the Guyana first initiated its process of negotiations for the Surinam and later for Berbice, between 1736 and 1739. Next step was to found in 1740 the Pilgerhut mission along the Essequibo River, in the Republic of Guyana, which was closed by 1763. The Dutch name of the mission was *Evangelische Broedergemeente*, translated as “The Evangelical Brotherhood”. It was a huge Lutheran organization with missions all around the world (comparable to the current SIL). A century later, the Moravians returned to Guyana with a mission independent from the previous one, naming themselves the Moravian Church (Beck, 1981).

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<sup>28</sup> The word *Hallelujah* was first recorded in the English literature by the Bishop Coleridge apud Brett (s/d, p. 241) on the margins of the Corentyne River (frontier between Guyana and Suriname). There is a reasonable amount of literature on religious issues. For example, among the Kapon and Pemon by Koch-Grünberg ([1917] 2006), Butt Colson (1985, 1998), Fox (2003) and Abreu (1995), who particularly studied the religion among the Ingarikó in the Serra do Sol Indigenous Land. Thus, as it is not the objective of the present article to study religion, the statements of the Ingarikó serve as a record of the current memory on the subject: Martins Domente presents two versions for the arrival of religion in Brazil. In the first he states the Hallelujah as brought to the villages by Pastor Johns from the territory of Limão (Macushi village); in the second, he states that Hallelujah was born the territory of Raposa (Macushi village), going from there to Guyana and returning to Brazil. This means that the control of the religion periodically alternated between

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groups and at different times. This latter version was confirmed in an open conversation by the Macushi and Taurepang (Cruz, 2001, field notes). In the statements, there seems to be an underlying value judgment or even status to define who brought the language to the communities. Koch-Grünberg (*op. cit.*) stated that the Hallelujah religious movement had become strongest among the Ingarikó at the beginning of the 20th century, when the Macushi abandoned it. The term Hallelujah may be used indistinctly as religion or ritual.

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<sup>29</sup> Farage (1991) points to 'cannibalism' in sources from the contact and colonial periods, which is a subject strongly linked to the Carib peoples.

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<sup>30</sup> From this statement, one may speculate on the generic name *warawo* 'man', which sustains the following morphology: *wara-wo* = 'resembling, similar to-hunt, 'man resembles hunt'.

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<sup>31</sup> Koch-Grünberg (1916) also recorded *Makunaïma* as a mythological character of the Carib groups of the region, stressing him in the *Taurepang* and *Arekuná* context. Taking from this source, the novelist Mário de Andrade projected *Makunaïma* into Brazilian literature. This name and others appear spelled differently, as the sources come from informants likely from distinct languages or dialects.

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<sup>32</sup> Nowadays, most illnesses are treated with medications provided by the white people, replacing the healing rituals and the medicine men. Among the many factors responsible for such change, we note the gradual disappearance of medicine men. When the present research was started in 1999, there were three medicine men in the whole Ingarikó area. But in 2002 only one medicine man remains: the other two were killed by the canaimé. Some older people assert that nowadays no Indian wants to be a medicine man because it demands a lot of hard work (Cruz, 2002, field notes).

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<sup>33</sup> Martins Domente não soube precisar, mas disse que acompanhou Rondon quando esse visitou a região para colocar os marcos que definiam os limites territoriais entre Brasil-Guiana-Venezuela. O exame desses relatórios de viagem à região é uma questão que não foi vencida nesse artigo.

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<sup>34</sup> The initiation rites are different for boys and girls: the former usually suffer the 'thrashing with the red ants', among other possibilities, when the boy is encouraged to take part of his first hunt; as for the girls, the most usual rites include seclusion during the time of their first periods and the introduction of the teenager into the *caxiri* making. Different rites accompany men and women in their adult lives.

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<sup>35</sup> In 1999, on the occasion of the 2nd General Assembly of the Ingarikó People, a new position was created, denominated General Coordinator of the Ingarikó People. This post arose due to a demand on the part of the Makuxi and Ingarikó. The General Coordinator began to politically represent the Ingarikó when dealing with the Makuxi, other ethnicities and the national society. This new post has not yet been included in the *structure of the political field*, as it is still in a process of stabilization and assimilation on the part of the Ingarikó.

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<sup>36</sup> Prior to 1999, the Cattle Project entered the Ingarikó area by the initiative of the Roraima Indigenous Council. Upon consulting some of the reports of this project after 12 years of execution, it was observed that the attempts to include livestock farming in these communities, even for consumption, have not been successful over the years. Factors such as a lack of cowhand preparation for the daily handling of cattle, the fact that the land is inhospitable to the animal and disease have contributed toward the lack of success of the project. This type of activity is clearly not part of the Ingarikó culture.

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<sup>37</sup> The Ingarikó adopt an attitude of 'religious tolerance' because besides respecting the Macushi, who are catholic, and the Taurepang, who are Adventists, they can take part in any religious act or ceremony, no matter in what institution. A reminder that all had historically had Hallelujah as the base religion, as Koch-Grünberg attested in 1917.

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<sup>38</sup> *Caxiri* is made from cassava mixed with potato. This beverage, along the *beiju* and the *damorida* (hot pepper stew) are part of all the communities' basic diets.

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<sup>39</sup> In the past, the wives shared the same residence. Today, however, they live in separate homes, but they and their children interact socially in harmony.

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<sup>40</sup> A brand new canoe can be sold for up to R\$ 500,00 (five hundred reais, approximately US\$ 180,00) in 1999.

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<sup>41</sup> Due to the inquietude on the part of students and teachers regarding the bilingual teaching of Portuguese and Makuxi without the inclusion of Ingarikó, at the end of the first fieldwork (1999), an initiation course was established for the study of Ingarikó grammar (60 hours) in order to assist the teachers. Eleven teachers (Macushi and Ingarikó), a number of students and the community of Sauparú participated in the course. The event relied on the support to the Department of Vernacular Language of the Universidade Federal de Roraima and the Roraima State Department of Indigenous Affairs. On the occasion, the teachers and students requested the adoption of a textbook on the mother language as an instrument that could assist in teaching Ingarikó.

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<sup>42</sup> The project for the introduction of these further grades (in Brazil the first 8 grades are called "Primeiro Grau") was made by the author of the present research along with a team of teachers and students from the local communities.