

**A production of alterity:
The Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock
and isolated groups**

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« Civilisé » lamũ siko mano lemẽ nasikoi ãĩngo olo'e luwã,
nimanoaãĩ te ki'ĩ.
Manokuwa puwĩ a'e lupi yaiko lemẽ niyakãyiĩ kuwa puwĩ ?

The question is not whether one wishes, or not, to become “civilised”,
we have no longer the choice.
Isn't the real question “how not to get lost on the way”?

Kawa (in Dewever-Plana 2017, p. 31)

I dedicate this study to all Amerindians who were more or less force-contacted
by Brazilian and French authorities, and who ended up succumbing to the
strains of the Whites' World. I also think of their children who became orphans
at an early age, and many of whom have chosen to follow their parents in their
search for relief.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|
| FUNAI | Fundação Nacional do Índio |
| ILO | International Labour Organisation |
| PAG | Parc Amazonien de Guyane |
| SPI | Serviço de Proteção ao Índio |
| TIW | Terra Indígena Wajãpi |
| ZDUC | Zone de Droit d'Usage Collectif |

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Abstract

This study was carried out amongst the Wayãpi Amerindians of French Guiana, who have been made sedentary by governmental ‘francisation’ policies since the 1970s. Based on geographic location, ethnohistorical literature and Amerindian discourse, it proposes the definition of three “zones” near the Franco-Brazilian border which could potentially be inhabited by isolated or unknown Amerindians. Reviewing concepts of alterity and ontologies (Descola 2013), as well as Amerindian discourse on isolated groups, it identifies the foundational elements present in the Wayãpi’s alterity production processes concerning the isolated groups in the Upper Oyapock River region. It distinguishes six categories of elements the Wayãpi resort to when producing alterity vis-à-vis the isolated groups. It concludes that this alterity production happens predominantly within naturalism, with only a few cases of animism. This research contributes to a better understanding not only of sociality in general, but also of sociocosmological patterns in Lowland South America. Furthermore, ascertaining how the sedentary Wayãpi see the isolated groups and how this alterity is constructed may help to determine whether the legal right of the isolated group to remain isolated (right of self-determination) is in danger.

Chapter 1

Introduction

“If [...] ethnologists have a feeling of admiration mixed with tenderness towards the descendants of these traumatised peoples, it is not due to a nostalgic romanticism or the illusion of a return to purity of origins, as it has sometimes been suggested, but rather as a tribute to the treasures of courage and invention that the Amerindians have been able to deploy in order to rebuild, on the rubble of an old order, forms of a collective existence which we would have hoped that the French administration would respect to their fair value”¹.

Philippe Descola (1999, p. 307)

The Wayãpi Amerindians – also known as Waiãpi, Wajãpi, Wayampi, Oyampik or Oyampi² – inhabit the French-Brazilian border in the northern Amazon region. Together with the Teko³, they are the two northernmost indigenous peoples speaking a Tupian language. They sustain themselves primarily through fishing, hunting and slash-and-burn agriculture with shifting cultivation. Once referred to as ‘Guaiapy’ in the middle Xingu valley in Central Brazil, where they originate from (Gillen 1948), the Wayãpi later migrated northwards. In the 18th Century, they were reported to be living on the banks of the Amazon River “where the Portuguese wanted to impose on them a reduction⁴ in villages” (Coudreau 1893, p. 48). Towards the end of the 18th century, they established themselves at the headwaters of the Oyapock River (*ibid.*, p. 48). Engaging in a long war against the Wayana⁵ Amerindians, they reached the Oyapock

¹ “Si [...] les ethnologues éprouvent pour les descendants de ces peuples meurtris un sentiment d’admiration mêlé de tendresse, ce n’est pas, comme on l’a dit parfois, par romantisme passéiste ou illusion d’un retour à la pureté des origines, mais en hommage aux trésors de courage et d’invention que les Indiens de la forêt ont su déployer afin de reconstruire sur les décombres d’un ordre ancien des formes d’existence collective dont on souhaite que l’administration française puisse les respecter à leur juste valeur” (Descola 1999, p. 307).

² Also known in other sources in the past as Guayapi and Uiapii.

³ Also known as Emerillon. A Tupian-speaking Amerindian group.

⁴ ‘Reduction’ here means ‘confinement’. Coudreau (1893, p. 48)’s original words were “où les portugais voulaient les imposer la réduction en villages”.

⁵ A Cariban-speaking Amerindian group.

River. This migration was a result of their escape from slave-capturing raids, epidemic diseases and activities of missionaries, as well as their search for metal objects (Davy *et al.* 2012).

The Wayãpi occupy today the same region as they did in the 19th century, except for now there are uninhabited areas between subgroups. The *ZDUC*⁶ *Communauté amérindienne de Camopi* is shared with other ethnic groups, while the *ZDUC Wayampis de Trois-Sauts* and the *Terra Indígena Wayãpi* (TIW) are inhabited by the Wayãpi only, although some are of Wayana-Aparai descent (see map in figure 5, p. 88). In French Guiana, they are about 1500 people⁷. In Brazil there are about 1200 Wayãpi living in around 90 villages⁸ located mainly in the State of Amapá⁹. At least five Amerindian groups are thought to be living in isolation near the Wayãpi, consistently refusing contact (Fundação Nacional do Índio 2011; Rodrigues 2014). Isolated¹⁰ Amerindians are those – or their descendants – who, “faced with the advancement of the White occupation, are only left with the option of resisting, and, when it becomes impractical, of fleeing farther into the deeper forest [...]”¹¹ (Ribeiro 2017, p. 40). Although it is likely that at least two of those isolated groups living near the area I studied might be Wayãpi, or at least Tupian-speakers, one cannot affirm with certainty which language group they belong to. On the Brazilian side of the border, their right to remain isolated is a right of self-determination, which is protected by international conventions (ILO Convention n. 169)¹². France refuses to ratify ILO Convention 169, so their rights on French territory are uncertain. Furthermore, a few Wayãpi people who

⁶ Zone de Droit d’Usage Collectif. En: zone of collective right of use.

⁷ Ethnic statistics are banned in France. According to the Insee (Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques), the population of the municipality of Camopi in 2015 was 1769 people. Most of them are Wayãpi.

⁸ Source: Fundação Nacional do Índio (FUNAI), personal communication 28 February 2018.

⁹ The Brazilian Wayãpi today can be classified into the following subgroups: Inipuku Wanã Kũ, Pypyiny Wanã Kũ, Wiririry Wanã Kũ, Kumakary Wanã Kũ, Tawãikupã, Wanã Kũ, Pana’y Wry Wanã Kũ, Jãry Wanã Kũ, Pirawiri Wanã Kũ and the Camopi Wanã Kũ (those from French Guiana who are married in the TIW). They had strategically led a policy of reoccupation of their territory, with emphasis on its borders, once it had been officially recognised by Brazilian authorities in 1996. However, more recently, with the concentration of government, NGOs and missionary sponsored activities in certain villages, they have inhabited mainly the villages where those activities happen.

¹⁰ The press in general and UK based NGO Survival International often refer to those groups as “uncontacted”.

¹¹ Ribeiro argues that this change in environment is often fatal (Ribeiro 2017, p. 40).

¹² Convention 169, the Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (Available: <http://www.ilo.org/indigenous/Conventions/no169/lang-en/index.htm> . Consulted 4th March 2018)

formerly lived on the Upper Jari River and their descendants – around thirty people in total – co-inhabit with Aparai and Wayana families in the *Complexo do Tumucumaque* in the Brazilian state of Pará.

The three main Wayãpi groups known today have been made increasingly sedentary since the 20th century as a result of Brazilian and French government policies. This more-or-less forced adoption of a sedentary lifestyle has been concomitant with problems brought in by the inability of Brazil and France to manage the contact process, illegal mining in their area, a sharp increase in their population (Davy *et al.* 2012) and a high rate of suicide (Archimbaud and Chapdelaine 2015).

Many studies have been done on the Wayãpi, but to date none of these combined ontological approaches and isolated groups. My investigation fits in at least two different theoretical frameworks. It is mainly marked by the works of Pierre Grenand (1971, 1980, 1982) on the Wayãpi migrations and settlement of Eastern Amazon, as well as by the work of Philippe Descola (2013[2005]) on the production of alterity within different ontologies.

I will demonstrate, in **chapter 2**, the methodological aspects of my research. I also address the criteria for the selection of the universe of study, the methods of data collection, and, finally, the limitations of the chosen methods. My investigation will try to answer the following research questions: How do the Wayãpi categorise these isolated or unknown Amerindians, what are the oscillations between positions of identity and alterity when engaging in relationships with the isolated or unknown groups as “Others”, what are the ontological bases of the Wayãpi’s perceptions of the isolated Amerindians, and if the Wayãpi’s ‘system of identification’ vis-à-vis the isolated Amerindians fall under one of Phillippe Descola (2013)’s four ontologies, *i.e.*,

animism, totemism, naturalism and analogism. I will endeavour to achieve this by reviewing the extant literature and by exploring narratives of the sedentary Wayãpi concerning the isolated or unknown Amerindian groups.

I will review, in **chapter 3**, some relevant studies on ‘alterity’ as part of the process through which the world’s main realities are perceived and interpreted, within different ontologies. Many anthropologists who have written about alterity in the Amazon will be relied upon; to name but a few, Grenand (1980), Viveiros de Castro (1992, 1996, 2001), Overing and Passes (2000), Overing and Rapport (2000), Vilaça (2002), Descola (2013[2005]), Gallois (2007), Camargo (2008), High and Reeve (2012), and High (2015). Particular focus will be given to Descola’s multi-ontological approach, which attempts to consider all possible relations between humans and nonhumans, bringing ‘alterity’ to the centre of anthropological thinking (Salmon and Charbonnier 2014).

In **chapter 4**, I will focus on the social and historical context of the research and on how the Wayãpi discern the presence of isolated groups. A significant part of this chapter will be devoted to the qualification of the groups of isolated or unknown Amerindians supposedly living within or around the region studied. It will be necessary to qualify those groups before I can identify the elements that the Wayãpi resort to in their processes of alterity production vis-à-vis those isolated Amerindians, and then place those modes of identification among the models or ontologies described by Descola (2013). I will mention social and historical aspects of the Wayãpi society, but only as far as they will be useful in understanding the existence of the current isolated groups, and how the Wayãpi relate to them. The Wayãpi have, however, been the focus of comprehensive ethnographies. Those ethnographies cover just about every social and historical aspects of their society, other than my novel approach on their relationships with

isolated groups. Henry Coudreau (1893), Expedito Arnaud (1971), Pierre Grenand (1982), Dominique Gallois (1986), for example, have carried out various reports and studies between 1893 and this day about the Wayãpi's settlements in the zones mentioned in this study. With respect to the Wayãpi in general – with a focus on the French groups – the extensive work of Pierre and Françoise Grenand, produced over the last 50 years, testify a life dedicated to the deep study of the Wayãpi society and to promoting their rights. Concerning the Brazilian Wayãpi, I invite the reader to consult the ethnographies of Campbell (1982; 1995) and Gallois (1986; 1988).

In **chapter 5**, dedicated to analysis, I will determine how the sedentary Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River construct alterity vis-à-vis the isolated Amerindians, regardless of the dimension of their 'existence', since it is out of the scope of my study to attempt to prove the existence of isolated groups. The universe of the Wayãpi is peopled with human and nonhuman beings, as this study will show. In a few of the relationships they engage with the isolated Amerindians, the latter are perceived as nonhumans. Therefore, both humans and nonhumans will be considered, as it would be contrary to the Wayãpi's thought to confine the isolated or 'unknown' Amerindians to the category of "humans" only.

Finally, in **chapter 6**, I will present my conclusions. As I will discuss in this study, the Wayãpi present characteristics that allow them to be described as animist, totemist and naturalist (Descola 2013). When making sense of the 'Other', their identification process will often impute an 'interiority' identical to that which they attribute to themselves and a 'physicality' different from their own¹³. This will allow me to describe them as being animist. In some occasions, their

¹³ Descola (2013, pp. 175-176) defines as *interiority* "a range of properties recognized by all human beings and partially covers what we generally call the mind, the soul, or consciousness: intentionality, subjectivity, reflexivity, feelings, and the ability to express oneself and to dream". Descola argues that *physicality*, in contrast, "concerns external form, substance, the physiological, perceptive and sensorimotor processes, even a being's constitution and way of acting in the world, insofar as these reflect the

identification process will impute both a 'physicality' and an 'interiority' similar to that which they attribute to themselves. This will allow me to describe them as totemist. In other occasions, when making sense of the 'Other', their identification process will sometimes impute a 'physicality' similar to that which they attribute to themselves and at the same time they will perceived in the Other the presence of elements such as mind, soul, subjectivity, moral conscience, language, *i.e.*, the Wayãpi will see in the Other a human like him, putting the Other together with him on the culture side of the 'nature vs culture' dichotomy. This will allow me to describe them as being naturalist. As I will show, the Wayãpi resort to animism and naturalism in their processes of alterity production vis-à-vis the unknown or isolated Amerindians. Animistic ontologies attribute to nonhumans a humanity, an intentionality and a social life akin to those of humans; naturalistic ontologies, in the other hand, rely on the existence of 'interiority' elements such as mind, soul, subjectivity, moral conscience and language to distinguish humans from nonhumans.

Descola's typology has provided a good framework for my findings. Although his theory is not undisputed (see Ingold 2016), and despite the fact that other other authors have also debated Amerindian ontologies (see Halbmayer 2012), Descola's theory has provided a starting point for the purpose of this master's dissertation. I indent to address the shortfalls of Descola's theory at a doctoral level.

In the appendices, I will present some complementary materials such as a summary of the literature and the Wayãpi's discourse on the isolated Amerindians (appendix A), the Wayãpi production of alterity vis-à-vis them (appendix B), and a lexicon of the Amerindian words used in my study (appendix C).

influence brought to bear on behavior patterns and a habitus by corporeal humors, diets, anatomical characteristics, and particular modes of reproduction".

The Wayãpi words included in this work will be adjusted, when possible, to the spelling of the *Dictionnaire Wayãpi (Guyane française) - Lexique Français-Wayãpi* prepared by Françoise Grenand (1989).



Figure 1 – The Wayãpi village of Itu Wasu, Upper Oyapock River.



Figure 2 - Aerial view of the Wayãpi villages in the area of Itu Wasu, Upper Oyapock River.
Source: *Guyane SIG, La Plateforme Territoriale* (www.guyane-sig.fr) – Consulted 19th Feb 2018.

Chapter 2

Methodology

I first visited the Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock in 2015, as an intern researcher of the Weltmuseum Wien (Austria). A long stay as a local school teacher followed between 2016 and 2017. The theoretical developments around isolated Amerindians and Amazonian ontologies inspired my interest to conduct research with them.

About my choice of undertaking qualitative research:

Taking as a starting point the objective of this research – to investigate how the sedentary Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River construct alterity vis-à-vis the other groups living in isolation nearby – I decided to adopt qualitative research methods, of an exploratory nature, which I consider the most appropriate for the type of analysis I intended to do. Before proceeding further, I want to contextualize my chosen type of research, so that it can be better understood.

Regarding the ends of the research, this study is of an ‘exploratory’ type, since it has been undertaken in a field of knowledge where there is little accumulated and systematised knowledge. With regard to the means of investigation, I have opted for ‘field research’, that is, an empirical investigation carried out *in loco*.

As it occurs with qualitative researches, in order to conduct this study, I was physically present

where the participants live. This allowed me to engage with the participants and to be involved as a researcher in their experiences. As the researcher engages with the participants, several aspects emerge: research questions can change or can be refined, allowing the researcher to find out what to ask next. This process allows the researcher a 'broad' interpretation, while at the same time gaining an understanding of the codes emanating from the interviews. This phenomenon has to do with the fact that the researcher filters the data through a 'personal lens' placed at a given moment, which allows him or her to have a broader view of the phenomena. From this perspective, qualitative research studies appear as broad visions rather than microanalyses.

Several types of qualitative research are employed in anthropology. Some types overlap, and others are synonymous. In this study two qualitative methodologies have been used: reflexive participant observation and unstructured interviews (Aull Davies 1999; Bernard 2006; Cohen and Crabtree 2006). In this chapter, I will go deeper into both methods. All individuals involved in the research, either as interviewed person or as person mentioned in an interview, have been given pseudonyms, and were asked for their prior and informed consent. The extracts used here only contain their pseudonyms, which were assigned without any particular criterion.

Data collection:

The main methods of data collection for analysis in this study were participant observation and unstructured interviews. My research took place mainly between 2016 and 2017, with a total of 12 months living in the Wayãpi village of Zidock, near Itu Wasu (Trois Sauts), in French Guiana (see figure 1 on page 14). My observations were informally written as field notes during my long stay with the Wayãpi, while the interviews were all recorded in audio. These, with varying durations, happened in a period of 6 weeks, between 11th May and 25th June 2017. The diversity of the profile of the interviewed participants allowed each interview to be different from the others, attributing a singular richness to my research.

Participant observation:

Participant observation is a method employed in anthropological research, which involves an immersion of the researcher into the community under study. The researcher is accepted by the community and participates in the events of the group to gain an understanding of the logic that moves this community. For Bronisław Malinowski (1922 [2005]), father of the participant observation method and author of the classic *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, observing and ‘participating to understand’ is better than simply asking, since the answers come with time, along with observation and participation. The field notes, the voice recorder and the camera are therefore only accessories that help in carrying out the research.

Bernard argues that “participant observation is what produces rapport, and rapport is what makes it possible for anthropologists to do all kinds of otherwise unthinkable intrusive things — watch people bury their dead, accompany fishermen for weeks at a time at sea, ask women how long they breast-feed, go into people’s homes at random times and weigh their food, watch

people apply poultices to open sores. . . .” (2006, p. ix). Commenting on the different roles assumed by the researcher in participant observation whilst doing fieldwork, he argues that “participant observers can be insiders who observe and record some aspects of life around them (in which case, they’re observing participants); or they can be outsiders who participate in some aspects of life around them and record what they can (in which case, they’re participating observers)” (*ibid.*, p. 347). My position for this study was half-way between that of an ‘observing participant’ and that of a ‘participating observer’. In fact, as a result of the close friendship with one particular family, with whom I spent most of my time, I was more or less considered as one of its members, and as such I was addressed by those brothers as either *kākāy* or *pi’a*, according to my seniority in relation to the other (classificatory) brothers. This allowed me to claim some part of an insider role, described by Bernard as that of a ‘participant observer’. At the same time, I spent most of the mornings working at the primary school, an activity that I would classify as more external to that community, given the relatively recent presence of the school in the village (founded in 1971). The teacher’s position therefore assigned me the role of an outsider, more in line with that described by Bernard (*ibid.* p. 347) as ‘observing participant’.

Dewalt and Dewalt argue that “the information the ethnographer gains through participation is as critical to social scientific analysis as more formal research techniques like interviewing, structured observation, and the use of questionnaires [...]” (1998, p. 259). They describe participant observation as a method that allows the researcher to learn both obvious and implicit aspects of the culture which he or she observes. For the authors, this is only made possible by the researcher taking part “in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of the people being studied” (*ibid.*, p. 260). In the specific case of my research, many of the stories about how the Wayãpi relate to the isolated Amerindians initially came up during our informal conversations, while I was helping them in their daily activities such as cropping and hunting. This means that when the moment of the interview came, it was a naturally rich one, enriched

by a rapport that had previously been built naturally, over time. It was a matter of recalling and going through conversations we had had before, in a setting that was less formal than that of two people sitting next to each other just for the purpose of an interview. Although it is difficult to evaluate the extent to which 'rapport' helped in accessing information, I have the impression that my rapport of mutual trust and friendship with the otherwise shy and reticent Wayãpi allowed me to access different layers of information.

It is difficult to systematise and codify the procedures of participant observation, which consists of an ethnographic observation made by a researcher who is more often strange to the researched community, and who intends to observe 'from within' the life of the collective. As such, anthropology faces some challenges regarding the methodology of participant observation. The greatest threat to anthropology is the 'spontaneity' element of participant observation processes, inherent to the immersion of the researcher in the group under observation, the empathetic listening of the interlocutors' voice, the observation of their behaviour or the interpretation of relationships and interactions within the community or between the community and the researcher. There is a danger that this 'spontaneity' may be misinterpreted as something that does not qualify as 'scientific' work. This erroneous image may hang in some scientists' minds and in their reflections on methodology, especially when one forgets that the process of knowledge production can actually take various forms rather than one only. In the case of participant observation, the interpretative process and the writing stage make up two moments, partially overlapping each other, where the intervention of the researcher is necessary in order to give meaning to the discourse of the members of the observed community and to the observations made by the researcher.

Taking seriously the discourse of the members of the observed community does not necessarily mean that there can be no interpretation. Among the technical resources used by

anthropologists who attempted to implement forms of systematisation of their observation are the 'field diary' or 'field notes'. Often justified as subsidiaries of memory, these notes written within the fieldwork constitute the first stage of the process of knowledge production, through writing. The second stage of this process is represented by the actual text that will eventually give rise to a written ethnography. The process ends with the 'intellectual work' that is represented by the final ethnographic text, accessible to different audiences. Thus, those different moments, *i.e.*, observation, writing and interpretation, make up a scholarly robust work, of sufficient consistency to play its role in the process of knowledge production.

Unstructured interviews:

My data collection also included unstructured interviews, through which I further built rapport with participants, allowing them to open-up and express themselves about the research questions in their own ways. The unstructured interviews allowed me to develop a more focused and culturally specific understanding of how the Wayãpi construct alterity vis-a-vis the isolated groups of unknown Amerindians that live near them. Questions and topics of conversation were for example: occasions that participants saw the isolated Amerindians, heard them, dreamt about them, heard things about them (from the White or from other Amerindians), and occasions that animal's behaviour alerted the sedentary Wayãpi about the isolated groups. How do the isolated Amerindians look like? How are they different from the sedentary Wayãpi? in which ways are they similar? How are their bodies and their spirits as compared to the sedentary Wayãpi ? How do they hunt? How do they interact with the sedentary Wayãpi?

For Bernard "There is nothing at all informal about unstructured interviewing, and nothing deceptive, either", for, he argues, it is clear both to the researcher and to the interviewee what their roles are, and "there is no shared feeling that you're just engaged in pleasant chitchat"

(2006, p. 211). Bernard further argues that unstructured interviews “are based on a clear plan” that the researcher keeps in mind, but the researcher exerts “minimum of control over the people’s responses” (*ibid.*, p. 211). He highlights that the objective is to allow the interviewees “to open up and let them express themselves in their own terms, and at their own pace” (*ibid.*, p. 211). He notes that unstructured interviewing is suitable to a researcher who is doing long-term fieldwork, with enough time to interview people on more than one occasion (*ibid.*, p. 212)

In unstructured interviews, the questions are asked in an open manner, giving the interviewees the possibility of choosing the path and dimensions they want to follow. The researcher has flexibility to modify the course of the conversation, should this be necessary and interesting to the research. Authors such as Tesch (1990), Creswell (2007), and Flick (2009) point out that unstructured interviews have an advantage over structured interviews, in that it is more likely that the views of the interviewees are best expressed in an interview situation with open planning than in a standardised interview or questionnaire. Open, unstructured questions allow the researcher to extract visions of multiple realities and opinions from the participants.

For this study the selection of the participants in the interviews was made through recruitment on a voluntary basis, according to their willingness to elaborate on their encounters (be it physical or imaginary) with isolated groups of unknown Amerindians living nearby. They were identified based on my participant observation of their knowledge about Amerindians living in isolation. Unstructured interviews were carried out with 10 people, all of whom are Wayãpi Amerindians living in the Upper Oyapock river. They were all men with ages varying between 22 and 71 years old. A gender division prevails in the Wayãpi society, in which a man would very seldomly address a woman who is not a member of his immediate family, unless she is a “marriageable” one. As a result, women were not involved in my study. It was also not possible to engage with them in a focus group as I had to respect the Wayãpi code, since I had been living

with them. Also, it would not have been satisfactory, from a researchers' viewpoint to just speak with the women of the particular family that had partly adopted me. This option was further impossible since the women I was in a position to talk to were not interested in the subject. All participants were French Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River. Concerning the areas adjacent to the *Terra Indígena Wayãpi*¹⁴ – hereinafter referred to as TIW, the information mentioned in this study is not based on any formal research, since I undertook no fieldwork as such in the TIW. It is rather based on informal conversations with Amerindians that either live in the TIW or often visit it. Furthermore, there was no attempt to contact Amerindians living in isolation, not only due to the fatal sanitary consequences that a contact would have incurred, but also in order to ensure that the legal right of Amerindians to continue to live in undisturbed isolation is respected. For this same reason, the precise geographic location of isolated groups – be it a 'likely' one – is not disclosed in this study.

Reflexivity:

Dewalt and Dewalt argue that reflexivity is a starting point rather than an end to ethnographic research. They highlight that “we need to be aware of who we are, understand our biases as much as we can, and to understand and interpret our interactions with the people we study” (1998, p. 290). For them, it is only after this awareness is achieved that “we can strive to determine whether there are regularities in human behaviour” (*ibid.*, p. 290).

I lived within the researched community from August 2016 to July 2017, working as a teacher in the local primary school. During that period, I was, to a great extent, involved in the community as one of its members, taking part in their everyday life. This includes hunting,

¹⁴ Approved by Brazilian Decree number 1775 of 1996.

fishing, eating and farming with them. This allowed me to build relationships with people who were offered the opportunity to be participants in the research. It also helped ensure that I was aware of any cultural sensitivities and that I had significant background knowledge in order to conduct my research. Whenever the “teacher role” appeared to have any influence during data collection, this has been considered and analysed reflexively. For instance, if I noticed that my Western background was inhibiting the participant from narrating something within native ontology, I reassured him that his way of making sense of the World was important to me, and not less important than mine. I therefore took a reflexive approach that encouraged me to take into account my own subject position and the effect it may be having on the research and the relationships with the research participants (Aull Davies 1999).

The interviews with the Wayãpi

Rather than confronting the participants with open questions of any sort, I chose to explain to participants the topics that I was interested in. It was therefore up to each participant to concentrate on the topics they were most interested in talking about. This choice given to participants ensured an event greater informality and spontaneity to the interviews, as they had the possibility of choosing the path and dimensions they were most enthusiastic about. I assume that when one is given the opportunity to talk about a preferred topic, rather than being prompted by directing questions, one will come up with information which comes from a deeper level and which is closer to one’s heart. My unplanned questions therefore only came to prompt the participant to come up with more detailed information on his chosen topic. Before each interview I read out the topics to them in a simple language, from the *Information Sheet* that they received together with their *Consent Form*. In a few cases, we had to rely on the help of a translator from the community. The key topic was the following:

How do the Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River see the Amerindians, who live in the woods and who seem to be hiding from everybody. Could you tell me everything what you know about this subject, for example: Who are they, where do they come from, how are they, which language do they speak, why they are hiding, how do they hunt, what do they eat, how do they behave, where do they live, and how do you feel when you hear or see them, what do the animals signal you about them, etc.

Limitations of the chosen methods

Every research method has its limitations, but also offer different possibilities of researching. Faced with the impossibility of having a perfect method, I tried to balance the advantages and disadvantages of the options, reaching the conclusion that the chosen methods are the most advantageous.

The qualitative methodologies present a common characteristic, that is, the difficulty in generalising the results of knowledge produced through them. Despite this, I tried to take from my ethnographic experience “meanings” that go beyond the individual level. And in choosing a collective to be studied – the Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock – I was careful about picking a community that was not too small. In my opinion, the chosen community has the potential of being identical to many other cases, even though it is not representative of all cases. It should be considered, however, that the opinions and inferences that I have gathered are particular or specific to the individuals interviewed in my research. As such, the same phenomenon may have different interpretations and understandings by other members of the community or even by the same person in different times and situations. Therefore, the knowledge obtained in this research cannot be generalised to the whole universe of indigenous collectives located in the region, and even less to the universe of groups of people speaking Tupian languages.

One of the difficulties that I faced was to find and select the interview participants, who needed to have experience about the subject matter. It was also difficult to identify the best time and place to carry out the face-to-face interviews. The collective or communal life-style which characterises the Wayãpi means that it is often difficult to find privacy for an interview. The appointments for the interviews often happened in the afternoon, with me sitting next to the hammock of the participants in their huts. This is the time the Wayãpi take a rest. A smaller number of interviews happened in the evening at the researcher's cabin.

My lack of fluency in the local language has certainly imposed some limitations to this research, especially as I had to rely on the good will of other members of the community to translate those who only spoke Wayãpi. A certain amount of information was probably lost with *in loco* translations from the Wayãpi to French or Portuguese. My poor level of Wayãpi has certainly hindered my access to information and nuances that may be linked to Wayãpi semantics, especially concerning my interactions with those Wayãpi who did not speak Portuguese or French.

I translated myself to English all references and dialogues that had originally been written or registered in French or Portuguese. The spelling of the Wayãpi words is to my best knowledge. One of the difficulties is that the Wayãpi language is spelt differently in French Guiana and in Brazil. For example, in ordinary writing, the phoneme /i/¹⁵ is written as a *y* in Brazil (as in the word *ytu*), whereas in French Guiana it is the symbol *ï* itself that is used (as in *ïtu*).

¹⁵ Commonly referred to as “barred i”, the phoneme /i/ is the close central unrounded vowel (International Phonetic Association number 317).

Chapter 3

Literature review - Alterity and Ontologies

This study investigates how the sedentary Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River construct “alterity” in relation to their encounters with other groups living in isolation nearby. Alterity production is part of the process through which the world’s main realities are perceived and interpreted by human and nonhuman beings, within different ontologies. Overing and Rapport define ‘alterity’ or ‘otherness’ as “the concept and treatment of the alien objectified other” (2000 p. 9). They argue that amongst Amerindians “the boundary between self and other tends to slip and slide; it is difficult to draw, as too is the distinction between human and non-human” (*ibid.* 2000 p. 17). Furthermore, for the authors, “the nature of the boundaries designating otherness varies tremendously from one people to the next [...]” (*ibid.* 2000 p. 12). Similarly, Descola (2013) defines ‘ontologies’ as systems of identification and distribution of properties between subjects (human and nonhuman alterities) coexisting in the world, and through which those subjects perceive reality. He identifies four types of ontologies: animism, totemism, naturalism and analogism.

In this chapter, I will first review the literature on alterity, in order to understand how alterity is constructed in Lowland South America. Then, I will review Descola’s four ontologies, in order to find out how these ontologies may be useful in understanding alterity construction in the specific case of the Wayãpi.

Alterity

Alterity has been widely researched in Amazonia. This attention to the various facets of identity and to the opposition between alterity and identity is called the “symbolic economy of alterity” by Viveiros de Castro (1996, p.190). Analysing the analytical styles that are adopted by contemporary ethnologists in their studies of Amazonian societies, he identifies three main styles¹⁶, which he classifies according to the theoretical emphasis adopted by the anthropologists. He names these ‘political economy of control’, ‘moral economy of intimacy’, and ‘symbolic economy of alterity’. He further highlights that his classification is based only on theoretical emphases, since “various ethnologists [...] combine more than one” of these styles (*ibid.*, p. 188).

Viveiros de Castro names ‘symbolic economy of alterity’ the style adopted by ethnologists that he considers having been inspired by Levi-Straussian structuralism, such as Bruce Albert (1985), Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (1978), Philippe Descola (1987), Philippe Erikson (1986), Barbara Keifenheim (1992), Patrick Menget (1985), Anne-Christine Taylor (1993), Aparecida Vilaça (1992) and Viveiros de Castro (1992). He argues that this style “has produced analyses of complex multi-community systems such as that of the Yanomami [...] or of the Jivaro [...]” and points out that it is “interested in the interrelations between native sociologies and

¹⁶ The ‘**symbolic economy of alterity**’ style is further explored in this chapter. Viveiros de Castro (1996) names ‘**political economy of control**’ the style adopted by Terence Turner (1979) and Peter Rivière (1984). The theoretical emphasis is on “attributing to communal institutions (moieties, age classes) the function of mediating between the domestic and public domains”. According to Viveiros de Castro, Turner articulates hierarchically “the domestic (natal and conjugal households) and communal (moieties, age-sets) domains”. Viveiros de Castro points out that Rivière, in his own turn, proposes that human labour is the crucially scarce resource in Amazonia, and it is labour that generates a political economy of people and dictates the ways of human resources are managed as well as supradomestic institutions (Viveiros de Castro 1996, pp. 188-189). Viveiros de Castro (1996) names ‘**moral economy of intimacy**’ the style adopted by Joanna Overing (1975) and her former students. The theoretical emphasis is on “the social philosophy and the practice of everyday sociability in Amazonia, emphasizing the egalitarian complementarity between genders and the intimate character of native economies [...]”. “This style tends to privilege the local group's internal relationships [...]. It theoretically values production over exchange, [...] it rejects the notion of ‘society’ as a totality embodying a transcendent [...]”. Viveiros de Castro notes that this model has an “essentially moral view of ‘sociality’ [...]” and that “its critique of the public/domestic opposition leads to the reduction of society to the domestic level” (Viveiros de Castro 1996, p.189).

cosmologies [...] playing a constitutive role in the definition of collective identities (*ibid.*, p. 190). For Viveiros de Castro, “this trend has explored the multiple meanings of the category of affinity in Amazonian cultures [...] emphasizing the dialectics between identity and alterity that is thought to be at the root of Amazonian socio-political regimes” (*ibid.*, p.190). Commenting on Philippe Descola, he considers him to be a prominent representative of the symbolic economy of alterity style, who “has developed a general model [...] which attempts to dereify the nature/culture opposition [...]” (*ibid.*, pp.190-191).

Exploring the socially constructed character of kinship connexions, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro argues that it is ‘affinity’ that is “the given dimension” of relations – be the ‘other’ a human or nonhuman – while ‘consanguinity’ only has to do with “human action and intention” (2001, p. 19). He argues that Amerindian ‘local groups’ are made local by the “very process of extracting themselves from this background” of affinity (*ibid.*, p. 25). Taking the Wari’ people¹⁷ as an example, Vilaça also argues that “the exterior is a constitutive part of kinship relations in Amazonia” since these relations “are constructed from alterity as a starting point” (2002, p. 349). She further argues that “the production of kin is related to the supra-local universe” (*ibid.*, p. 349). Commenting on the supra-locality of relationships in Amazonia, as opposed to relationships happening within a local group, Viveiros de Castro argues that “each community is (or was) at the centre of a web of relations with like groups and other collectives” (2001, p. 23). He indicates that the ‘sociological frames’ in Amazonia include a heterogeneous mix of human and nonhuman ‘others’. In those relations, “animals, plants, spirits, and divinities are equally engaged in such connective-cum-divisive relations with humans” (*ibid.*, p. 23), and affinity is the “common idiom” in which those relations are expressed. For Viveiros de Castro, in Amazonia, “the Other is first and foremost an affine” (*ibid.*, p. 23). He thereby uses the term

¹⁷ a Txapakura-speaking group of the Mamoré and Guaporé basins in Brazil.

‘potential affinity’ or ‘symbolic affinity’ to define an “affinity without affines” and to refer to relationships in which ‘the other’ is a member or a non-allied group, an enemy, a foreigner, an animal, a spirit, etc. (*ibid.*, p. 24). My participant Tukurú seems to entertain with the spider-monkey, a type of affinity which is similar to that described by Viveiros de Castro:

Tukurú: [...] All animals cry. When you shoot the *kwata*¹⁸, he’ll tell you <hiiii>. That means: it hurts! He jumps.... And he speaks ... he speaks ... Then, we... we shoot anyway. When he falls, he is not dead yet. Then “no, no, no!” – I think he’ll say to you. Then we need a piece of wood and we kill him. He’s our family, but we don’t have anything to eat, that’s why! We kill him!

Overing and Rapport note that anthropology has a “historical expertise in the study of otherness”, and that “a major aim is to understand ‘the native’s’ point of view, which provides [...] a multi-perspectival framework for all analysis and conclusions” (2000, p. 9). Overing and Passes argue that Amerindian sociality requires a transformation of alterity, since “agents of the exterior are viewed as *incapable* of sociality until transformations prove otherwise” (2000, p. 7). They point out that although Amazonian sociality seems to follow “an *inclusivist* view of alterity”, it is important to note that “it is always an alterity *transformed*” (*ibid.*, p. 7 - italics in original). For the authors, “ontologically no other beings are capable, in and of themselves, of sociality”, and it is this transformation that would allow an “homology [...] between the way people enact their *sociable* relations with each other and the way they treat other kinds of beings in the universe” (*ibid.*, p. 7). They cite as example the fact that for the Piro¹⁹ people “kinspeople create together an intersubjective multiplicity, which is an impossible task for other beings of the universe” (*ibid.*, p. 7). Again, it is my participant Tukurú’s discourse that best exemplifies what Overing and Passes describe as an an inclusivist view of alterity:

Tukurú: if he (the isolated Amerindian) doesn’t understand my language, I will get closer to him, then I grab him[...] I will tie him up, then I will do a *panakū*²⁰ (to carry him).
Cássio: Are you going to transport him like game?
Tukurú: Yes, I’ll put him on my back, then I’ll take him home on my canoe, directly to see my family. What would he do? [...] I will not kill him.

¹⁸ En: Red howler monkey. Pt: bugio-vermelho-das-Guianas (*Alouatta Macconnelli*)

¹⁹ an Arawakan-speaking group of the Ucayali region in Peru.

²⁰ Carrier basket.

Cássio: And what are you going to do then? if you let him off in the village, you're not afraid he'll be doing stupid things?

Tukuru: No, he doesn't have a *kaleme*²¹ on ... I'll tell my father, (to check if) he is not my family ... so he'll become ... like... with papers (French ID documents) ... like us.

It is interesting to compare the Tukuru's account with what High found about the Waorani²², who have, in some cases, seen isolated groups as kinsmen who had become disconnected from them some time in history (2013).

Overing and Rapport argue that “the boundaries designating otherness varies tremendously from one people to the next: for some, who give weight to inclusivity, they are highly permeable, while for others they are rather rigid, which speaks of a more exclusivist set of values” (2000, p. 12). This goes in line with Descola's (2013) claim – which I will cover later in this chapter – that collectives will differ in the way they construct otherness according to the ontology that predominates as a ‘mode of identification’ within each collective. The *ethnocentrism* of Amerindians, as noted by Overing and Rapport, is “based upon a rhetoric of equality, and its expressions of alterity are much more inclusive in its categorization of humanity” whereas, in contrast, *eurocentrism* “born within a [...] rhetoric of hierarchy, is deeply exclusive in its view of humanity” (*ibid.*, p. 16 - emphasis mine). The contrasting ways in which eurocentrism and Amerindian ethnocentrism categorise what is ‘human’ supports Descola's claim that anthropology must free itself from the nature vs. culture ‘dualist veil’ that has hindered our understanding of cosmologies that are different from our own, and in which the boundaries between human beings and ‘natural object’ is unclear or non-existent (2013, pp. 19 - 20).

Arguing that alterity is central to inter- and intra-ethnic relations, High and Reeve note that “in Amazonia, alterity is not primarily about creating a complete break between ‘self’ and ‘other’ –

²¹ Men's daily garment.

²² or Huaorani, a Huaorani or Sabela-speaking Amerindian group.

since sociality itself can only be made through the mixing, exchange, or incorporation of others” – and that “it is often people classified as enemies who are ideal affines” (2012, pp.142-143). Those relationships in which ‘the other’ is a member or a non-allied group, an enemy, a foreigner, an animal, a spirit, *etc.* is what Viveiros de Castro calls ‘potential affinity’ or ‘symbolic affinity’, i.e. a ‘affinity without affines’ (2001, p. 24). Studying Amerindian interactions from a regional and intercultural perspective, rather than from a localised perspective, High and Reeve argue that “shifts between hostility and friendship among neighboring groups” is central to sociality (*ibid.*, p. 143). They further argue that this “dynamic relationship of alterity” (*ibid.*, p. 143) changes historically for various reasons²³ and conclude that “changing relations of alterity are an intrinsic aspect of indigenous social worlds” (*ibid.*, p.155).

The Wayãpi’s discourse illustrates well those shifts between hostility and friendship among neighbouring groups. If today the Wayãpi fear the isolated Amerindians, they once went into the forest to invite them to settle near them. This is what Wilaupi told me:

Cássio: Piatã had told me about ... a grandfather named Grandfather Kaletá, who lived here and who had told his men to go to the forest and look for Amerindians.
 Wilaupi: Yes.
 Cássio: And to make them come to settle on the Oyapock.
 Wilaupi: Yes.
 Cássio: What is this story?
 Wilaupi: It was ... it was there... where you went once, on the Sikalu'ti²⁴. This is where they lived at that time. Over there, on the igarapé Yengalali. Then, Grandfather Kaletá told his men to look for.
 Cássio: But Grandfather Kaletá, where did he live?
 Wilaupi: Beh, further up from where Piatã lives.
 Cássio: Ok, further up from Kumalua. [...] But where?
 Wilaupi: Right here on the igarapé Yengalali.
 [...]
 Cássio: Õ'õ, Kaletá told his men to go and get them so that they can come and settle on the Oyapock.
 [...]

²³ They point out that “this social dynamic is constituted through alliances between specific extended family groups that are maintained during times of violent interethnic conflict” (High and Reeve 2012, p.143). The authors argue that “while external forces, be they colonial epidemics or contemporary logging and petroleum exploitation, have had a key role in triggering indigenous conflicts, it is also clear that these agents and events have been actively incorporated into an interethnic sphere in culturally specific ways”.

²⁴ I accompanied the Wayãpi in a hunting expedition to this area in 2017. Near a flat rock of considerable size, one can see the remains of sugar-cane and manioc crops, abandoned many years ago.

Wilaupi: Yes. Then they came ... as they are used to rowing. ... They came to settle [...] on the Camopi [...] and now they no longer exist. [...] They all died, they married the Teko Amerindians ... Yes, afterwards they mixed ...

It is interesting to compare Wilaupi's account with what Keifenheim and Magand found about the Kashinawa²⁵ who have, in some cases, seen isolated groups as potential brothers-in-law or slaves to be integrated in their production system (1997).

High argues that although studies of Amazonian cosmology – such as on “perspectivism, other-becoming or ontological predation²⁶” – have helped to understand social transformation in terms of “ontology and structural continuities in indigenous thought”, those studies have perhaps limited “our understanding of the dramatic social changes” (2015, pp. 95-96). He challenges this ‘continuity thinking’, and advocates “an openness to understanding radical social change in Amazonia beyond questions of continuity and alterity” (*ibid.*, p. 94). He further argues that “ethno-historical and archeological research in Amazonia tends to tell a different narrative about transformation, one that emphasizes profound discontinuities, particularly as a result of colonialism” (*ibid.*, p. 96).

Camargo, in her own turn, addresses alterity construction in Eastern Amazon from an ethnolinguistic perspective. She explores the close links between identity, territory and the representation of ‘self’ and ‘other’ and argues that individual identity in the Eastern part of the Guianas is bonded to an identification with one’s territory of origin, ancestry and to the language that has been transmitted by one’s ancestors (2008, p. 137). She further points out that the Aparai, Tiriyó and Wayana Amerindian groups are constituted of subgroups, whose

²⁵ or Cashinahua, a Panoan-speaking Amerindian group.

²⁶ Martin (2014, p. 304) Explains that “predation is to incorporate human and nonhuman otherness because it is the definition of the self: to be myself, I must take hold of another and assimilate it. This can be done through war, hunting, real or metaphorical cannibalism, abduction of women and children, or by rituals of person-building and mediation with ideal affines, in which violence remains symbolic. Predation is the recognition that without the body of this other person, without his identity, without the point of view he has on me, I will remain incomplete. This analysis comes from the Tupi-Guarani world”.

dialectal variation of the same language could be one of the bases of the subgroups' constitution. For Camargo, the so-called 'ethnic' identification of those groups is linked to the paternal affiliation attributed to the language, as well as to the identification with a territory of origin of the paternal ascendants. All of their subgroups are named after a geographical location, mainly a river, as it will be seen in chapter 5 with the case of the Kuu Wã Kũ Wayãpi. She further argues that this relation with a 'place' is closely associated with the language, which serves as an 'identity card' of the individual. Thus, in the area inhabited by these Amerindians studied by Camargo, there is a local language which is used by all: the Wayana. Within this local language, subtle variations identify the individual in relation to the paternal subgroup to which he belongs: such an individual is Kukuyana because he says *sisi* for 'sun' [sisi], someone-else is identified as Upurui because he pronounces the same word in a more palatalised way [ʃiʃi] (*ibid.*, p.104). Camargo points out that this view is also shared by the Wayãpi. Quoting Gallois (2007), she highlights that even though the Wayãpi conceive their neighbours, the Aparai, as people originating from the putrefaction of the anaconda the Wayãpi say that the Aparai 'are people like them' pointing to their language and the use of a slightly different garment by the Aparai women, as some of the distinguishing features relevant in the distinction of the two groups:

“Aparai is like us (janekwer) but speak another language, and the women wear thong only in front”

Sekin Wajãpi (in Gallois 2007, p.46)

Camargo argues that “it is we who try to speak of a ‘Wayana culture’ as well as who require an ethnic identity from them, whereas the Wayana themselves use other criteria to define culture, or identification” (*ibid.*, p. 127). She highlights that for those Amerindians, “what counts is the difference that rests on ‘being from here or from elsewhere’, ‘talking like this or like that’, which are native conceptions very distant from our way of identifying who ‘is X’, when we assume that an ethnicity, corresponds to a culture and a language (*ibid.*, p. 127).

Adopting a different standpoint, Gallois (2007) analyses the production of alterity from the perspective of mythical narratives. She describes elements triggered by the Wayãpi for the judgment of difference, in relation to the relations that they establish with people considered “‘relatives’ or ‘allies’, Amerindian or non-Amerindian, near or distant, historically known or recently met” (*ibid.*, pp. 47-48). She argues that in the Wayãpi’s thought, “classifications concerning the difference between beings, as well as the reclassifications resulting from the transition from one position to another – from ‘people’ to ‘animal’ or ‘relative’ to ‘enemy’ – are evaluated according to the substances from which they originate or on which they grow” (*ibid.*, p. 53). According to Gallois, these processes illustrate Descola’s concept of ‘animism’ or Viveiros de Castro’s ‘perspectivism’, when these authors speak about the relationship between humans and nonhumans.

Ontologies

As previously stated, alterity production is part of the process through which the world’s main realities are perceived and interpreted by human and nonhuman beings, within different ontologies. Descola (2013) defines ‘ontologies’ as systems of identification and distribution of properties between subjects (human and nonhuman alterities) coexisting in the world, and through which those subjects perceive reality.

Opposing Durkheim (2008 [1912])’s concept of society, Descola argues that society is *not* a ‘general’ reality with laws to be uncovered. Instead, he is interested in how ‘nonhuman’ and human beings interact in a common nature. Descola builds an overarching theory for anthropology, which denotes an attempt to move away from the traditional ‘culture *vs.* nature’

opposition, and that is based on his own concept of ‘ontology’. He argues that “the opposition between nature and culture is not as universal as it is claimed to be” (*ibid.*, p. 19) and that anthropology must free itself from the nature *vs.* culture ‘dualist veil’, which has hindered our understanding of cosmologies that are different from our own, and in which the boundaries between human beings and ‘natural objects’ is unclear or non-existent. Working on what he calls a “monistic anthropology”, *i.e.*, one where the nature *vs.* culture dualism is abandoned, Descola endeavours to determine the nature of the schemas “that govern the objectivization of the world and of others”, and to understand “the rules that govern their composition”, in order to determine “a typology of their organization” (*ibid.*, p. 18).

Descola’s model comprises two “levels of variation”: a cognitive level and an ethical and political level (Salmon and Charbonnier 2014, p. 570). The cognitive level, what Descola calls ‘modes of identification’, are “a means of specifying the properties of existing beings” (2013, p. 460). The ethical and political level — that of ‘modes of relation’, are “a means of specifying the general form of the links between those beings” (*ibid.*, p. 460). Descola highlights that while identification “defines terms and their predicates [...] intrinsic to the object identified”, relations “are of an extrinsic nature in that they refer to the connections that this object has with something other than itself” (*ibid.* pp. 171-172). He conceives ‘modes of identification’ as “a means of specifying the properties of existing beings”, and ‘modes of relations’ as “a means of specifying the general form of the links between those beings” (*ibid.*, p. 174). For him, “each of the configurations resulting from the combination of a type of identification and a type of relationship reveals the general structure of a particular schema for the integration of practices, in other words, one of the forms that may be assumed by the mechanism for generating inferences [...]” (*ibid.*, p. 174). He further argues that between the two modes or levels of variation, two types of connection can happen: if one specific ‘mode of relation’ or relational schema is flexible enough, it may present interactions happening within more than one

ontology, i.e., within various modes of identification. Or, alternatively, if one particular ‘mode of identification’ or ontology is able to accommodate many different relational schemas or ‘modes of relation’, this will indicate the existence of a ‘mode of identification’ or ontological configuration which is “widely distributed in space (a cultural region, for example) the kind of concrete diversity of customs and norms from which ethnologists and historians love to draw their material” (*ibid.*, p. 460).

Alterity production is at the centre of Descola’s theory. For him, “identification [...] is the ability to apprehend and separate out some of the continuities and discontinuities that we can seize upon in the course of observing and coping practically with our environment” (2013, p. 175). He further argues that “identification [...] covers a more general schema by means of which I can establish differences and resemblances between myself and other existing entities by inferring analogies and contrasts between the appearance, behavior, and properties that I ascribe to myself and those that I ascribe to them” (*ibid.*, p. 170). According to Descola, it is only once the ‘object’ “that is being provided with an identity is classified in some ontological category or other, I shall be able to enter into some relationship with it” (*ibid.*, p. 170).

Descola defines ‘ontologies’ as the systems of identification and distribution of properties (physicality and interiority²⁷) between subjects (human and nonhuman alterities) coexisting in the world. It is through those systems of identification or ‘ontologies’ that those subjects perceive and interpret reality. His four types of ontologies, i.e., *animism*, *totemism*, *naturalism* and *analogism* – or their combinations – would be able to explain not only how the world’s main realities are

²⁷ Descola (2013) argues that “‘interiority’ refers to a range of properties recognized by all human beings and partially covers what we generally call the mind, the soul, or consciousness: intentionality, subjectivity, reflexivity, feelings, and the ability to express oneself and to dream [...]. In short, interiority consists in the universal belief that a being possesses characteristics that are internal to it or that take it as their source”. ‘Physicality’, in contrast, “concerns external form, substance, the physiological, perceptive and sensorimotor processes, even a being’s constitution and way of acting in the world, insofar as these reflect the influence brought to bear on behavior patterns and a habitus by corporeal humors, diets, anatomical characteristics, and particular modes of reproduction” (*ibid.*, pp. 175-176).

perceived and interpreted by nonhuman and human beings, but also the patterns of their relationships (*ibid.*, p. 183). Each ‘ontology’ would be “allowed by the interplay of resemblances and differences between the self and the Other at the levels of interiority and physicality” (*ibid.* p. 187). Descola maintains that humans may activate any of these system of identification as circumstances will require, but one of them often prevails at a given place and time, becoming the main structure or ‘ontology’ within which reality is interpreted (2006, p. 8).

Descola conceives his ‘modes of identification’ as “a means of specifying the properties of existing beings” (2013, p. 460). For him, a hypothetic subject, when faced with an “as yet unspecified *alter*” (2006, p. 3), *i.e.* when confronted with “some other entity, human or nonhuman” (2013, p. 183), can assume that:

- the entity possesses elements of physicality and interiority identical to his own – Descola calls this ‘totemism’;
- both the interiority and the physicality of the entity are distinct from his own – what Descola calls ‘analogism’;
- the entity has different physicality and similar interiority – Descola names this ‘animism’;
- their interiorities are different, or the entity “is devoid of interiority” (Descola 2006, p. 3), and their physicalities are analogous – what he calls ‘naturalism’.

| | | | | |
|---|-------------------|--|------------------|--|
| Similar interiorities Dissimilar physicalities | Animism | | Totemism | Similar interiorities Similar physicalities |
| Dissimilar interiorities Similar physicalities | Naturalism | | Analogism | Dissimilar interiorities Dissimilar physicalities |

“The four ontologies” (Descola 2013, p. 183)

Animism:

Animism, according to Descola (2006), is an ontology whereby a hypothetical subject, when detecting differences and similarities between himself and a human or nonhuman 'other', concludes that 'the other' has a 'similar interiority' and a 'different physicality' to his own.

Descola argues that animism is the belief that, what we Westerners call 'nonhuman' beings, are endowed with their own spiritual principle, and that it is therefore possible for men to establish relationships with these entities. It is the social attributes of nonhumans that would make it possible to engage in relationships with them. Animism confers on these entities not only anthropocentric characteristics – *i.e.*, a status of a person often endowed with speech and possessing human affects – but also social attributes that are drawn from each culture's own repertory of relationships. Their animic relationships will in fact reproduce the dominant modes of sociality²⁸ of that particular local group. Descola argues that animism is the predominant ontology in Amazonian societies. For him, Amazonian cosmologies do not make a clear distinction between nature and society – *i.e.*, between nature and culture – and the organising principle that prevails therein is "the circulation of flows, of identities and of substances between entities whose characteristics depend less on an abstract essence than on the relative positions that they occupy in relation to each other" (Descola 1996, p. 63).

Totemism:

Totemism, in Descola's view, is an ontology whereby a hypothetical subject, when detecting differences and similarities between himself and a given human or nonhuman 'other', concludes

²⁸ Such as hierarchy of positions, behaviours based on kinship, respect for certain codes of conduct and observance of ethical codes (Descola 1996).

that 'the other' has elements of physicality and interiority similar to his own. For Descola, totemism is "best exemplified by aboriginal Australia" and according to which the main totem of a human group, commonly an animal or plant, and all the humans and non-human that are connected to it, are believed to share a few attributes "of physical conformation, substance, temperament and behavior", as the result of a common origin which is located somewhere in the region where they live²⁹ (2006, p. 6). In totemism, each individual is attached to a totem. If my totem is the frog, I can have a greater physical and spiritual identity with this animal than with my neighbour, who is of the monkey's lineage. There is therefore be a mythological relationship of complementarity between humans and nonhumans, in addition to a similarity of physicality and interiority between the individual and his totem. In totemism, as the origin of the individual is linked to objects, plants and animals characteristic of a particular place, his identity is no is linked to the territory.

Analogism:

Descola calls analogism an ontology whereby a hypothetical subject, when detecting differences and similarities between himself and a given human or nonhuman 'other', concludes that the interiority and the physicality of the 'other' are entirely distinct from his own. For Descola, analogism is based on the idea that all of the world's beings are made up of a multiplicity of essences (interiorities), forms and substances (physicalities) divided by intervals, usually organised on a graded scale, as in the Great Chain of Beings which functioned as the core cosmological model in the Middle Ages and Renaissance³⁰. Analogy, Descola argues, is "only a

²⁹ Descola uses as an example of totemism what was observed by Spencer and Gillen (1899) who, "when showing an Aranda man of the kangaroo totem a picture they had taken of him, receives this response: this one is exactly like me, as is a kangaroo", what led Spencer and Gillen to the conclusion that "every man considers his totem [...] as the same thing as himself" (Spencer and Gillen 1899, p. 202).

³⁰ Descola argues that this orderly arrangement allows the identification of contrasts and similarities in a "network of analogies" linking the properties of beings. Similarities that are "liable to provide a basis for inferences" are searched, as they may apply to important aspects of life, "particularly to the prevention and treatment of diseases and misfortunes" (Descola 2006, p.7).

consequence of the necessity to organize a world composed of a multiplicity of independent elements, such as the Chinese *wan wou*, the 10000 essences” (2006, p.7). He further notes that by “admitting that all the components of the world are separated by tiny discontinuities”, analogy makes it possible to organise these fragiley differentiated elements into a “canvass of affinities and attractions which would have all the appearances of continuity” (*ibid.*, p.7). In analogism, therefore, “the ordinary state of the world” is a multiplicity of differences; it is ‘similarity’ what makes “this fragmented world intelligible and tolerable” (*ibid.*, p.7). Descola points out that “apart from the paradigmatic case of China, this type of ontology is quite common in parts of Asia, in West Africa, or among native communities of Mesoamerica and the Andes” (*ibid.*, p.8).

Naturalism:

Descola argues that naturalism is the predominant ontology in Western thought (2006, p. 8), the one that “is most familiar to us and that we deem, mistakenly, to be universal”. Naturalism has become, for Western society, a somewhat ‘natural’ assumption, which structures our epistemology and in particular our perception of other ‘modes of identification’, to the extent that it is the guiding principle of our own cosmology and it prevails in our common sense and in our scientific principles (Descola 1996). Naturalism therefore determines the point of view of Western society, how we see the Other and the World. Descola highlights that naturalism is anthropocentric “since non-humans are tautologically defined by their lack of humanity” (2006, p. 10). For Descola, naturalism occurs as an ontology when, in the identification process, the ‘interiority’ of the Other is different from that which one attributes to oneself, but the ‘physicality’ of the Other is similar to one’s own. Or when the Other “is devoid of interiority”

(*ibid.*, p. 3), but the ‘physicalities’ are analogous. What Descola means by ‘analogous physicalities’ in naturalism is the existence of a “material continuity” in a “single unifying nature” populated by “organisms that are biologically very close to us”. He highlights that “we are all aware, especially since Darwin, that the physical dimension of humans locates them within a material continuum wherein they do not stand out as singularities”. In Descola’s naturalism, the ‘difference in interiorities’, or the ‘absence of interiority’ is represented by the presence of elements such as “the mind, the soul, subjectivity, a moral conscience, language and so forth” that one has, and that the Other does not have. Therefore, in naturalism, where there is “material continuity”³¹ in a “single unifying nature”, it is precisely the alleged existence of elements such as mind, soul, subjectivity, moral conscience and language that will distinguish humans from nonhumans (*ibid.*, p. 8).

Descola argues that in naturalism, Western society establishes a boundary between oneself and the Other, introducing the idea of ‘nature’ and the representation of the World based on the ‘nature vs. culture’ dichotomy. According to Descola, the ‘nature vs. culture’ dualism, which in the Western view governs the distribution of humans and nonhumans, is the very reason behind the difficulty Westerns have in understanding other societies. He further argues that this dualism is unknown to Amerindian cosmologies, which, rather than making a clear distinction between nature and society, they consider that differences between men, plants and animals are of degree

³¹ Descola indicates that it was Viveiros de Castro who first made this point: “(...) the status of humans in Western thought is essentially ambiguous: (...) our cosmology postulates a physical continuity and a metaphysical discontinuity between humans and animals, the former making of man an object for the natural sciences, the latter an object for the ‘humanities’. Spirit or mind is our great differentiator: it raises us above animals and matter in general, it distinguishes cultures, it makes each person unique before his or her fellow beings. The body, in contrast, is the major integrator: it connects us to the rest of the living, united by a universal substrate (DNA, carbon chemistry) which, in turn, links up with the ultimate nature of all material bodies” (Viveiros de Castro 1998, p. 479). The original says : “(...) o estatuto do humano no pensamento ocidental é (...) essencialmente ambíguo : (...) nossa cosmologia postula uma continuidade física e uma descontinuidade (...) sobrenatural (...) entre os humanos e os animais, a primeira fazendo do homem objeto das ciências da natureza, a segunda, das ciências da cultura. O espírito é o grande diferenciador ocidental: é o que nos sobrepõe aos animais e à matéria em geral, o que nos singulariza diante de nossos semelhantes, o que distingue as culturas. O corpo, ao contrário, é o grande integrador: ele nos conecta ao resto dos vivos, unidos todos por um substrato universal (o ADN, a química do carbono etc.) que, por sua vez, remete à natureza última de todos os corpos materiais” (Viveiros de Castro 1996b, p. 129).

and not of nature. These societies therefore conceive their environment as a network of interrelations. Most of the entities that populate the world would be connected to each other in a vast continuum governed by sociality, and in which the organising principle is the circulation of flows, identities and substances between entities, in an ontology that Descola calls animism (Descola 1996).

Descola highlights that if a relational schema is flexible enough, it may present interactions happening within various ‘modes of identification’, *i.e.*, within more than one ontology (2013, p. 460). Therefore, Descola’s ontologies are not mutually exclusive. This means that one will maybe find a combination of two or more ‘modes of identification’ – *animism, totemism, naturalism* and *analogism* – when trying to explain how the world’s main realities are perceived and interpreted by nonhuman and human beings and the patterns of their relationships (*ibid.*, p. 183). However, for Descola, one of those ‘modes of identification’ often prevails *at a given place and time*, becoming the main ‘ontology’ within which reality is interpreted (2006, p. 8).

This chapter has reviewed some relevant studies on alterity and offered an overview of the vast and complex work of Descola. Descola’s multi-ontological approach restores alterity to being the focal point of anthropological thinking, as it attempts to consider the full diversity of possible relations between humans and nonhumans (Salmon and Charbonnier 2014, p. 569). I return to this work, in the context of the Wayãpi, in Chapter 5, but first I turn to the analysis of the social and historical context of the Wayãpi’s relationships with isolated groups.

Chapter 4

Social and historical context:

How the Wayãpi discern the presence of isolated groups

This chapter will be dedicated to analysing the social and historical context of the Wayãpi's relationships with isolated groups. Before proceeding to this analysis, I cover in the next paragraphs an issue concerning the second and third generations of previously isolated Wayãpi, who had been contacted in the 1960s and 1970s: that of suicide. Wade (1996) argues for a more politically engaged anthropology. The facts below are a "political commitment" to the interest of the people I lived and worked with (Rowlands 1996, p. 21).

"It was like that before, with us too. It's my father who says that too. [...] It's the whites who have trapped us before. Then, we take the mirror, we look, it's nice ... At the same time the whites are coming, and they found us. We are gentle. That's why they called us Amerindians. That's why they brought us until here"

Tukuru (pseudonym), a 22-year-old Wayãpi (2017), son of a Brazilian Wayãpi who had been attracted by the French authorities to populate the border in the 1970s.

"I already did the 'suicide' when I was younger, a long time ago, you know, you were not here yet, I hanged myself, but my brother-in-law and my older brother arrived and took me off the rope. It was just after I left the school and the Sisters' Home³² I had been sent to. It was when I returned to live here in the village. Here, when we (try to) do the suicide, and we don't succeed, they immediately send us by helicopter to Cayenne, to a kind of very closed house, like a prison. They give us lots of drugs and they force us to do physical exercises to calm us down. All because I did not manage to do the suicide well. Last week I wanted to do the suicide again, but with the rifle. I had drunk too much; did you see how I was?"

A 22-year-old Wayãpi (2017), father of a child, and son of a Brazilian Wayãpi.

"These suicides reflect the deep malaise of these young people, an immense despair, the suffering which results from feeling obliged to choose between two worlds: that of their parents, of their village, to which they are vitally attached, or that of a modernity that presents itself to them in a brutal way, discovered at the high school or in the city"

Archimbaud and Chapdelaine 2015

³² Roman Catholic home for students in Saint Georges de l'Oyapock.

In Brazil, the differentiated status of the Amerindian is guaranteed by the 1988 Constitution. Consequently, public policies targeting Amerindians are differentiated, especially concerning culture, health and education. The French government's policy, on the other hand, is assimilationist and aims to turn the Amerindians into ordinary French citizens. France seeks to achieve this goal through a "francization" policy, which includes projects for urbanization of indigenous villages³³, the imposition of undifferentiated teaching curricula – the same as those applied by schools in Paris – as well as undifferentiated medical care, which does not take into account Amerindians' cultural diversity. The relationship the French government has with the Amerindians is based on the belief in a civilising project whose objective is the adaptation of the Amerindians to a French set of values and manners, to the detriment of the indigenous values and identity. This official francization policy has been ethnocidal to the Wayãpi, since it has consequences of a high rate of suicide, of alcoholism and drug use, as well as a deterioration of the traditional forms of sociality and of subsistence among the Amerindians of French Guiana.

During my long stay with the Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River, the francization policies implemented by the French Authorities were evident. In 2017, I witnessed the French Ministry for Education officers visiting the Amerindian villages of the Upper Oyapock to enrol by force all children born in 2005 and 2006, to send them to school in the city. Those children were enrolled in a school in Saint Georges de l'Oyapock, which is located a three-day-trip down the river. They had no choice but to either live in a Roman Catholic home for children, where they are obliged to follow the Catholic rites, or to live with *créole* or Brazilian 'host-families', who are partly paid by the government, and who have to make sure those children adopt occidental dress codes and manners. Those unprepared 'host-families' often prohibit the children to speak

³³ This urbanisation is particularly noticeable in Camopi. Ribeiro (2017, p. 450) noticed a similar process imposed elsewhere in the Amazon, where missionaries replaced the malocas with huts arranged in streets, each with one conjugal family only.

their own language. Some of those children I had been teaching in their village had serious problems and handicaps before they were enrolled, but this was seen as no reason to let them stay in their communities, under the caring love of their families. Besides, for many of them, this was the first time they left their Amerindian village. The majority of them do not succeed at school and end up looking for alternative illusory ‘comfort zones’ characterised by consumption of alcohol and drugs. Often, those children end up being ejected from school due to their ‘unconventional’ behaviour and have no choice but to return to their Amerindian villages, carrying along with them their newly acquired addictions and behaviours. During my stay with the Wayãpi, I saw no initiative of the French Government to follow up on those school dropouts who had gone back to their villages, other than two visits of the French Army that tried to take them to their training centres, and to persuade them to become soldiers. As Ribeiro notes that “ethnicity [...] resists badly the [...] practice of separating the children to educate them away from their people. This can only acculturate them, transforming them into no-one, one who does not know about oneself [...]” (2017, p. 15). He argues that elsewhere in the Amazon, “wherever an indigenous group was able to maintain family coexistence – parents educating their children – ethnic tribal identification remained” (*ibid.*, p. 16).

Inquiring into suicide by Amerindians in French Guiana, French politicians Archimbaud and Chapdelaine found that “young teenagers, almost children, kill themselves in ways that are sometimes atrocious, to the point that we can speak without exaggeration of an ‘epidemic of suicides’” (2015, p.8). They argue that even though ethnic statistics are banned in France, “health authorities, alerted by testimonies of inhabitants and elected officials, proceeding through inventories and cross-checks, confirm that the suicide rate of young people seems to be eight to ten times higher among the populations of the interior than the average in French Guiana or in metropolitan France” (*ibid.*, p. 11). Archimbaud and Chapdelaine further argue that most of the ‘accomplished suicides’ and suicide attempts concern the Wayãpi, the Wayana

and the Teko Amerindians (*ibid.*, p. 11). They suggest some measures to be taken by the French Government, but the proposed measures are, in most cases, paternalistic, colonialist and assimilationist. They have suggested, for example, setting up training sessions for professions considered to be ‘useful’ to French Guiana (*ibid.*, p.16) and using the ‘possibilities offered’ by a military service regiment (*ibid.*, p.18).



Figure 3 - Young Wayãpi recruited by the French ‘Adapted Military Regiment’ (Guyane la 1ère. 2017).
Viewed 20 August 2017, available at <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x5nA49SsGCU>>.
Image source: <https://i.ytimg.com/vi/x5nA49SsGCU/maxresdefault.jpg>. Consulted 20 August 2017

Isolated Amerindians in general

The Organization of American States refers to the Amerindian groups living in isolation as “indigenous peoples living in voluntary isolation” (2013, p. 1) and describes them as being “the last peoples who were not colonized and who do not have permanent relations with today’s predominant national societies” (*ibid.*, p. 1). There are approximately 200 indigenous groups living in isolation in the Americas (United Nations 2012, p.5), and these are amongst the most

vulnerable human groups. The Organisation of American States (2013) recognises that, the greater is the degree of vulnerability of indigenous peoples, the lower is their capacity to advocate for their own rights. Their vulnerability³⁴ also reduces their capacity to make spontaneous choices to have an active role in social processes.

The subject of Amerindians living in isolation exerts fascination on the media and has deserved the attention of many anthropologists (Gallois 1994; Keifenheim and Magand 1997; Shepard 2002, 2012; Caiuby Novaes and Guimarães 2010; Virtanen 2010; Gow 2011; Carneiro da Cunha 2012; Colleoni and Proaño 2013; High 2013; Huertas Castillo 2013; Brown 2015; Hill, 2015 – to name but a few). The subject has been researched from several angles. Keifenheim and Magand (1997) for example, describe how the Kashinawa³⁵ view isolated Amerindians as future brothers-in-law or slaves to be integrated in their production system³⁶. High (2013) points out that, in a similar process of alterity construction, the Waorani³⁷ see isolated peoples living within their area as both enemies and kinsmen who became disconnected from them some time in history. There have also been debates such as on “how to refer” to those isolated Amerindians or on whether their isolation is voluntary (Shepard 2002, 2012; Gow 2011, Colleoni and Proaño 2013; Brown 2015). Some viewpoints – which may be considered to be more or less polemical depending on one’s view on isolated peoples – have been published, such as Walker and Hill (2015)’s argument that isolated Amerindians should be force contacted or Bessire’s view that the “(...) fantasy of the Isolated Indian” would represent a “justification for classifying more settled groups” of the same language “as sub-human matter” (2012, p. 472).

³⁴ Caiuby Novaes and Guimarães (2010) have defined as vulnerable “those people who, due to their social, cultural, ethnic, political, economic, educational, or health conditions find the differences established between themselves and the wider society transformed into inequalities. Inequality, amongst other things, makes them incapable of freely expressing their will, or at least make it very difficult for them to do so”.

³⁵ or Cashinahua, a Panoan-speaking Amerindian group living in Peru and Brazil.

³⁶ A group of unknown Amerindians had been looting Kashinawa villages. As a result, the sedentary Kashinawa agreed on a ‘pacification plan’ for the integration of the ‘wild ones’. The plan included converting them into brothers-in-law and/or slaves (Keifenheim and Magand 1997).

³⁷ or Huaorani, a Huaorani or Sabela-speaking Amerindian group living in Equador.

Every scientific production is a mere insight into the universe of knowledge. As such, within the limitations of a master's dissertation, I have not had the opportunity, nor the space, to revise more deeply the literature about isolated peoples of South America or of other parts of the World. I am, in this study, simply interested in detecting the modes of identification – among the models or ontologies described by Descola (2013) – that the Wayãpi resort to in their processes of alterity production vis-à-vis isolated Amerindians. I have therefore privileged reviewing literature on alterity and Descola's modes of identification.

Gallois points out that almost all indigenous groups still living today “independently from the relationship of domination that our society reserves for them” (1994, p.122) are in this situation as a result from previous experiences of direct or indirect contact with the wider society. For her “the shunning attitude of those peoples is *reactive* to the contact” (*ibid.*, p.122 – emphasis mine). In concert with this, Huertas Castillo argues that with their isolation those groups are expressing clearly “their opposition to the social injustices, the theft and plundering of land, the loss of culture and demographic collapse that they and so many other indigenous people have experienced in the past” (2013, p. 56). Bessire argues that Ayoreo³⁸-speaking “holdouts” are “by no means isolated, but they have developed a way of life around the daily logistics of eluding starvation, capture and death” (2012, p. 471). In this dissertation, I have used the terms “unknown” and “isolated” Amerindians indistinctively. Huertas Castillo (2002) argues that any term which attempts to refer to isolated groups would not fully reflect their reality, since it will forcibly only reflect one aspect of their behaviour, that is, their refusal to live with or near other people, regardless of the reasons behind this refusal behaviour. She argues that “isolated Amerindian”, or “in isolation” are preferred terms that may be used until the moment those groups decide to approach the wider society to let us know how they refer to themselves.

³⁸ an Ayoreo or Zamucuan-speaking group living in the Gran Chaco area of South America.

For the purpose of this study, and out of my personal convictions that Amerindians living in isolation should be left alone undisturbed, there has never been any attempt from my side to collect evidence *in loco* of the existence of isolated group.

How the Wayãpi discern the presence of isolated Amerindian groups

When I began to interview the Wayãpi about the unknown or isolated groups, a lot of information about the zones where they live – and which families they might belong to – emerged³⁹. I now engage with current discourse of the Wayãpi and the literature relating to, or supporting, the existence of those isolated groups. In the next chapter I will be analysing the the Wayãpi's alterity production *via-à-vis* those isolated Amerindians.

The extant literature mentions various Amerindian groups, other than the Wayãpi, who were living in those regions. Coudreau (1893), Arnaud (1971), Grenand (1971, 1982) and Gallois (1986) explain clearly what happened to most groups, who either amalgamated with the current groups or simply left no trace of their fate⁴⁰. In this dissertation the only groups mentioned are those that appear in the discourse of the Amerindians. This does not necessarily exclude the possibility that descendants of other groups are still living isolated elsewhere. A good example is the Tapiñy⁴¹ Amerindians. Although they are mentioned very often in the literature and in

³⁹ At least some of isolated groups living nearby are likely to be related to the sedentary Wayãpi. It seemed evident to me that they should be presented in the chapter dedicated to 'social context'.

⁴⁰ I consider that the term 'extinct' has a negative connotation, as colonialist authorities prematurely declared an area 'cleared' of Amerindians so that it can be opened up to what one questionably calls "development" have often used it.

⁴¹ Also known as Namik Wã, *Tapy'yi* or Tapã'ain – as it is pronounced in the TIW. Allies of the Wayana against the Wayãpi, the Tapiñy occupied in 1760-1780 the basins of the Jari and Kuu rivers, northwards of the confluence of those rivers (Grenand 1982, p. 283). The word *tapiñy* or *tapuia* means barbarian or enemy in various Tupian languages. Interpreting video records of the Kwahiva of the Rio Pardo Amerindians made by FUNAI in 2013, the linguist Dr Ana Suely Arruda Cabral identifies the word *Tapuim*, which she translates as "enemy" (Source: http://folhadosulonline.com.br/noticias.php?id_noticias=16847 Consulted 12 March 2018). The Kawahiva do Rio Pardo are a Tupian group living in the north of Mato Grosso State, in Brazil.

the discourse of the Wayãpi about their wars, the Tapiĩy do not appear in this chapter, since the Wayãpi made no suggestion in their discourse that it is their descendants who may still be living in isolation.

The lack of temporal precision in the current discourse of the Wayãpi concerning the isolated groups, as well as the many years that have gone since Coudreau (1893), Arnaud (1971), Grenand (1971, 1982) and Gallois (1986) wrote on the subject, make it difficult to affirm without any risk, which of these isolated groups still exist. It is nevertheless undeniable that both the Brazilian and French Wayãpi report recent evidence of their existence, and they do engage in relationships of alterity with them. Should the narratives documented in this dissertation contradict specially the versions of events given by Grenand (1971, 1982) and Gallois (1996), it is fair to assume that those anthropologists' versions are, from a historiographic view-point, probably more accurate than what the Wayãpi are narrating almost 50 years after they wrote. However, as Kurkiala has found, Amerindian "oral tradition [...] is based on a fundamentally different logic from modern historiography. [...] It is here that a more fundamental form or resistance is maintained"⁴² (2002, p. 445). In line with what Kurkiala found about the discourse of the Lakota⁴³, should there be discrepancies between the Wayãpi's discourse on their narrative and modern historiography, this may in fact be a challenge made by the Wayãpi to conventional historical representations, and an attempt to re-appropriate the privilege to define their local roots and their identity. Further research would be necessary in order to analyse the reasons underling those eventual discrepancies.

⁴² Kurkiala's argument is anchored in Foucault's statement, that "the description of the events of discourse poses a [...] question: how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?" (Foucault 1972, p.30).

⁴³ Siouan-speaking Amerindians of the Dakota region in North America.

In this study, I propose the definition of three “zones”, which could potentially be inhabited by isolated or unknown Amerindians. The criteria used for grouping more than one area into a “zone” were the geographic location, ethnohistorical literature and Amerindian discourse.

I propose the following three zones⁴⁴ : Zone 1 – situated on the left margin of the Upper Oyapock River; Zone 2 – situated on the right margin of the Upper Oyapock River and the Northeast of the TIW and Zone 3 – situated at the headwaters of the Oyapock, Kuu, Culari and Ipitinga rivers.

| Zone 1 | Zone 2 | Zone 3 |
|---|--|--|
| Represented by the following igarapés ⁴⁵ : | Represented by the following toponyms or igarapés: | Represented by the following toponyms or igarapés: |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ipišĩ (FR) • Yalupi (FR) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Walapululi (BR) • Kalai'kwa (BR) • Mitũla (BR) • Yengalali (BR) • Northeast of the TIW (BR): Okakai, Najaty, Pakwarã, Aruwaity and the Amapari Headwaters. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Soã Itu (waterfall and the surrounding area that forms the headwaters of the Oyapock River) (BR) • Pirawiri (BR) • Curuapi (BR) • Culari River (BR) • Kuu River • Upper Ipitinga River (BR) |

Zone 1 - Igarapés Ipišĩ and Yalupi:

For Grenand, the igarapés Yalupi⁴⁶ and Ipišĩ⁴⁷ were axes of south-north penetration, and he notes that many old village remains can still be seen in this region (1980, p. 88). He indicates that Tariپی⁴⁸ Amerindians were reported by various 18th century writers as living on igarapé Yalupi (1982, p. 273), as well as on the Kuu River (1972, p. 80). Gallois refers to the Tariپی Amerindians living in the area *Zone 3* – see below (1986, pp. 299-300). Grenand further argues

⁴⁴ “BR” means that the area is within Brazilian territory, whereas “FR” means that the area is within French territory.

⁴⁵ An igarapé is an Amazonian waterway of first, second or third order, constituted by a long arm of river or channel. They exist in large numbers in the Amazon basin. They are characterised by low depth and by running almost inside the forest.

⁴⁶ A left margin affluent of the Oyapock River.

⁴⁷ A left margin affluent of the Oyapock River.

⁴⁸ Those Amerindians were also known as Taroupis, Tazipis or Toutoupis (Grenand 1972, p. 80).

that the occupation of the igarapé Ipišĩ, of the Upper Oyapock and of the Upper Yalupi by the Wayãpi happened between 1800 and 1820 (1982, p. 300), and highlights that “currently an uncontacted Wayãpi group still lives in the headwaters of the Yalupi” (*ibid.*, p.88). He also points out that in 1878 Kaule, a chief of Kusari⁴⁹ origin, had settled further north on the igarapé Ipišĩ, after having emigrating from the Inipuku⁵⁰ River via the igarapé Mitake⁵¹. Towards the end of the 19th Century, the chieftaincy was passed to Kaule’s son Posisi: a part of the Kaule-Posisi community remained in the igarapé Ipišĩ region, where their descendants currently live, refusing contact with other Wayãpi groups (*ibid.*, pp. 336-337). According to Gallois, the French Wayãpi maintain that an isolated group of the Maracupi⁵² Amerindians inhabits the area of the Yalupi headwaters and the igarapé Ipišĩ (1986, pp. 296-297).

One of my research participants, Alawayela⁵³ maintains that the descendants of Posisi still live in the Ipišĩ area:

Alawayela: It's the people of grandfather Posisi. [...]
Alawayela: It is said that a group remained on the Ipišĩ, and that there is another group that descended towards the Oyapock. There is one part that remained on the Ipišĩ. The mother of Aipi, a man who who lives in Camopi, is descends from grandfather Posisi's family. It's the same people who live today on the igarapé Ipišĩ.

Yapalatai gives his version of where those Amerindians who are allegedly living on the igarapé Ipišĩ came from. His account seems to confirm Grenand’s argument that they might be related to Amerindians who were once living on the Kuu River (Grenand 1972, p. 80):

Cássio: And the Amerindians of the Ipišĩ, what do you know about them?
Yapalatai: They left the Kuu River to arrive here at the Ipišĩ.

⁴⁹ A Tupian-speaking Amerindian group. The Kusari were reported by Coudreau (1893, p. 47) as living in the Upper Couyary Region. Coudreau calls them Coussari. This makes one wonder if the ethnonym Kusari does not come from Couyary, to indicate the area of the Kuu-Jari rivers (Rio Culari) where Coudreau reported them in the 19th Century.

⁵⁰ Also known as Mapari River. Not to be confounded with Amapari River.

⁵¹ Also known as Mutaquere, a right margin affluent of the Oyapock River. The Wayãpi explained to me that the word Mbutá explains the origin of the name of the igarapé Mitake. Interpreting video records of the Kwahiva of the Rio Pardo Amerindians made by FUNAI in 2013, the linguist Dr Ana Suely Arruda Cabral identifies the word Mbutá, which, according to Cabral, is a kind of scaffolding where the Amerindians wait for their preys on the tree tops (Source: http://folhadosulonline.com.br/noticias.php?id_noticias=16847 Consulted 12 March 2018).

⁵² also known as Macupi, Warakupi or Onacoupis - reckoned to be a Tupian-speaking group.

⁵³ All individuals involved in the research, either as interviewed person or as person mentioned in an interview, have been given pseudonyms. This anonymity does not apply to ancestors and deceased chiefs.

[...]

Cássio: But those who are still living on the Ipišĩ, those of whom you see the footprints ... who are those Amerindians after all?

Yapalatai: Those are part of Grandmother Paye⁵⁴'s family. Her husband was Grandfather Asĩnga'ú. Those now are their children or grandchildren.

Tukuru, whose father comes from the Kuu River, gives me his version:

Tukuru: My father told me this: on the Ipišĩ it's our family, who did not arrive here. Now, they are *ka'apo*⁵⁵.

Cássio: But why do not they come here?

Tukuru: They are afraid ... They are afraid ... They are the rest of us!

Cássio: The rest of you?

Tukuru: Yes. Those are family. It's my family but it's someone's family. Who came back here but after they left, directly (to settle there). Those are our elders who [...] left, directly ... (They are) like wild Amerindians now ...

The current Wayãpi of Trois Sauts seem to believe that the groups that are supposedly living in the headwaters of the igarapé Ipišĩ and on the igarapé Yalupi are the same people. This is what Kaluanã tells me in our conversation. He saw people running and their foot-prints:

Kaluanã: When we were over thee... near the Saint-Marcel Mountain. [...] Kulipi had killed a few *kwata*⁵⁶... *yakami*⁵⁷... all this... *mitũ*⁵⁸.... I was walking in front of my colleagues... we arrive... they (the unknown Amerindians) went like that ... they ran in front of us ...

Cássio: They ran ahead of you?

Kaluanã: Yes. [...] And Ybere he said: "Kulipi stop, look, look!" They (the unknown Amerindians) went through ... because we were three people ... [...] And they ran ... they ran We had our eyes fixed on them! And there we were, looking at their footprints ... they are the same as us ... their feet and all that [...]. I believed that those were Kalana Kũ Amerindian... or I said to Alawayela afterwards... he said, no it's not that, it's another family. They came from town there to the igarapé Yalupi. It is the family of Grandfather Asĩnga'ú.

Kulipi confirms his older brother's precision that the people that are supposedly living on the Yalupi are the descendants of Asĩnga'ú:

Kulipi: There are also Amerindians on the Yalupi too.

Cássio: Really?

Kulipi: Yes, like us, they wear *kaleme*⁵⁹ too. The name of their chief was Asĩnga'ú.

⁵⁴ Not to be confounded with a lady of the same name currently living in Wayãpi village of Zidock.

⁵⁵ Men of (or who live in) a part of the forest which is, in general, not well known to or frequented by the Wayãpi.

⁵⁶ Spider monkey.

⁵⁷ Grey-winged trumpeter.

⁵⁸ Fr: Hocco, En: Curassow, Pt: *Mutum*. (*Crax Allector*)

⁵⁹ Men's red cotton clothing for daily use.

Cássio: Are they Amerindians like you?

Kulipi: Yes, like us but ... they are very afraid of ... helicopter and boat engines too.

The same information is given by Yapalatai, the father of Kulipi and Kaluanã:

Cássio: And the Amerindians of the Yalupi, have you heard about them?

Yapalatai: It's Grandfather Asĩnga'u's family

For Yawapuku the group is indeed that of the descendants of chief Asĩnga'u:

Cássio: And on the Yalupi?

Yawapuku: Grandfather Asĩnga'ú. It is the family of Asĩnga'u. They died not long ago the family of Asĩnga'ú. [...] There was this Grandfather Akikipĩú on the mouth of Yalupi.

Yanukura also believes that the supposedly isolated peoples of the Yalupi and of the Ipiĩ would have formed one same group:

Cássio: And those Amerindians who are on the Ipiĩ, who are they?

Yanukura: It's the Amerindians of Grandfather Asĩnga'u's family.

Cássio: And on the Yalupi?

Yanukura: Yalupi is another tribe yet.

Yanukura: [...] Grandfather Kaulé. His name was Kaulé, who lived on the Yalupi.

Cássio: and on the Ipiĩ it's the same people?

Yanukura: Yes, it's the same people, because it's not far Yalupi from Ipiĩ.

Alawayela in his own turn, reckons that the people that are allegedly living on the Yalupi are Kusari, another Tupian group.

Alawayela: His name was Waninika⁶⁰, it was their leader, on the Yalupi. Their name is Kusari. The Kusari are not Wayãpi.

Cássio: Those are the Amerindians who live there?

Alawayela: Yes.

Cássio: Have you seen them yourself or heard about it?

Alawayela: Yes, I heard yes. And I saw Waninika's family in Saint-Georges de l'Oyapock. There is still Waninika's family. I believe that there is a part that remained on the Yalupi, they live on Yalupi.

⁶⁰ Coudreau (1893, p 34) talks about Waninika as a chief that would have lived as far in time as at the beginning of the 19th Century: "During the far-gone times of the Oyampi chief Ouaninika and of the war between the Oyampi and the Roucouyenne at the beginning of this century".

To support their conviction of the existence of such isolated groups, the Wayãpi rely not only on their occasional sights of such individuals and of their footprints, but also on sounds that they hear in the area of the igarapé Ipiã:

Kaluanã: [...] they (the unknown Amerindians) went: "(whistles)" – this whistle means "come, come come". Antônio and Kaniya says they (the unknown Amerindians) almost spoke the language of ours. Then, Kaniya and Antônio ran away on the tack they had been opening, but them (the Amerindians) also ran after them.

[...]

Cássio: But did they see the Amerindians?

Kaluanã: Yes!

Muricy also talks about the whistling of those unknown Amerindians of the on the igarapé Ipiã:

Muricy: [...] "Because there were wild Amerindians behind us, we heard them whistling, talking to each other" Then they run!

Cássio: What language did they (the unknown Amerindians) speak? Wayãpi or another language?

Muricy: I don't know. [...] Then [...] they (the unknown Amerindians) whistle. [...] we left immediately with our motors [...] Otherwise if we go down paddling, they would follow us, they will attack. They are dangerous.

Kulipi has had similar experiences on the igarapé Ipiã:

Kulipi: Kaluanã and Antônio left our camp there to go hunting. Suddenly there are wild Amerindians running towards them. They ran back on the hunting path, they (jumped on and they) cut the rope of the canoe. They did not see (the unknown Amerindians).

Kulipi: [...] when we returned, we saw traces ... footprints of the Amerindians

Tukuru also had similar experiences on the Ipiã and talks about the behaviour of animal there.

The behaviour of the animals is also, according to the Wayãpi, an indicator of the presence of isolated groups:

Tukuru: [...] we heard something talking behind us, next to us. He talked loudly! Then, we run [...]. I believe those were the wild Amerindians [...]. We did not understand what they were talking about, they said: "Blublublu" <simulation of the sound of an incomprehensible language>. [...] Macuã also whistled. They did like that: <sounds of someone whistling>.

Cássio: And they answered?

Tukuru: Yes. They whistle louder than us! They were numerous. They whistled for their other comrades (to come), so that there are many of them, to go killing

something. [...] They were hunting. There is no *mítũ* there. I think they killed them all.

Cássio: Who? the Amerindians who live on Ipisi?

Tukuru: Yes. There is no *mítũ* there! Even, there is no *taytetu*⁶¹, *so'o*⁶², there is nothing there [...]

Kaluanã also talks about the behaviour of the animals in the area:

Kaluanã: Over there, you cannot kill *mítũ*. It's afraid of you.

[...] *Kiwata* too.

Cássio: What are they afraid of?

Kaluanã: Because there are the wild Amerindians there. They want to eat them too [...]

Cássio: But the ones you saw, there were children too or there were only ...?

Kaluanã: They were men. Only men. Men, men.

The presence of certain plants such as sugar cane and *uluku*⁶³ is also an indicator to the Wayãpi of the existence of an Amerindian settlement nearby. This may not necessarily be a current occupation, since those plants could well be the remnants of abandoned settlements dating back to many decades:

Cássio: And on the igarapé Yalupi, have you heard anything about it or not?

Muricy: On the Yalupi yes, a few words, but not much. It is the daughter of the gendarmerie's oarsman who told me two or three things about it.

Cássio: Hum.

Muricy: Yes, because as soon as they left... they had gone on an expedition, ... And then they come to the (unknown Amerindian) village, there is sugar-cane, there is *uluku*, there are many things you see. Maybe they (unknown Amerindian) had left, they had fled like ... because of being afraid of the sound of the canoes' engines, I think [...]. There is plenty of sugar cane there, there are plenty of things, you see, like plants, pineapple ...

In some instances, conflicts with white settlers give us information about isolated groups:

Cássio: [...] And what did the Brazilians tell you then? Those who have been shot by the arrows (on the Yalupi)?

Wilaupi: They ... they had left there to go fishing.

[...]

Wilaupi: [...] and they (the unknown Amerindians) attacked ... it's as if the rain came down ... but it was the arrows (falling like rain) [...] And the ones who

⁶¹ Collared peccary.

⁶² Deer.

⁶³ Urucu, urucum or roucou. *Bixa Orellana*. A red seed that Amerindians use to make red body paint.

were ahead of him were killed.

Cássio: Ah, there were Brazilians who were killed?

Wilaupi: Yes. And the others had to come back home rowing [...] he went back to Kalai'wai⁶⁴ on foot.

[...]

Cássio: And the canoe?

Wilaupi: They kept it.

Concerning the Ipisĩ, they reported that unknown groups seem to perambulate as far south as the rapid known as Saut Boko (Itu puku):

Kaluanã: [...] a little further up from Saut Boko [...] they found Amerindians. They had no clothes, no *kaleme*, and their genitalia was all damaged. He (an unknown Amerindian) had sores all over his sex. After, the French said; “We’re going to get drugs for you” [...] And they say, “No, because we are going to find remedies too”. They said that. Then, they crushed thorns of ... what we call... *ion iapekã*. [...] and they applied it to their genitalia, to heal.

Zone 2 - igarapés Walapululĩ, Kalai’kwa, Mitũla and Yengalalĩ, as well as the Northeast of the Terra Indígena Wajãpi (TIW):

The area ‘Zone 2’ is located around the following Brazilian igarapés: Kalai’kwa, Walapululĩ, Yengalalĩ, Mitũla – all of which are right margin tributaries of the Oyapock river. *Zone 2* also includes five toponyms that are located around the Northeast of the TIW in Brazil: Okakai, Najaty, Pakwarã, Aruwaity and the Amapari⁶⁵ Headwaters. The Brazilian part of the Guiana Plateau where this mentioned area is located is under the jurisdiction of FUNAI⁶⁶’s Cuminapanema Ethno-Environmental Protection Front⁶⁷. In 2011 FUNAI placed five

⁶⁴ This is how the Wayãpi call the Brazilian side of the frontier.

⁶⁵ The Amapari is a Brazilian river that bathes the state of Amapá. It has its source in the east of the Uassipein Hills and flows into the Araguari River.

⁶⁶ Fundação Nacional do Índio. Brazilian government agency, part of the Ministry for Justice, in charge of Amerindian affairs.

⁶⁷ Part of FUNAI’s General Coordination of Isolated and Newly Contacted Amerindians. The creation of this front in 1990 was FUNAI’s first action with the isolated Amerindians in this region since 1982. Thus, there were almost three decades without a systematic handling of information on isolated peoples in the region (Clark 2015).

references⁶⁸ of isolated peoples under the area of jurisdiction of the Cuminapanema Ethno-Environmental Protection Front (Fundação Nacional do Índio 2011):

- reference n° 36 (Isolados do Rio Mapari), also known as the Inipuku River, located on the borders of the Parque Indígena do Tumucumaque.
- reference n° 37 (Isolados do Alto Amapari), located on the headwaters of the Amapari River.
- reference n° 65 (Isolados do Jari), located on the Jari River.
- reference n° 44 (Isolados do Alto Rio Ipitinga), located in the limits of the Paru D'Este Indigenous Land.
- reference n° 35 (Trombetas Mapuera), located in the Trombetas-Mapuera Indigenous Land.

FUNAI's references numbers 36 and 37 fall under the area I call Zone 2 in this study. Reference n° 65 is between Zone 2 and Zone 3. References numbers 44 and 35 are further to the West of Zone 3.

It was not possible to find any literature concerning references 65 or 35. References concerning Zone 3 will be dealt with later in this chapter.

The medical doctor Douglas Rodrigues⁶⁹, a specialist in public health, also mentions another

⁶⁸ For FUNAI, "references" are "records where there is strong evidence of an isolated group, properly inserted in the FUNAI database, but without a systematised qualifying work by FUNAI that allows one to confirm the existence of this group". FUNAI's database has 107 records of the presence of isolated peoples or groups scattered throughout the Brazilian "Legal Amazon" area (Fundação Nacional do Índio, 2016).

⁶⁹ In its report on the National Workshop on Methodologies for Attention to Health, Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Isolated and Recent Contact Indigenous Peoples, held in the ambit of the Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organisation, in Brasília, from 18 to 21 November 2013, at FUNAI's headquarters.

group, the “Isolados da Terra Indígena Wajãpi”, in the Mutururá (*sic.*)⁷⁰ region and in the Terra Indígena Wajãpi (TIW). Rodrigues argues that this group presents a risk of contagion and conflict with the known Wayãpi groups (Rodrigues 2014, p. 46). According to Clark (2015), FUNAI’s Cuminapanema Ethno-Environmental Protection Front has gathered many reports, mainly from the Wayãpi, about the presence of isolated peoples at the headwaters of the Oyapock and Amapari rivers, who would cross the borders with Suriname and French Guiana. Rangel (2013) also refers to an isolated group living around the igarapé Mitũla.

Gallois argues that the ‘Isolados do Alto Amapari’ Amerindians would be a Wayãpi subgroup that separated from the rest of the community in the 1950s (1991 in Ricardo 1996, p. 300). In fact, when I visited the TIW in 2017, a few inhabitants claimed to be related to this isolated group. Gallois points out that the Wayãpi of the TIW had requested to FUNAI to take urgent action to locate the group, concerned about the prospect of a disastrous contact of gold prospectors with this isolated group (*ibid.*, p. 300). Gallois mentions that in 1991 two gold prospectors working on the Upper Jiquitaia⁷¹ igarapé reportedly met two Amerindians on the headwaters of the same igarapé (*ibid.*, p. 208) and that since 1987, gold prospectors at the Perimetral Norte Road have repeatedly found traces of the presence of an isolated group in the region of the headwaters of the Amapari River (1990 in Ricardo and Ricardo 2006, p. 67). According to Gallois (1997), the “Isolados do Alto Amapari” Amerindians inhabit the headwaters of the igarapé Yengalali⁷² and of the Amapari Rivers.

This area I name Zone 2 is mainly lived in by the Wayãpi-puku⁷³. Grenand (1982) highlights that until the 1940s, the Wayãpi-puku lived in total isolation. According to him, it was in 1944

⁷⁰ Rodrigues most probably means the igarapé Mitũla (also known as Muturá).

⁷¹ A right margin tributary of the Amapari River.

⁷² Also referred to as Yengarari or Tangareré.

⁷³ Grenand (1982) considers the Wayãpi group that lived on the Inipuku River (Amapá, Brazil) in the 1970s to be the core of the people he names Wayãpi-puku. The term seems to be used by Grenand to refer to the current Brazilian Wayãpi in general.

that hunters from the igarapé Uruary (or Ulualî), hunting on the deserted headwaters of the igarapé Pirawiri, met a group of Wayãpi-puku hunters who were coming from the sources of the Inipuku River. Despite previous hostilities that had been happening between the two groups, an invitation was then issued by the people of the igarapé Uruary. Grenand further highlights that after the visit of the Wayãpi-puku, reciprocity has been restored, and exchanges increased (*ibid.*, p. 344).

Regular contact with the white settler is therefore relatively recent in the Amapari area. Grenand (*ibid.*) notes that it was only in 1973 that the Wayãpi-puku of the Amapari, threatened by the construction of the Perimetral Norte⁷⁴ road, were contacted by FUNAI. An assistance post and a medical dispensary are created. He argues that the local groups that inhabited the basin of the igarapé Karapanaty⁷⁵ were very old groups, probably the most stable of the whole Wayãpi ethnic group. These groups ended up having to move to the igarapé Onça on the Amapari Basin), at the request of FUNAI between 1973 and 1975 (*ibid.*, pp. 351-353).

Concerning the igarapé Mitake and the sources of the Amapari, Grenand (*ibid.*) contends that the area was the stage of the division between Southern Wayãpi and Northern Wayãpi. He writes that it was at around 1840 that the first great division of the Wayãpi people took place⁷⁶. Grenand further argues that it was around that time that the Wayãpi of the Upper

Gallois (1986, pp. 135-136, 139) calls Wayãpi-puku the “Wayãpi of the Forest”, *i.e.*, the Wayãpi that inhabit dense forest and small headwaters zones. She opposes them to the Wayãpi proper or “Wayãpi of the River”, *i.e.*, the Wayãpi that live on larger river banks such as the Oyapock. Gallois (1986, p. 136) argues that the suffix “puku” (long) would refer to a difference in height, arguing that “the Amerindians of the Amapari region are generally taller and slender than the Wayãpi of the Jari and of the Oyapock”. The current Brazilian Wayãpi, however, seem to use the term Wayãpi-puku to refer to one of their current subgroups, namely the Inipuku Wanã Kũ.

⁷⁴ North Perimetral Motorway (BR-210).

⁷⁵ A tributary of the Lower Inipuku River.

⁷⁶ This great division created a split between Wayãpi from the north and Wayãpi from the south. The latter later become the Wayãpi-puku. He points out that the movement had already started in 1830, as Adam de Bauve and Ferre, visiting the region of the igarapé Mitake and of the headwaters of the Amapari, reported having seen newly abandoned cultivation fields as the Wayãpi migrated far away, running away from an epidemic (Grenand 1982, p. 316).

Oyapock, exhausted by the consecutive epidemics⁷⁷, decided to retreat to their former southern territories. The following is an extract of what Grandmother Aitu⁷⁸ told him:

“As they crossed the Oyapock River, at the level of Wilasapa⁷⁹rapids, the tree (which served as a bridge) broke and part of the Wayãpi remained on the left bank”.
(*ibid.*, p. 316- 317)

According to Grandmother Aitu, the group on the left bank saw this incident as a bad prophecy and settled on the Upper Kuu River in the vicinity of other Amerindians that had, shortly before, emigrated there from the Jari River. The group that had crossed the Oyapock went southwards, following the Amapari River, where he founded a community under the leadership of chief Wisiwisi (*ibid.*, p. 316- 317). Grenand observes that although the reality is undoubtedly more complex, the version of Grandmother Aitu has the merit of emphasising the original unity of the Wayãpi and Wayãpi-puku.

Concerning the watershed which divides the Jari River and Amapari River basins, Gallois (1986) mentions that the area was occupied by the group of chief Popoindo. She notes that they avoided contact with other tribal groups and other Wayãpi, especially after a conflict happened with the Wiririry group that remained on the Lower Karapanaty. Gallois further suggests that this group had little contact with the White around 1959-60 (*ibid.*, p. 44). According to Gallois, this group has an attitude of refusal of contacts, and this refusal was still somewhat happening when she conducted her study (*ibid.*, p. 45).

⁷⁷ Grenand (1982, p. 329) highlights that it was precisely after 1840 that the economic pressure of French and creole traders intensifies, and he makes a correlation between the increase of the number of non-Amerindian people visiting the Oyapock River basin and the poor sanitary situation therein.

⁷⁸ Aitu was born about 1898 at the source of the Oyapock River, in the village of chief Alamasisi. She held her ‘knowledge’ from her mother Matali. She died in 1978 in the village of Chief Tamali, her son-in-law, now Zidock village (Grenand 1982, pp. 388-389).

⁷⁹ The toponym Wilasapa, which means “a trunk forming a bridge”, is in memory of this historic event (Grenand 1982, p. 316-317) Wilasapa is located just a few kilometres upriver from Itu Wasu on the Upper Oyapock River. This incident of a trunk which served as a bridge having broken down appears in two other accounts that I have been told. As I was told by the Wayãpi of Brazil, a similar incident occurred on the Amapari River. An Amerindian from the Upper Oyapock River also told me a narrative about a similar incident, which would have generated a division of groups, but he was unable to precise the location this happened.

As far as it concerns the igarapé Yengalali, Gallois (1986) writes that according to Coudreau (1893b), between 1846 and 1850 chief Tapai Uare, recognised as “Captain General” by the French Administration, settled on the igarapé Yengalali and Ululuaiti. (*ibid.*, pp. 116-117). On the settlements on the igarapé Yengalali, Grenand (1982) further states that an Amerindian called Yawalakale, brother to chief Waninika, settles on the village of chief A’i, on the igarapé Yengalali, after 1824. At that same time, a third brother, called Palananupã, creates a great settlement on the Yalupi (*ibid.*, p. 133).

Regarding the igarapé Mitûla, Grenand points out that in 1743, the Wayãpi “took all the Kusari inhabitants of a hut” (1982, p. 294) on that igarapé. The Kusari Amerindians were fugitives from the coastal areas of Amapá, north of the Araguari River, until the early eighteenth century. They dispersed either on the coast of French Guiana or in the interior of the Amapá. According to Grenand, thereafter, the Kusari of the interior no longer appear in the literature, until 1830. Grenand concludes that it is likely that several isolated Kusari villages survived in the headwaters of the Amapari-Araguari⁸⁰ (*ibid.*).

The toponyms grouped under Zone 2 can be divided in two types, the ones visited more often by the French Wayãpi, and the ones visited more often by the Brazilian Wayãpi:

⁸⁰ The Araguari is a Brazilian river in the state of Amapá. It has its source on the western side of the Serra Lombarda. It then goes down Southwards, until it reaches a settlement called Serra do Navio. It continues towards the South-East, until Porto Grande, where it is joined by the Amapari River. It then meanders up to the Northeast, and flows into the Atlantic Ocean, in the East part of the state of Amapá. / The Amapari River has its source in the east of Serra Uassipein, also in the State of Amapá and it flows into the Araguari River.

| Zone 2 Toponyms | |
|--|--|
| Those visited more often by the French Wayãpi | Those visited more often by the Brazilian Wayãpi |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Walapululi (BR) • Kalai'kwa (BR) • Mitûla (BR) • Yengalali (BR) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Okakai (BR) • Najaty (BR) • Pakwarã (BR) • Aruwaity (BR) • Amapari Headwaters (BR) |

I will start with the toponyms that are most visited by the French. These are four igarapés, all of which are right margin tributaries of the Oyapock river, and as such are actually located in Brazil.

Walapululi:

Eight Amerindians of the Upper-Oyapock reported on their own evidence of the existence of unknown Amerindians living on the igarapé Walapululi. Those were Kaluanã, Muricy, Kulipi, Wilaupi, Yawapuku, Yanukura, Alawayela and Yapalatai.

Kaluanã reports having seen an unknown Amerindian on the igarapé Walapululi, with his body completely painted with *uluku*, who had shot a macaw. At another occasion, he saw again a red-painted Amerindian who had shot a toucan with his arrow. He also reported that the unknown Amerindians of the Walapululi killed chief Maipuri:

Kaluanã: He is quite red! I think, that he put on all of the *uluku* on his skin [...] I follow his trace [...] I think they shot an *ara* by arrow, the wild Amerindians. They shot it well! The macaw said “ka, ka, ka, ka, ka” ... [...] I signalise <whistle> ... ah, nothing answers ... and then all of a sudden, I see [...] he was not very far [...] he leaves with his macaw he had shot [...]
 Kaluanã: I think he had nothing like a *kaleme*. He is all red [...] he entered the swamp ... he crossed it ... I follow him ... I am afraid ... I go back <laughter>.

Cássio: And the one you told me about what you saw with ... that you thought it was Kaique. It was on the Walapululi, I think.
 Kaluanã: Yes. Yes ... it was the Walapululi that [...]

Cássio: How was he?

Kaluanã: [...] I think it was *ãyã*⁸¹, I do not know what ... maybe a wild Amerindian...

Kaluanã: Yes. [...] It was there too that Mauá's father [...] died. Maybe killed by wild Amerindians.

Muricy confirms that the unknown Amerindians of the Walapululí had killed chief Maipuri. He also says that grandfather Mopea had seen an unknown Amerindian climb a palm tree to collect his arrow that had been stuck there. And he talks about a friend whose knife disappeared there. Besides, he saw footprints of those unknown Amerindians and heard them whistling:

Cássio: And [...] on the Walapululí?

Muricy: Walapululí was ... I don't know. There it is the *apã*⁸² that are there. Yes. The *apã* doesn't care, you see. He can't talk to you. As soon as you see him, that's it, you die. Yes. Because before ...

Cássio: Apã, if he sees you he kills you?

Muricy: Yes. It's *apã* that ... the last ... captain, Mauá's father, has disappeared because of the *apã*.

Muricy: [...] Mopea set off to the igarapé Walapululí [...]. Then he left for the toucan hunt [...] We climb with a *pikwũ*⁸³.

[...]

Muricy: Mopea saw ... it was ... *apã*. He cuts off the branch of the palm tree to make his arrow fall down ... as his arrow was stuck ... up there, and then he climbed up to make his arrow fall ...

[...]

Muricy: [...] Bacuara had lost his knife there too. [...] It was *apã* that took it, the knife. [...] Captain, Mauá's father, disappeared because of the *apã*, there are wild Amerindians come! Everyday! Who follow the path, (to see) if we are still there [...]

Cássio: They came?

Muricy: They came, on foot, on the path, our path, you see.

Cássio: And how do you know that?

Muricy: Because there are footprints [...]. They whistle like that, with his hand.

Cássio: How do they whistle?

Muricy: They whistle <won, won>, like this.

Yawapuku also talks about a knife that disappeared on the Walapululí, and about an arrow that had been found there.

⁸¹ A spirit or supra natural being, often a 'bad' one.

⁸² "unknown wild one", one who is still living in isolation in the forest.

⁸³ Pt: Pecunha. A kind of braided rope made of wood fibres or straw, which is attached to the feet to give greater firmness to climb on palm trees.

Yawapuku: [...] when Bacuara returned the knife was no longer there, someone had gone with it. And then my late father too, he told me ... [...] he had seen an arrowhead. He picked it up and brought it to the village, to show people.

Wilaupi reports on his grandfather having seen footprints and having heard unknown Amerindians whistling on the Walapululi. He also reports on someone having seen a recently abandoned hut:

Wilaupi: [...] there were many (footprints of) young people who do not wear boots when hunting ... [...] my grandfather Piatã [...] heard ... and he answered [...]: (imitation of the whistling that Grandfather Piatã had done).

Wilaupi: [...] And then, in the evening, at around 8h, they answered him. They said like this: <whistles as the unknown Amerindians did>. [...] Grandfather said to himself: I do not answer.[...] It was a trap, you see, like, they are intelligent [...] They want to kill him.

[...]

Wilaupi: [...] the next day Yakale he wanted to continue the hunt [...] and suddenly he saw a ... a little “*tatu hut*”⁸⁴, in *wasey* ... *wasey* leaf [...] they are already gone.

Yanukura believes that it was the unknown Amerindians of the Walapululi that killed chief Maipuri, and argues that they would be the Akuriú Amerindians:

Yanukura: I heard that they killed Captain Maipuri. They are not Wayãpi, they are ... no Kaikušian Amerindians because the Kaikušian went to Mariry ... Those are Akuriú Amerindians! Yes, Akuriú! They went very far to make war with people.

Cássio: And these Amerindians of the Walapululi, they are the same as those of the Mitũla?

Yanukura: I think so [...]

For Alawayela, the Amerindians of the Walapululi would be the Southern Wayãpi, or simply unknown Amerindians who live in the forest (*apã*). He reports on an arrowhead which had been found there, and which is different from their own arrowheads:

Cássio: And on the Walapululi? Are people like you [...]?

Alawayela: They may be Kamala Kũ [...] or *apã*. They are families of Kamala Kũ [...] We've already seen their arrowhead, it's not the same arrow as ours.

Cássio: Where did you see the arrowhead?

⁸⁴ Hut covered with palm leaves. Its roof has the shape of an Armadillo's dorsal armour.

Alawayela: On the Walapululi. And Pierre Grenand saw it too, the arrowhead. Grandfather Teyu took the arrowhead. [...] It's a different arrowhead. Maybe from the Kamala Kũ family, maybe.

Cássio: But the father of Mauá he was killed by an arrow?

Alawayela: With wood, I think. They hit him with it. With a *kapalu*⁸⁵.

Yapalatai reckons that the unknown Amerindians of the Walapululi would be Alaku Apã and Tukara Amerindians:

Yapalatai: It is the Amerindians Alaku Apã and Tukara who live on the Walapululi.

Kalai'kwa:

Kaluanã was the only one to report on the existence of unknown Amerindians on the igarapé Kalai'kwa, also a right margin tributary of the Upper Oyapock. For him, they would either be *ãyã* or the same Tukara Amerindians that Yapalatai reported on the Walapululi. Kaluanã reports that they would have seen an unknown Amerindian trying to kill an agouti with an arrow.

Kaluanã: Birigui he saw too, I do not know if it was *ãyã* ... or ... the Tukara Amerindians.

Cássio: What is Tukara?

Kaluanã: Tukara are wild Amerindians too [...] Putukara I think ... They said ... there is ... he wanted to kill the agouti, with the arrow. He wanted to throw, but he missed the agouti. But in the left hand is a kapalu. He's afraid of ... He's hiding from ...

Cássio: Who was afraid?

Kaluanã: Birigui.

⁸⁵ Wooden war club.

Mitûla:

Four Amerindians spoke about the existence of unknown people on the igarapé Mitûla, a right margin affluent of the Upper Oyapock. Those were Kaluanã, Wilaupi, Yapalatai and Alawayela.

Kaluanã spoke about a group of Brazilians that would have been caught by unknown Amerindians of the Mitûla, taken to their village therein and then set free again.

Cássio: They tied the Brazilians?

Kaluanã: Yes. They tied them up yes. And they take them all with them.

Cássio: They took the Brazilians to their village?

[...]

Kaluanã: Yes. After the chiefs said they had to be detached, they had to be taken back (the Brazilians) to be able to go back home. Afterwards, the Brazilians gave knives, biscuits, everything they gave to them. [...]

Wilaupi confirms the incident with the Brazilians on the Mitûla but gives a slightly different version of the facts. According to his version, there was no conflict, and the Brazilians would have drunk cauim⁸⁶ with those unknown Amerindians:

Wilaupi: [...] they said, “come and drink *kasili* at home”. Afterwards, they drank *kasili* over there ...

Cássio: Hum. How were these Amerindians?

Wilaupi: He is like us. As our ancestors were [...]

Yapalatai believes that the unknown Amerindians of the Mitûla belong to the family of

Grandfather Asinga'u's:

Yapalatai: It's Grandfather Asinga'u's family

⁸⁶ Cauim is a traditional manioc beer made by the Amerindians since pre-Columbian times. The Wayãpi call it *kasili* in general. Beaudet (2017, p. 50) lists different types of cauim prepared by the Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River: *palakasi*, *palakasi'e*, *palakasiãtã*, *kasilipupu*, *awasili* etc. According to Beaudet, *kãwëy* is an archaic term used by the Wayãpi to designate a 'drink gathering'. The term *kãwëy'u* is still used today to designate the group of 'fish dances', and means 'great cauim, great drink meeting' (Beaudet 2017, p. 74).

Cássio: And on the Mitûla, they are the same?
Yapalatai: It's the same family who are there too, who went out.

For Yanukura, the unknown Amerindians of the Mitûla and of the Walapululi are the same group:

Cássio: And these Amerindians of the igarapé Walapululi, they are the same as those of the Mitûla?
Yanukura: I think so, yes.

Alawayela reckons that the unknown Amerindians of the Mitûla belong to the family of Grandfather Kalamuru:

Alawayela: It's on the Mitûla that Grandfather Kalamuru lives, too.
Cássio: So, are there still people from these villages who have stayed there?
Alawayela: Yes, yes, they have not all left. Grandfather Yakami saw them.

Yengalali:

Concerning the igarapé Yengalali, Wilaupi was the only one to comment on it. He spoke about a group of isolated Amerindians that lived there in the past, but who were contacted by a local chief and told to settle on the Oyapock:

Wilaupi: [...] Grandfather Kaleta told his men to look for ...
[...]
Cássio: Ô'ô, Kaletá told his men to go and get them so that they can come and settle on the Oyapock
Wilaupi: Yes. Then they came ... as they are used to row. ... They came to settle.
Cássio: Hum. And where did those Amerindians settle? He said but I forgot.
Wilaupi: On the Camopi.
[...]

I will now go through Amerindians' discourse regarding the five toponyms mentioned in Zone 2 that are more visited by the Brazilian Wayãpi, namely, Okakai, Najaty, Pakwarã, Aruwaity

and the Amapari headwaters. The first toponym – Okakai – is located in the Northern extreme of the Terra Indígena Wayãpi. The four remaining toponyms – Najaty, Pakwarã, Aruwaity and the Amapari Headwaters – are located around the Northeast of the TIW. The Brazilian Wayãpi visit the area as often as it is necessary in order to clear off the forest that keeps growing on the strap of land, which delimits their territory.

In the following paragraphs, I report myself on my exchanges with a group of Brazilian Wayãpi⁸⁷:

Okakai:

The Brazilian Wayãpi reported that when⁸⁸ they were clearing the path that delimits the boundaries of the TWI, towards the northwest of Okakai, they saw the feathers of a dead *mitũ*'s tail⁸⁹, which had purposively been left in a particular place, alledgedly by an unknown Amerindian. As they explained to me, it is customary, when killing a *mitũ*, to pull off the tail feathers and leave them in the place it was killed so that other *mitũ* will return to that place, thus providing a new opportunity to hunt them there. I was told that only the natives do this, apart from the fact that the area is not frequented by non-Amerindians. They told me that since none of them had been hunting the place, they attribute this occurrence to isolated Amerindians.

⁸⁷ As previously mentioned, no research as such was undertaken in the TIW. In November 2017 I had the opportunity to visit the TIW at the invitation of the State Secretariat of Education (SEED) of Amapá, Brazil, at the occasion of a training course for indigenous teachers at the Wayãpi village school, in Aramirã⁸⁷. Wayãpi Amerindians came from various parts of the TIW to Aramirã. Many of them showed an interest in talking to me, as they knew he had been staying with their relatives on the Upper Oyapock River. When speaking to them about my visit to the Oyapock headwaters, they wanted to tell me several stories about their migrations and about the existence of isolated Indians in the surrounding area of the TIW.

⁸⁸ They were unable to specify the year that the *mitũ* feathers were seen.

⁸⁹ Curassow bird.

Najaty:

In the region of the toponym Najaty the Brazilian Wayãpi also saw the tail of a *mitũ* bird that had been taken off and left as Amerindians normally do. They told me this was in 2016. Likewise, they attribute the occurrence to the isolated Amerindians.

Pakwarã:

On the headwaters of the igarapé Pakwarã⁹⁰, when⁹¹ the Brazilian Wayãpi were clearing the path that delimits the boundaries of the TWI, they saw the tail of a *mitũ* that had been taken off and left as usual. In the same area they saw, on another occasion, a trunk of a tree that had been beaten to extract the fibres of the bark, called *envira*⁹². They highlighted that the trunk of the tree had been beaten⁹³, not cut with a machete, as they usually do themselves. They also saw many branches which had been broken by hands, a practice used by the Amerindians to mark the way back from their incursions into unknown land when hunting. It was also in the Pakwarã region that a jaguar was found, shot dead in the chest by an arrow. The jaguar would have been found on a path. The Wayãpi attribute the death of the jaguar to the isolated Amerindians because there are no known inhabitants in the Pakwarã. As they informed me, none of these occurrences can be attributed to known members of their group, and that these acts were practiced by the isolated Amerindians.

⁹⁰ Igarapé Pakwarã is a left margin tributary of the Inipuku river.

⁹¹ They were not able to tell me the year that this occurred.

⁹² *Envira* or *embira* is the name of the fibre extracted from the bark of some trees, for making ropes or simply to tie something. The Wayãpi use the *envira* to tie, to make cargo baskets, or to tie a dead prey.

⁹³ As I was told by the Wayãpi, this indicates that the person who took the *envira* did not have a machete. The *envira* had been ripped off after the tree trunk had been consecutively hit.

Aruwaity:

The Brazilian Wayãpi affirm that in the Aruwaity there are still isolated Amerindians, and they present a historical justification for this isolation. They attribute this isolation to the fact that in the past the Wayãpi groups had fought each other, which led the groups to dissipate. They also reported that in Aruwaity region there are still clay pots, *uluku* plants and *flexal*⁹⁴. According to them, one of their grandfathers would have seen, during the season in which the toucan was hunted, an unknown Amerindian killing a macaw. He had long hair and wore the traditional men's garment of the Wayãpi but made of rustic cotton⁹⁵. The grandparents were afraid to approach this unknown Amerindian. Still concerning the region of the Aruwaity, the Amerindians told me that one of their grandparents would have spotted a family of unknown Amerindians who were sunbathing on a rock⁹⁶. The Wayãpi also informed me that in this region today there are red-stained *Bacabeira* palm trees⁹⁷, resulting from the friction of the body of an Amerindian – painted with *uluku* – on the palm tree, when he climbs to pick up the *bacaba* fruit. Another indication of the existence of isolated Amerindians in the Aruwaity region, I was told, is the sighting of *mítũ* tails that had been pulled out and left at the place where the *mítũ* was killed, as well as the existence of hand-broken branches marking hunting paths. As I was informed, today they are afraid to visit this mountainous region, because they fear being shot by isolated Amerindians with arrows.

⁹⁴ Cultivated or native reed plants. The reed shaft is used for the production of arrows.

⁹⁵ The fabric of the garments they wear today is purchased in Amapá, and, we were told, would be noticeably different from the rustic cotton fabric.

⁹⁶ They were a man, a woman, and a child. Upon realising the presence of the grandfather in question, the unknown Amerindians ran, leaving the child behind. The grandfather would have taken this child with the intention of taking her with him to the village. However, he would have been interrupted by the singing of an *asĩnga'u* bird. The grandfather interpreted the singing of the *asĩnga'u* as a warning to say that he should not take the child to his village.

⁹⁷ *Oenocarpus bacaba* (En: Turu Palm, Fr: Comou, Pt: Bacabeira) A palm tree native to the Amazon which produces the fruit called bacaba.

This isolated group, I was told, would be the family of an Amerindian named Teiú, of the Amapari Wã clan. The Amerindians were unable to tell me the year of the sightings, but I was told that there was a recent sighting of the isolated Amerindians in the area of Aruwaity, when a certain Tameri would have spotted some wandering unknown Amerindians. The news would have been transmitted by the radio used for communication inside the TIW.

The headwaters of the Amapari river:

The Wayãpi of Brazil reported that, at around 1996, when they went to try to find the isolated Amerindians on the headwaters of the Amapari River, they found many traces among which a *pikwũ*⁹⁸ that an isolated Amerindian would allegedly have used to climb on a wasey⁹⁹ palm tree. They also found evidence of an ancient village with planted *uluku*. In the case of the headwaters of the Amapari River, the Wayãpi also present historical justifications for the isolation of some groups. As I was told, at a time they cannot be precise about, the Amapari Wanã clan was divided into two groups because of a trunk that served as a bridge that had broken down, making it impossible to cross the Amapari River¹⁰⁰. I was told that a certain Kurapiá, who lives today in the Akayu village, found the village of these isolated Amerindians in the 70's when he went to the headwaters of the Amapari River along with pelt hunters. This Kurapiá would have seen unknown Amerindians walking in the forest in the 70's. During my conversation with the Wayãpi about the isolated Amerindians of the headwaters of the

⁹⁸ Pt: Pecunha. A kind of braided rope made of wood fibres or straw, which is attached to the feet to give greater firmness to climb on palm trees.

⁹⁹ *Euterpe oleracea*. It is a palm tree native to the Amazon, which produces the fruit called wasey.

¹⁰⁰ Thereafter, the two halves developed separately, without contact, on either side of the Amapari River. They consider that the half that remained on the other side of the river after the trunk broke continues to exist, and have been isolated, reaching the headwaters of the Amapari River, and today are completely outside the TIW, but inside the Tumucumaque Mountains National Park, where they live today. The other group (the group of them that I knew) was made sedentary by the front of attraction of FUNAI in the 1970s.

Amapari River, a man introduced me to his wife, a woman in her mid-fifties, and told me that her grandfather belonged to his group had been isolated in the headwaters of the Amapari River. This grandfather's group had, in the past, maintained contact with the others, and there was a path in the forest to visit them. As I was told, over time, the others lost interest in continuing to visit this isolated group due to the long distance to go, and with time the path was taken over by the forest and its trace disappeared. But they pointed out that the isolated group was numerous, with a lot of people. They also reported another incident that explains the isolation of a group in the headwaters of the Amapari River. According to this report, hostile Amerindians from the igarapé Pirawiri came to the Amapari to fight with Sissiwa's family¹⁰¹. In this conflict, the Pirawiri Indians would have killed many people in Amapari, of the Amapari Wanã clan. During the conflict, one of the groups that lived on the Amapari, including Sissiwa's 'father', would have taken refuge in the headwaters of Amapari, and it remains there until today.

Zone 3 – The headwaters of the Oyapock River; igarapés Pirawiri and Curuapi, as well as the Culari, Kuu and Upper Ipitinga rivers:

“These are only savage Indians, of whom perhaps one out of twenty have seen the Boni Negroes of the Aoua, hardly more civilised, and of whom one in a hundred, at most, have seen the White of French Guiana or of the Amazon. These Indians belong to four tribes Roucouyennes, the Oyampis, the Caïcouchianes and the Coussaris”.

Coudreau (1893, p. 46), reporting on the Amerindians that lived on the Massif of Tumucumaque.

¹⁰¹ Sissiwa is an Amerindian who lives today in the TIW. According to an account collected by Le Tourneau (2010), Sissiwa's father went with some frequency to the Pirawiri to make exchanges with the Amerindians there.

“Zone 3” includes the area where there can be found Soã Itu¹⁰². The area also includes the Kuu River and its tributaries the igarapés Pirawiri and Curuapi, as well as the Upper Ipitinga River.

Soã Itu is a mystic place for the Wãypi. It is a waterfall within the hydrographic basin of the Oyapock river and is located inside the Brazilian Montanhas do Tumucumaque¹⁰³ National Park. The area surrounding Soã Itu forms the sources of the Oyapock. The igarapés Pirawiri and Curuapi are both left margin tributaries of the Kuu River and are within a different hydrographic basin, that of the Jari River. The Ipitinga River is a right margin tributary of the Jari. According to Gallois (1986) the Wayãpi arrived in this area most likely by following the Kuu River and its left margin tributaries – the igarapés Pirawiri and Curuapi – and also by following the Inipuku River northwards. This expansion¹⁰⁴ to the Oyapock headwaters, towards an area known as *reapyry*¹⁰⁵ happened between 1830 and 1970¹⁰⁶ (*ibid.*, p. 121). Grenand (1982) argues that the Wayãpi group that lived on the Inipuku River¹⁰⁷ in the 1970s was hit hard by contacts with the Brazilians on the Kuu River and on the Jari River during the years 1965-70 (*ibid.*, pp. 351-353). This contact resulted in a FUNAI base being opened in 1978, on the Jari River à Moloko Pata¹⁰⁸ for the Wayãpi of the Kuu River (*ibid.*, p. 349).

¹⁰² This toponym is spelt *Souané Itou* on the maps of the French *Institut national de l'information géographique et forestière* (IGN). For Coudreau (1893, p. 36), the igarapé Souané would be the southernmost waterway that forms the Oyapock River. He refers to it as the “Oyapock initial”. He further argues that the Wayãpi consider Souané as the actual source of the Oyapock River (Coudreau 1893, p. 41).

¹⁰³ Tumucumaque Mountains.

¹⁰⁴ Gallois (1986, p. 40) argues that “the progression towards the north by the Inipuku river did not mean settling on an unknown area, since the Inipuku River was inhabited by other Wayãpi, who belonged to a first wave of the Tupian migration, that gave origin to the group of the northern Wayãpi”.

¹⁰⁵ *Reapyry*, or the “headwaters”, is an expression used by Coudreau to refer to the mountain range that separates the Inipuku headwaters from the Kuu and the Oyapock Rivers (Gallois 1986, p. 121).

¹⁰⁶ At the end of the 19th century this zone was the area of greatest concentration of Wayãpi villages, scattered over the Kuu River tributaries: Pirawiri, Iaciondy, Curuapi and Maipacoré, and also over the tributaries of the Inipuku of the Upper Oyapock rivers: Uassipeim, Uruary (Gallois 1986, p. 121).

¹⁰⁷ The group Grenand calls Wayãpi-puku.

¹⁰⁸ Also known as Moloko-Pota or Molokopote.

Further to the West of Zone 3 are located FUNAI's references numbers 44 and 35. These are also under the jurisdiction of FUNAI's Cuminapanema Ethno-Environmental Protection Front. Reference n° 44 (Isolados do Alto Rio Ipitinga) is located in the limits of the Paru d'Este Indigenous Land. Reference n° 35 (Trombetas Mapuera) is located in the Trombetas-Mapuera Indigenous Land. Currently no information concerning reference n° 35 (Trombetas Mapuera) is publicly available. Gallois argues that the Isolados do Alto Rio Ipitinga would be a Wayãpi group (2008 in Ricardo 1991, p.208). According to Vaz (2011), the reference 44 group is more likely to be Wayana-Apalai, *i.e.*, a Cariban group. Gallois notes that the Wayãpi of the Amapari call these isolated Amerindians Ianeana. She also reports that in 1973 FUNAI located, in an over-fly, three huts and crops on the igarapé Agua Preta, a tributary of the Upper Ipitinga, in the municipality of Almeirim. The dwellings were again seen in 1975 by Brazil's Geological Service¹⁰⁹, and then in 1978 by FUNAI officials. The Wayana-Aparai Amerindians of the Parque Indígena do Tumucumaque attributed to this group the 1982 attack on the Pedro Lobo gold extraction fields, on the Lower Paru river (Gallois 2008 in Ricardo 1991, p.208).

Also concerning Zone 3, the Brazilian Wayãpi maintain that an isolated group of the Apamã Amerindians (also known as Apamarigues, Apama'y or Apã – reckoned to be a Tupian group) inhabited the area of the Upper Jari River (Rio Apamary) and at the confluence of the Inipuku River, at the time she conducted her research (Gallois 1986, pp. 289-290). Gallois also indicates that the Tariipi¹¹⁰ Amerindians, a Cariban group, inhabited previously the Upper Oyapock and the igarapé Yalupi but were then reduced to the Mission of Sainte Foi¹¹¹ in Camopi (French Guiana). After the dissolution of the mission, a group of Tariipi, together with the Kusari, would

¹⁰⁹ Companhia de Pesquisa de Recursos Minerais (CPRM). Brazil's official agency for gathering data and information on Brazilian geology, minerals and water resources.

¹¹⁰ Also known as Tarrapis, Tarupis, Tasipis, Turupis or Taripiyo (Gallois 1986, p. 299)

¹¹¹ Mission of Notre-Dame-de-Sainte-Foi (Jesuit Fathers) installed towards the end of 1738 on the confluence of the Camopi and Oyapock rivers, with the objective of evangelising the Amerindians and reducing them to sedentary villages. The fathers brought with them the European diseases, and the missions were badly hit. With the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1763 and the surviving Amerindians dispersed, regaining the forests.

have found refuge on the Upper Araguari, where they lived until the end of the 19th Century. Gallois notes that another faction of the same group was identified living isolated on the Culari¹¹² River area (Upper Jari-Kuu River)¹¹³ (*ibid.*, pp. 299-300).

The group that lived on the area of the Kuu-Pirawiri-Curuapi, then a mix of Wayãpi, Wayana and Aparai¹¹⁴ supplied the Wayãpi-puku with metal goods that they obtained from other Wayana-Aparai and Non-Amerindians. Gallois (1986) argues that after the area of the Kuu-Pirawiri-Curuapi had been emptied in 1970, the commercial relation that existed between the Wayãpi of the Amapari and the Wayana-Aparai, then happened on the Jari River in the Moloko Pata village of chief Sarapo, the place where FUNAI had transferred the last group that had been living on the Kuu region.

In my conversations with the Brazilian Wayãpi, they mentioned the isolation of a group that lived on the igarapé Etonewara¹¹⁵ near what today is Okakai. This group served as a trade link between the Wayãpi who lived further south and those who had contact with the region of the river Kuu, from where they could source metallic objects. The isolation of the Etonewara group, I was told, caused the Wayãpi of the subgroup Kumakary Wanã Kũ, who lived farther south, to lose access to metallic objects. According to the Brazilian Wayãpi, the Etonewara group was led by chief Ukagerá, a warrior who did not like that others came to his village. One of the times

¹¹² Also known as Kuiari, Cuyari, Couyari or Couyary. Coudreau (1893, p. 34) argues that the Culari has its sources on the Tapürangnannawe Mountains: "Tapürangnannawe is a great mountain, a mysterious mountain, known to the Roucouyennes and to the Oyampis, where the rivers Kouc and Couyary, on the one hand, Kerindioutou, Yaroupi and Camopi, on the other, would take their sources". Coudreau (1893, p. 47) argues that the Upper Culari area was inhabited by the Coussari Amerindians who "are known only as hostile, unapproachable, inhabitants of the Upper Couyary Region. I got in trouble with them, and the Oyampis dread them. There may be a hundred of them or maybe more".

¹¹³ This group of Tariپی Amerindians that lived on the Culari, may, according to Gallois (1986, pp. 299-300), be the same as the Tariپی Amerindians that are mentioned in 1914 in the region of the Tumucumaque and the same as the Tariپی Amerindians isolated on the Paru river Region. Grenand (1982, p. 273) refers to the Tariپی – as mentioned above living in what I call *Zone I*. Gallois (1986, pp. 299-300) highlights that, according to the Tirió Amerindians, those Tariپی Amerindians still live isolated, and are called Kaikui by the Tirió.

¹¹⁴ They formed a group often referred to as Banaré (Gallois 1986, p. 195). According to Gallois (1986, p. 207), the Wayana-Aparai subjected the Wayãpi to unequal exchanges and shamanistic blackmail.

¹¹⁵ In their account they talk about Etonewaká instead of Etonewara.

that the Wayãpi of the Oyapock River visited his village, Ukagerá killed them. As a result of this, the Wayãpi of the Oyapock River no longer visited the village of the chief Ukagerá, and the path ended up being covered by the forest, disappearing, thus closing the way of commerce. Then the Kumakary Wanã Kũ, who lived further down, had no longer access to machetes. Due to the lack of metallic objects the Kumakary Wanã Kũ began to move in search of some village that could provide them with these objects.

Concerning the trade relations between the Pirawiri and Inipuku groups, I report on what the Brazilian Wayãpi told me about Sissiwa's 'father'. In one of their journeys towards the igarapé Pirawiri, I was told, the Wayãpi of the subgroup Kumakary Wanã Kũ found traces of hunters there. They saw hand-broken branches marking a hunting path. The Kumakary Wanã Kũ then followed the path and reached the igarapé Pirawiri. There they met an Amerindian called Jawara Pokwé, Sissiwa's 'father', who lived in the area and who was hunting. The Kumakary Wanã Kũ captured Jawara Pokwé, who thought that they were going to kill him. But the Kumakary Wanã Kũ did not kill Jawara Pokwé. What they wanted was to trade with him, since they needed metal objects. Jawara Pokwé guided the Kumakary Wanã Kũ to the village on the Pirawiri, where, at that time, a lot of people lived. When the Kumakary Wanã Kũ played a deer bone flute, the inhabitants of the Pirawiri began to run away because, when they heard the flute, they thought that there was going to be a war. Jawara Pokwé quickly told his relatives that they did not have to run or hide, for there would be no war, since the Kumakary Wanã Kũ were there only for making trade. However, some members of Jawara Pokwé's family had already taken refuge in the forest, and some never returned.

This incident had two consequences. The first was the isolation of a faction of Jawara Pokwé's group, which, according to the Brazilian Wayãpi, continues to live isolated to this day. The second consequence was that the Kumakary Wanã Kũ came to know again the way to the

Pirawiri and re-established contact with the Amerindians there. This was the first meeting after the end of the wars. It was thus that the Kumakary Wanã Kũ reopened the way and started exchanging again with the Amerindians of the Pirawiri, who were included in the exchange networks with the Kuu and Oyapock rivers.

However, continuing with what the Amerindians told me, with the arrival of the Perimetral Norte road that reached what is today the TIW, the exchanges and contacts with the Pirawiri groups stopped again. The opening of the Perimetral Norte road facilitated not only the presence of FUNAI but also the presence of pelt hunters and illegal gold prospectors. All these non-Amerindians came to supply metal objects to the Wayãpi. The people who lived on the Inipuku River moved further south-east towards the FUNAI attraction post, and there was no further trade with the groups of the Pirawiri or of the Kuu. Later, the groups of the igarapés Pirawiri and Curuapi and of the Kuu River moved almost entirely to French Guiana, and the exchanges with them ended once and for all.

Le Tourneau reports on a slightly different narrative¹¹⁶ of “Sissiwá’s father” (2010, p. 11), based on that the Amerindians told him when he visited the TIW¹¹⁷. According to this version, Sissiwá’s father was a stranger to the Pirawiri group. Regardless of where Sissiwá’s father actually lived, both the narrative the Brazilian Wayãpi told me in 2017 and Le Tourneau

¹¹⁶ Le Tourneau (2010, p. 11) reports on a narrative of “Sissiwá’s father”, based on that the Amerindians told him when he visited the TIW: “Sissiwá’s father was the first to go to the Pirawiri to make exchanges. On the first trip, he was very frightened, and he approached very slowly, and in the middle of the way he met members of the group who lived in the igarapé Ku’i¹¹⁶. Once the initial tension was over, he showed that he had brought many handicraft products from the Inipuku region. Sissiwá’s father told the Ku’i Amerindians: “We are poor, but despite of this I have come to give you many gifts ...”. The Ku’i Amerindians were happy with his visit and replied by giving him numerous presents, goods they had obtained from the Whites, such as cloth, knives, etc. The guest was not accustomed to many of the things they presented him with. The Ku’i Amerindians gave salt to Sissiwá’s father to taste, but he tasted and spat: “this is not food!” The Ku’i Amerindians laughed a lot, then gave a mirror to Sissiwá’s father, and he was amazed at his own face. More laughter from the hosts. Later the exchanges became fairer [...]”. According to the narrative collected by Le Tourneau (2010), Sissiwá’s father was a stranger to the Pirawiri group.

¹¹⁷ After having flown to Okakai, Le Tourneau set off on an expedition with the Amerindians to the Pirawiri area. The expedition arrived on the igarapé Teposity, which, according to Le Tourneau, is located just before the confluence of the igarapé Pirawiri and igarapé Myrokory, a margin tributary of the Pirawiri, as per Le Tourneau’s findings. The expedition finally reached the place where the Parapisinã village once stood (Le Tourneau 2010, p. 5).

(2010)'s version suggests that the current Wayãpi of the TIW were once living in an area where they had access to the metal objects. Those objects reached them thanks to the trading networks between the groups living on the igarapés Pirawiri-Curuapi-Uruary (within the hydrographic basin of the Kuu River) and at the headwaters of the Oyapock River.

Concerning the Oyapock Headwaters area, Gallois (1986) argues that internal disputes and epidemics led to the fragmentation of the Wayãpi that inhabited that area. A segment of the Wayãpi of this area migrated further down establishing themselves on the Middle Oyapock (near the Camopi River confluence) and in the Upper Oyapock River (near Itu Wasu). Another part of the Wayãpi of the Oyapock Headwaters moved to the Kuu River, joining another Wayãpi faction that was already there. From that time until the end of the nineteenth century, the two northern factions, *i.e.* the groups of the Upper Oyapock River and the groups of the Kuu River, were bound by intense relationships (*ibid.*, pp. 119-120).

At the end of the 19th century, the Upper Oyapock River group isolated itself once more, as a result of frequent epidemics of measles and influenza¹¹⁸. The first illness had drastic effects in around 1830, decimating the villages that stood on the igarapé Mitûla; the second epidemic had prolonged and slower effects throughout the 19th Century and into the 1950s. According to Grenand (1982, p. 233) it was around 1905 that took place the largest population decline of the Wayãpi, followed by a total or almost total isolation of the remaining local groups. Gallois (1986)

¹¹⁸ Coudreau (1893, p. 48) reports that "The Oyampi are disappearing in an even more rapid way. Having come at the end of the last century from the banks of the Amazon River, where the Portuguese wanted to impose upon them their reduction in villages, the Oyampi settled first in the mountain range of the sources of the Oyapock. They soon crossed the mountain range while engaging on a long war against the Roucouyennes. In 1824, the engineer Bodin who visited their villages of the Upper Oyapock, evaluates their number to 6.000, Already, in 1819, Thébault de la Monderie, who visited the village of their captain general or cacique Ouaninika in the heights of the Eurepoucigne, estimates that the population of the village is 1,200. But soon the decline begins. In 1831, de Bauve estimates 1,200 or 1,500 the number of Oyampi that smallpox had just taken the lives of in a few months only on the river Moutaquouère. Today, the Oyampi are little more than 300, on the Kouc-Oyapock way, between the Yary and Camopi rivers".

adds that it was after a strong demographic loss suffered by the group of the Middle Oyapock River that relations were established with the Wayãpi of the Kuu River (*ibid.* pp. 119-120).

Regarding the Culari River, Gallois (1986) argues that since at least the end of the 19th century, the Wayãpi lived in mixed villages with Wayana Amerindians, in the area. According to Gallois, the Upper Jari faction had already entered into peaceful contact with the Brazilians of the Middle Jari River, but in 1830, friction with balata rubber tappers and pelt hunters who often came up the river until the Amerindian villages caused new migrations of the Wayãpi to the Kuu River. Subsequently, and up to the time Gallois conducted her research, these Amerindians maintained only intermittent contact with Whites (*ibid.*, pp. 122-123).

With respect to the Kuu River groups, the area constituted an important intertribal trade centre until its definitive dispersion in the 1970s (Gallois 1986, pp. 124-125). Grenand (1982) reports that in a conversation he had with chief Pina, the latter attributes the destruction or the dismantlement of the local Kuu River groups, between 1945 and 1960, to the various French expeditions to that area, such as the expedition of the IGN¹¹⁹ in 1947, a prefectural visit in 1951, and the illegal visit of constable Martin to the igarapé Curuapi in 1955. He argues that, thereafter, the epidemics gradually hit the totality of the communities, which were then obliged to disperse. It was the beginning of a period of disease, dispersion and poverty¹²⁰ (*ibid.*, p.165).

Between 1963 and 1970, the last known groups that were living on the area abandoned it. It is important to notice that these were the groups that were known at that time, and the fact that

¹¹⁹ The French *Institut national de l'information géographique et forestière*.

¹²⁰ Grenand argues that this helps to explain the village-bound endogamous marriage pattern of Wayãpi, since, as soon as one epidemic was over, the basic social "reflex" was to stay within a closed group, in the same village (Grenand 1982, 167).

the known groups left the area does not necessarily mean that there weren't any other isolated groups living in it.

Yakanura gave me his version of the reasons why his family left the old Uruary village, located in what I have called Zone 3 :

Yanukura: My father was (Pierre Yakanali) the chief of the Uruary village.
Cássio: And why did they leave there to settle here in Yawakokõnga?
Yanukura: They came because there were French whites, the *sous-préfet*, who went to meet them there (Uruary, Brazil), and he said they were too far from French Guiana. He told my father, "go ahead, and settle a further down". And then they settled in Kwamâtã. And after Kwamâtã they came down to settle here in Yawakokõnga, and then in the Zidock village. We left Yawakokõnga to settle in Zidock because a canoe of the *prefecture* had sunk in the Itainuá itu rapids and they lost everything. They told us to settle downstream of Itu Wasu, here in Zidock. My father died here in Zidock. He was not even Wayãpi, he was Aparai.

According to Grenand (personal communication, 4th Feb. 2018), from 1965 onwards, after contacts with gold and tantalum prospectors or with pelt hunters, the Amerindians of the Jari (with the Kuu) and Paru river basins were affected by various epidemics. Chief Pina emigrated in 1968 with his group, and joined the Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock, in order to protect his group from a quick extinction. The last known families, who remained in the area were the Wayãpi of the Kuu River who had not left with chief Pina in 1968. They finally left the area when chief Pina himself returned¹²¹ to pick them up at the end of June 1969.

In 1967-68, FUNAI and other Brazilian authorities decided to build a landing strip at Moloko Pata¹²² on the Upper Jari River; to this, we must add the recent contact (1963 to 1966) of

¹²¹ In 1969, anthropologists Pierre and Françoise Grenand here living in a hamlet near the last village of chief Pina which was located at the confluence of the Kuu river and the *igarapé* Curuapi. In June 1969, when chief Pina returned to the Kuu river in order to take with him to French Guiana the last Wayãpi who were living in that area, the anthropologists were already on their way to the Upper Oyapock with the Amerindians Pilila (the son of Apiyoko) and Tawika. After one month travelling, Pierre and Françoise Grenand settled in the Wayãpi village of Zidock on the French banks of the Upper Oyapock River (P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

¹²² Moloko Pata or Molocopote, which now houses the huts of a few illegal gold prospectors, was once the Amerindian village of chief Moroko - from whom comes the name Molokopota. In 1969-1970, the Brazilian Air Force (FAB) built an airstrip there. With the death of the leader Moroko, the Wayana Amerindians abandoned Moloko Pata. Faced with this, the FAB asked the Wayãpi Indians, who lived in several villages along the Kuu River, a tributary of the Jari, to work on clearing up the forest to open the airstrip. The Wayãpi remained in the region for many years, until, in the early 1980s FUNAI removed the

FUNAI with the Wayãpi of the Amapari and of the Inipuku. Grenand (personal communication, 4th Feb. 2018) points out that the whole region will be affected by those both forced and spontaneous movements¹²³. Grenand reports that, in March 1969, despite orders from the FUNAI agent, chief Sarapo returned to the Kuu River with a group of Wayãpi-puku. Most members of this group were taken by force to Moloko Pata, on the Jari River, in July-August 1969. Only a small number of people were able to return to the Inipuku River through the forest.

Sarapo became then the leader at Moloko Pata. However, in 1981 FUNAI decided to remove all remaining Amerindians from Moloko Pata. The transfer of chief Sarapo¹²⁴ to the igarapé Onça – in what is now the TIW – hurriedly performed by the FUNAI agent João Evangelista Carvalho (Gallois 2011, pp. 40-41), resulted in a conflict followed by a tragedy, with many deaths on both sides, including the death of Sarapo himself. The survivors of Sarapo's group were eventually taken by FUNAI by plane to the Tumucumaque Indigenous Park. Today those people who are still alive and their descendants — around thirty people in total — co-inhabit with Aparai and Wayana families in the *Complexo do Tumucumaque*¹²⁵.

The following table show the dates between 1900 and 1970 that the last groups left their villages:

| Date the group left | Name of the group's chief | Toponym where they were located | Hydrographic basin | Source |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1900 | Alamasisi | Igarapé Kulimakoti | Oyapock river (Headwaters) | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014a |

Amerindians from Moloko Pata, in order to liberate the area for gold mining. The airstrip was deactivated and destroyed by the Brazilian police in 2006.

¹²³ Grenand argues that Sarapo was an active assistant to the Brazilian authorities in these movements (Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

¹²⁴ In July 1979, a new proposal containing the limits of what would be a Wayãpi Amerindian reserve¹²⁴ was presented to the Brazilian authorities. This proposal was for a larger area than the current TIW and included the area around Moloko Pata in the Upper Jari River, that at that time was occupied by Sarapo's group (Gallois 2011, pp. 40-41). The proposal also included an area on the Kuu River, where Sarapo's group originally came from and where they had lived until they were transported by force by FUNAI to Moloko Pata, 10 years before. Gallois (2011, pp. 40-41) argues that the extension that was needed to include the Wayãpi group living in Moloko Pata was the very reason that lead the Brazilian authorities to refuse the proposal. It was then decided by FUNAI the group of the Upper Jari should be removed to where the Southern Wayãpi lived, more precisely to the igarapé Onça¹²⁴, so that there would be no more reason to include Moloko Pata in an eventual extended reserve. However, there were pre-existing tensions between the Southern Wayãpi and the group of Moloko Pata, and this resulted in many deaths, including Sarapo himself.

¹²⁵ The Tumucumaque Complex consists of two indigenous lands - TI Parque do Tumucumaque and TI Rio Paru d'Este.

| | | | | |
|------|--|---|----------------------------|--|
| 1900 | Akala | Igarapé İâtâ | Oyapock river (Headwaters) | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014a |
| 1903 | Tapi'i ¹²⁶ | Igarapé Yawakwa (headwaters of the Curuapi) | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014a; P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018. |
| 1910 | Wayolo | Kuu river | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014b |
| 1920 | Iluay and Pi'a | Igarapé Salamadre | Oyapock river (Headwaters) | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014a |
| 1925 | Siwe | Kuu river | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014b |
| 1930 | Pi'a | Near the Suluku'a hill | Oyapock river (Headwaters) | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014a |
| 1930 | Sapoto | Igarapé İâtâ /Waseypê'i | Oyapock river (Headwaters) | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014a |
| 1935 | Masölö | Kuu river | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014b |
| 1944 | Apiyoko ¹²⁷ | Kuu river | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014b |
| 1945 | Sapakway or Kapasi ¹²⁸ | Igarapé Pirawiri | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014b; P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018. |
| 1945 | Yâwî ¹²⁹ | Igarapé Pirawiri | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014b |
| 1947 | Maluka ¹³⁰ | Upriver from igarapé Simoli | Oyapock river (Headwaters) | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014a |
| 1950 | Kawilili ¹³¹ | Kuu river | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014b |
| 1951 | Jean Uwaila or Takulupaye ¹³² | Kwamâtâ | Oyapock river (Headwaters) | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014a |

¹²⁶ Tapi'i also named Seme'i was a son of Kwanu who is a founding ancestor that appears in many genealogies because he has had several wives. The late chief Maipouri of the Upper Oyapock descends from one of these unions, from his paternal side. Tapi'i was the father of the mother of chief Roger Kamala's father. He lived on the igarapé Yawakwa which is one of the sources of the igarapé Curuapi. Coudreau names him Tapiiré (P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

¹²⁷ Apiyoko died on the igarapé Curuapi in the 1950s. He was a grandson of Tapi'i by his mother. His son was Pilila. The Wayâpi of the Couc river formally recognised him in a photo of Schulz-Kampfenkel taken on the Kuu in 1938. He died at the village of Pina (P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

¹²⁸ Sapakway, also named Kapasi died in the same region around 1950. His granddaughter Marie-Louise Katawa married Cyrille Tamukwalê. They emigrated to Camopi in the year 1955. The descendants live in the region of Camopi (P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

¹²⁹ Yâwî was Sapakway's brother. He died in 1945. His family then lived with Sapakway and followed the fate of the people of Uruary. His best-known descendant is his granddaughter Soso (maternal descent). It is said that it was Yâwî who re-established contacts with the Southern Wayâpi in the 1940s (P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

¹³⁰ Maluka died in Kwamâtâ in 1949 or 1950. His son-in-law, Jean Uwaila (also known as Takulupaye), took over from him and became chief of Itusâsây until his death. Roger Kamala, son of Maluka, became chief of Itusâsây on the death of Jean Uwaila (P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

¹³¹ Kawilili probably died in the late 1950s or early 1960s. The people from his village then left to join the group of chief Pina, who had his village on the igarapé Kwatalayuka, which flows into the Curuapi, or they joined the group of Kusipulu. Kawilili is the father of Simi and his sister Kapua (P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

¹³² Jean Uwaila (or Takulupaye) was later chief of Itusâsây on the Upper Oyapock, where the group of the Kwamâtâ had emigrated to. He dies at Itusâsây (P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

| | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|---|-----------|--|
| 1953 | Pierre Yakanali ¹³³ | Igarapé Uruary (tributary of the Curuapi) | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014a |
| 1963 | Pina | Igarapé Curuapi | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014c |
| 1969 | Kusipulu ¹³⁴ | Igarapé Curuapi | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014c |
| 1969 | Palaka ¹³⁵ | Igarapé Curuapi | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014c |
| 1970 | Sarapo ¹³⁶ | Igarapé Curuapi then Igarapé Pirawiri | Kuu river | Parc Amazonien de Guyane 2014c; P. Grenand, personal communication, 4 th February 2018. |

In the first half of the 20th century Brazil and France became again interested in the Oyapock region. The Brazilians were driven by their intention to reinforce their presence on the right margin of the Oyapock. Since 1900 the area had been confirmed as Brazilian territory by international arbitration of the Swiss president, putting an end to a border dispute with France; the French, in their attempt to develop the interior of their colony as an alternative to a slowdown in gold production (Davy *et al.*, 2012, p. 7).

On the right margin of the Oyapock, the Brazilian *Serviço de Proteção ao Índio*¹³⁷ (SPI) created in 1938 the Luiz Horta post, officially an indigenous and border surveillance post. The SPI post changed places at least twice before falling into decline in the 1950s. In the 1960s the post

¹³³ Yakanali had succeeded his father Pi'a who had founded the village on the igarapé Uruary. Yakanali then became chief at Yawakokõnga on the Upper Oyapock. When the French authorities put pressure on him to move his village further down the river, downstream of Itu Wasu, he refused and decided not to be chief anymore; he resigned the chieftaincy in favour of Zidok (Isidoro) Yawapini. Yakanali died between 1968 and 1969 (P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

¹³⁴ Kusipulu had died shortly before anthropologists Pierre and Françoise Grenand arrived in the area in 1969. His children emigrated with chief Pina. His daughter Siki, who died in Camopi, was the second wife of chief Pina (P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

¹³⁵ Palaka, the father of Hubert Walaku, had died shortly before Pierre and Françoise Grenand arrived in the area in 1969. He lived in a hamlet near the last village of Pina which was located at the confluence of the Kuu River and the igarapé Curuapi (P. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

¹³⁶ Sarapo, of Aparai descent, lived on the Lower Pirawiri between 1960-1970. He had grouped in his village people from the old villages of Palaka and Kusipulu. In 1969, he was the only surviving chief in the area of the Pirawiri and Curuapi confluences with the Kuu River (since Pina had already migrated to the Oyapock). In truth, there were hardly any adult men left in these small, shrinking communities (Fr. Grenand, personal communication, 4th February 2018).

¹³⁷ Indian Protection Service - founded in 1910 as part of the Brazilian ministry for agriculture and replaced by FUNAI (the National Indian Foundation - part of the ministry of justice) in 1967 after having committed a series of atrocities against indigenous peoples, including genocide.

maintained only its surveillance activities (Arnaud 1971, p. 15). In the mid-1950s France started to provide medical assistance on their side of the border with the opening of a dispensary in Camopi, followed shortly by the opening of a school (Davy *et al.* 2012, p. 9). The downgrading of the operations of the Luiz Horta base in Brazil from the 1950s onwards quickly led to the desertion of the Amerindians to the French post in Camopi and the activities of attracting and attempting to make the Wayãpi gather in sedentary villages were concentrated on the French side of the Oyapock River.

According to Grenand (1982) between 1935 and 1944 the contacts between the Headwaters and the Middle Oyapock intensified again, encouraged by the French authorities who opened the administrative post of Maripa. Their goal was essentially the regrouping of the Wayãpi in the Camopi region on the Middle Oyapock River (*ibid.*, pp. 345-346). Gallois (1986) writes that several epidemics had decimated the “French” Wayãpi, who, in 1942, totalled only 72 individuals; thus, they needed a numerical reinforcement, which was sought amongst the “Brazilian” Amerindians. Gallois reports that the French physician Dr. Heckenroth then began to organise expeditions to attract the “Brazilian Amerindians” to the territory of French Guiana (*ibid.*, 126). Heckenroth managed to persuade the Amerindians of the Kuu River region to join the Wayãpi of the Oyapock River and to settle on the Middle Oyapock under the ‘protection’ of the French administration (*ibid.*, p 127).

Grenand (1982) points out that the demographic decline resulting from the numerous French expeditions in this area led, between 1946 and 1949, to a regrouping of local groups into two communities, *i.e.*, Kwamãtã¹³⁸, on the Oyapock basin, and Uruary on the Kuu River basin, to

¹³⁸ The Wayãpi call *Tapelêli* the Oyapock headwaters narrow waterway where the abandoned village of Kwamãtã is located.

form only one local group under the direction of one family¹³⁹ of Aparai origin. Grenand further adds that in the decade that followed, chief Yakanali will oppose permanent resistance to French influence (Grenand 1982, pp. 345-346).

The current Wayãpi report that the area I call Zone 3 is still inhabited by groups living in isolation. Their present and past narratives may help to explain how a few groups could still be living in isolation. In order to help understand their shunning attitude, it is worth noting what grandmother Pekũ¹⁴⁰, Yakanali's wife, told Pierre Grenand (1982, p. 218):

«Even when we change villages, strangers always find you. It is for this reason that (our ancestors) walked. But you see, there were always strangers there; for that reason, they always went further in the forest (one day however) ... men went hunting far away. The strangers watched them from the top of a hill; they had climbed a very big tree on the hill, and they had seen the smoke of their fire. Between two slopes, at the source of a stream, just there, there was the smoke of their fire. “This fire is still far away” said (the Blacks). But they arrived there. That's how foreigners do with us, I tell you ... »

I myself also contribute with some facts, documented in the following personal report:

During my long stay with the Wayãpi, I accompanied them in their incursions in the three zones I identify in this study. It is noteworthy my visit to Soã Itu as I accompanied the Amerindians in an expedition in that area, which lasted from 24th to 29th May 2017¹⁴¹. My participation in this expedition was following the request of some Amerindians residing in the Wayãpi villages of the Upper Oyapock River (Itu Wasu / “Trois-Sauts”) who requested me to help them with my GPS to reach the waterfall known locally as Soã Itu, at the headwaters of the Oyapock River, a mystical place during their migrations. As the Amerindians informed me, none of their group had been there in the last 40 years. It was requested by the Indians that the visited places were not divulged neither in Portuguese nor in French, to avoid these being identified and frequented by illegal gold prospectors. We covered 78 km southwest from the Itu Wasu village, located on the left bank of the Upper Oyapock River. The route was made by canoe until a place baptised at that time by the Amerindians as *Kulumuli Ialupa* where three Amerindians remained, and from there six of them followed on foot with me to

¹³⁹ Maluka, better known as Caiman, was the chief of the village of Kwamãtã, and his nephew Yakanali was the chief of the village on the Uruary.

¹⁴⁰ According to Grenand (1982, p. 390), Pekũ was born in 1920 at Igarapé Salamandre, on the Oyapock headwaters. She holds her knowledge from her grandmother Matali, and from her husband chief Yakanali.

¹⁴¹ I made a report to FUNAI with precise GPS locations on 23/10/2017.

the Soã Itu waterfall. At the *Kulumuli Ialupa*¹⁴² when they slaughtered a caiman for their own consumption, the Amerindians found under the skin of its tail an arrowhead containing *iwĩ*¹⁴³. According to them, the arrowhead had not been made by members of their group. In the vicinity of the Soã Itu waterfall the Amerindians identified a tree from which *tawali*¹⁴⁴ had been extracted to smoke tobacco. They attribute this extraction to their ancestors, since it seemed ancient. They asked me to register this place as *Tamũ Kũ Tawali Opilo*. The site is in the vicinity of an old village (1856) referenced by Pierre Grenand as Kapayu Tapele. The Amerindians also identified a path made in the woods and requested that I register it as *Mamae Kũ Pee Oinũ*. More precisely, broken branches were seen, and others cut with a machete, according to the Amerindians, marked a path (see figure 6). According to them, these marks dated to only a few weeks. They asked me to record my location on my GPS as *Mamae Kũ Wĩla Omopai Maẽ*.

In the following paragraphs extracts are presented, which include what the French Wayãpi said about unknown groups living in this area.

Kaluanã believes that the Amerindians that could be living near Soã Itu are members of the groups that did not migrate with the others to French Guiana.

Cássio: [...] there, in Soã Itu, you saw the cut branches...

Kaluan: Yes.

Cássio: And also, the arrow, did you see the arrowhead? I showed you, the one that Yawapuku found in the caiman's tale, with ...

Kaluan: Yes. With *kulumuli*¹⁴⁵ ...

Cássio: With *iwĩ*¹⁴⁶, right?

Kaluan: Yes, *iwĩ*. Yes, maybe it's the Amerindians. My father says they did not come all of them. There are some who stayed over there.

Kaluanã seems to believe that the Amerindians made the hunting path that we saw near Soã Itu might be the same that supposedly killed chief Maipuri on the Walapululĩ:

Kaluanã: [...] they killed him.

¹⁴² The newly named Kulumuli ialupa is located just below the mouth of the igarapé Maliwa, and must not be confounded with the old ialupa located further down on the Oyapock near the igarapé Masuwilii

¹⁴³ Latex of the Balata tree (*Manilkara bidentata*)

¹⁴⁴ Tree of the *Couratari* genus, in the *Lecythidaceae* family. The Wayãpi use the beaten bark of this tree to roll up tobacco cigarettes.

¹⁴⁵ Bamboo

¹⁴⁶ Latex of the Balata tree (*Manilkara bidentata*)

Cássio: And you think those are the same Amerindians who are in Soã Itu, up there where are we going?

Kaluanã: Maybe those one yes [...]. I think they are the same!



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Figure 4 - Recently cut branches attributed to isolated groups to mark a hunting path. Headwaters of the Oyapock River (2017)

Muricy reckons that the unknown Amerindians that supposedly live near Soã Itu are the descendants of groups that did not migrate to French Guiana with the others.

Cássio: And you saw the pictures that we had taken in Soã Itu? [...] In your opinion, what is that, who is there?

Muricy: Maybe people from there, people from there who (may even) have come here already.

Cássio: Which people?

Muricy: For example, the grandfathers. Yes, as soon as they were young over there they started hunting [...] over there, there is another village, they are many [...] so, maybe people ... my father told me that maybe it's the people over there. Maybe they did not come down to settle here, you know, they stayed over there.

Yawapuku talks about the various groups who lived on the Oyapock Headwaters, and a few of the conflicts that happened there:

Cássio: You told me that Grandmother knows the narrative of Grandfather Kapayu, [...] of Kapayu Tapele, right above Soã Itu.

Yawapuku: Kapayu was the son of Grandfather Sameti. Sameti was a Amapari Wã Amerindian.

Yawapuku: My mother said that there were lots of people living near Soã. A lot a lot! Grandfather Kolokõtõ he lived in Soã before. Grandfather Põõ too ... Grandmother Kõlo ... Grandfather Kuikuié ... Grandfather Akusipoke ... Grandfather Papaké ... Grandfather Seme'i – he was a warrior!

[...]

Yawapuku: Before, in Soã Itu, there was a village on the left and another on the right, on both sides of the igarapé. [...] They had a war there. Between them. Before there was no law for the Amerindians. As soon as someone lied to you, the other one who does not agree ... he will kill him.

[...]

Cássio: And after there were many deaths, they abandoned the villages.

Yawapuku: That's it. That's what my mother says.

Cássio: And the people of Uruary (Brazil), like your mother and all the others, why did they come here?

Yawapuku: It's the *Préfet*¹⁴⁷ who said, “you have to settle further down the river” [...] The *Préfet* goes up there to explain: “If the Brazilians come, they'll take all your women”, he said.

Yawapuku: They were happy over there, she said (my mother) [...]. the *Préfet* came with Karaman, the chief of the Boni¹⁴⁸, who spoke Wayana very well, and the grandfathers at that time they speak Wayana very well ... and then they discussed ... because Captain Pierre (Yakanali), the father of Yanukura, he said to the *Préfet* “no, I do not want to move further down the river”. He did not want to move his village further down ... and then ... they (the French) removed Yakanali: “get out, you're not chief anymore” and chief Zidoc takes the place.

¹⁴⁷ A top-ranking public servant who is the representative of the French central government and is the chief administrator in a *département* (county).

¹⁴⁸ Boni or Aluku are an ethnic group in French Guiana. They descend from fugitive slaves from the Dutch plantations in what is now the Suriname.

Yanukura attributes to the *apã* the branches that we had seen near Soã itu that had been recently cut with a machete:

Yanukura: Yes, there were *ka'apo* over there, yes.

[...]

Cássio: But did you see the cut branches?

Yanukura: Those are *apã* who did that. [...] *Apã* are wild Amerindians.

Based on geographic location, ethnohistorical literature and narratives of my participants, I have proposed the definition of three “zones” near the Franco-Brazilian border which could potentially be inhabited by isolated or unknown Amerindians. Appendix A presents a summary of what the contemporary literature and the Amerindians say about the peoples allegedly living in isolations in the three zones I identified. I now turn to analysing the ontologies through which the sedentary Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River construct alterity vis-à-vis isolated or unknown Amerindians.

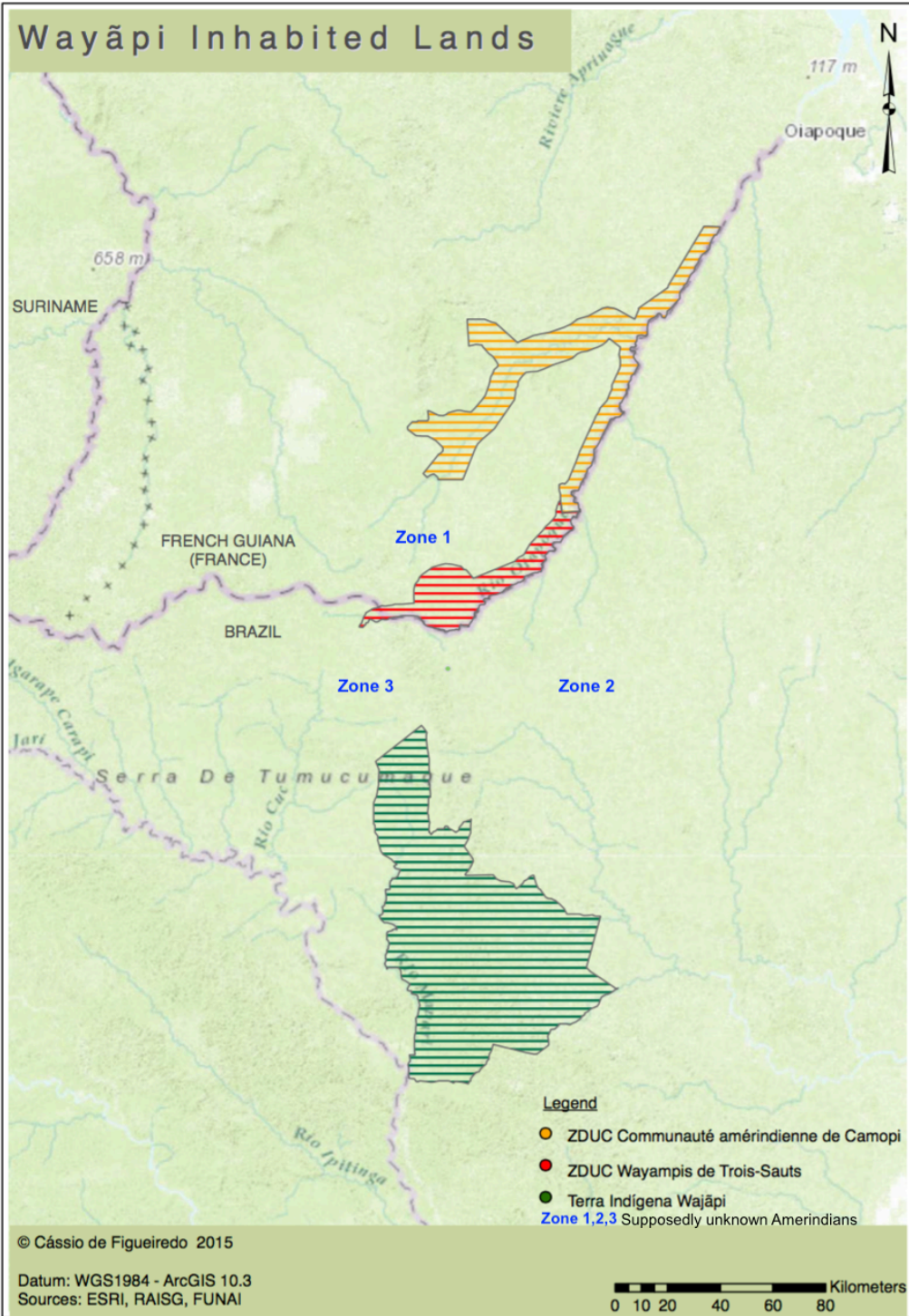


Figure 5 – The Wayãpi’s main inhabited lands

Chapter 5

An analysis of alterity production

The focus of this chapter is the analysis of how the sedentary Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River construct alterity in relation to the unknown or isolated Amerindians living nearby, and the ontologies within which this construction takes place. Before I proceed to discussing alterity construction in relation to the isolated Amerindians, I will analyse the Wayãpi's human/nature relationships and how the Wayãpi construct alterity in general. Grenand argues that "there is not, properly speaking, such thing as nature to the Wayãpi" (1980, p. 44)¹⁴⁹. This supports Descola's argument that "the opposition between nature and culture is not as universal as it is claimed to be" (2013, pp. 19 - 20) and that anthropology must free itself from the nature *vs.* culture 'dualist veil', which has hindered our understanding of cosmologies that are different from our own.

Grenand's assertion, as well as my own findings that will be discussed in this chapter, confirm that, in the Wayãpi's cosmology, the boundaries between human beings and 'natural objects' is unclear. Indeed, as Overing and Rapport argue, "the boundaries designating otherness varies tremendously from one people to the next: for some, who give weight to inclusivity, they are highly permeable, while for others they are rather rigid, which speaks of a more exclusivist set of values" (2000, p. 12). These permeable boundaries designating alterity are noticeable in the

¹⁴⁹ He argues that, rather, there are two "neutral terrains": the forest, where spirits evolve and the clearings (village and crops), where man evolves (Grenand 1980, p. 44)

account my participant Yapalatai gave me of an anaconda making love to a young woman who was on her period:

Yapalatai: [...] if there is a young woman who is *maraké*¹⁵⁰ [...]. *Moyu*¹⁵¹ will feel, sniff the pain of the young women who are *maraké*. Then he wants to go away with this young lady. Before, in the old times, there was a girl named Moi'Talin. She was the daughter of Grandmother Mani'wai. This girl was *maraké*. During the night, *moyu* goes into her house. He goes to sleep <next to her> ... he had rolled up all his tail, except his head. He had put an Amerindian crown on his head, but his tail was not transformed into an Amerindian. Then he surrounded the girl with his tail. Afterwards, Grandmother went to see what's going on. Then she sees that *moyu* is making love with her daughter. Then, Grandmother took some burning ember, and put it on the eyes of *moyu*. Then *moyu* went to the sand and rolled into the water. It happened in the Case Kalé rapids, down the river from Camopi¹⁵².

For Kulipi, the anaconda “is us too”:

Kulipi: Here, [...] never saw a woman, a girl who is *maraké*, fishing! Otherwise, ... it's forbidden! If not, anaconda will take her away. Because anaconda is us too, you see? It's like us, too, the anaconda.

[...]

Tukuru: the woman falls (into a hole in the water), it's slippery, she falls inside it.

Kulipi: That's why we call it 'the hole of women' [...]. We call it *wāwī'kwa*. In French it is 'the hole of women'.

The Wayãpi's human/plants relationships:

For the Wayãpi, a tree may behave like humans, in a typical animic “mode of identification” (Descola 2013). For Descola, the common subjectivity in animism allows one to assume that animals and spirits have “social characteristics”: they inhabit villages, follow certain rules of kinship and ethic codes, perform ritual activities and exchange objects (2006, p. 4).

Grenand (1980) notes that, for the Wayãpi, “each tree is likely to house an *āyā* – a bad spirit – or a *wilaya* – a ‘master of the tree’ – who are also masters of the animals whose behaviour they

¹⁵⁰ The ceremony of “*maraké*” marks the transition from childhood to adulthood. Here he means that the girl was on her period.

¹⁵¹ Anaconda snake.

¹⁵² Grenand et al. (2017, p. 13) give a very similar version of this narrative.

regulate” (*ibid.*, p. 43). For my participant Kulipi, the *wilapemu*¹⁵³ tree houses a spirit and acts like a shaman:

Kulipi: [...] there is a *wilapemu* tree like that, and there, [...] he comes out [...] a big *yawa*¹⁵⁴! It's like that, the shaman. You see, if for example you are a shaman, you will send the jaguar. Like the shamans of the Camopi River [...]. The *wilapemu* is like the shaman too.

Cássio: Ah, okay so it's him, who sends the *yawa*.

Kulipi: Yes. For example, if it comes out in front of you, if you shoot it down, it will not die. That's it...

For Kulipi, the *kumaka* tree behaves like humans as they engage in a war against each other:

Kulipi: [...] Have you ever seen the *kumaka*¹⁵⁵ trees making war against each other? [...] If, for example, if the one over there which is next to Moïpe's and the one next to Walaku's, over there ... the one near Wilapile's ... if [...] they go into war, there will be ... thunder! If he's the strongest, maybe the other one will die.

As Grenand writes, the relationships of men with plants are not common. Some rare names of people are borrowed from the wild plant world. Moreover, amongst the vast number of Wayãpi narratives, Grenand only found two that mentioned ‘conjunctions’ between man and the wild plants world: in the first narrative, two adulterous lovers are transformed into an *asingaulemimoay*¹⁵⁶ tree. In this narrative, the couple is punished by being deemed to live in the plants world forever. In the second narrative, *Mayamayali*, one of the twin sons of the Creator, tries to create a woman in a *kaisu*¹⁵⁷ tree, in vain. In this narrative, an attempted copulation between human and plant results in failure, the tree remaining a tree (1980, pp. 42-43).

Concerning the cultivated plants, the Wayãpi believe that they “come from humans to be consumed by humans” (Grenand 1980, p. 43). I have witnessed, as Grenand has also reported, that when a child is holding a papaya, an adult will say: “You are going to eat grandmother’s

¹⁵³ A type of tree. I was not able to check if the Wayãpi spelling is correct. Pt: Sapopema.

¹⁵⁴ Jaguar.

¹⁵⁵ En: Ceiba tree. Pt: Samaúma. Fr: Fromager (*Ceiba pentandra*)

¹⁵⁶ A tree. *Ficus paraensis*.

¹⁵⁷ A tree. *Cedrela odorata*.

breast”. The cultivated plants, for the Wayãpi, are equivalent to meat. Grenand learnt from the Wayãpi that “the cassava cake – coming from the flesh of the grandmother – and the manioc beer – coming from the pus of grandmother’s furuncles, the final stage of the transformation of the flesh – are alone worthy of replacing the meat” (*ibid.*, p. 43).

Different types of palm trees, arrows and bamboos would justify “distinctions of appearance” between the Wayãpi themselves (Gallois 2007, p. 63). Gallois cites Wayãpi narratives on the genesis of their subgroups, which focus on the physical traits that distinguish these groups from each other. According to her, the Wayãpi affirm that although all the Wayãpi were created out of the flutes played by the creator, their physical traits are different because they were born of flutes made with diverse raw materials: different types of palm trees, arrows, bamboos etc¹⁵⁸ (*ibid.*, pp. 63-64). Here, similar to the creation narratives collected by Grenand (1982) that will be analysed below, we see a mixture of animic and totemic “modes of identification” (Descola 2006, p. 6).

The Wayãpi’s human/animal relationships:

For the Wayãpi, animals behave like humans, and humans turn into animals, in a typical animic “mode of identification” (Descola 2013).

My participant Kulipi gives me his account of how a bird behaves like a human:

Kulipi: He <the bird> will call his master.cuu

Cássio: Who will he call?

Kulipi: The master ... the master of the [...] waterfall. [...] there is a master in the hole, in the interior.

¹⁵⁸ When they came out or ‘descended’ from different plant species, they carried specific physical traits. Thus, as Gallois points out, there are those who never have white hair when they age because they came from a flute made of *marajá’yr* wood. There are those who have a lot of hair because they came from the flute made of the *wiri* wood. Those who come from the *toriri* die young because this wood is soft and does not last long, unlike those who came from the arrow and do not die early. The descriptions go on associating characteristics of the vegetal raw material used in the flutes to the human bodies (Gallois 2007, pp. 63-64).

[...]

Cássio: And the master is what, in fact?

Kulipi: It's a bit like a man, like us! A man like us ... He wears a *kaleme* ... he is painted with *uluku* <in red>, like that.

Cássio: But it's a Wayãpi, him?

Kulipi: That I don't know. We don't know. We don't even know. It's a man.

Tukuru tells me how humans turn into animals:

Cássio: And there are Amerindians who turn into animals?

Tukuru: Before, yes [...]. It was the *Yaneipi kū*. They transformed like the *akiki* ... He turns into *akiki*, then he goes away. As soon as he eats flowers like that, fruits like that, the yellow hairs appear. Slowly. It grows, it grows ... on the face ... it will become hairy. After that, he continues to eat that fruit, and he does not realise how his skin is changing. He continues to eat ... then, it's the tail that's there, it's already done! Then he walks on the tree tops, he will become like an *akiki*. Then, he goes ... he shouts <grou grou grou>, it's like *akiki*.

[...]

Cássio: And afterwards he becomes Amerindian again when he wants?

Tukuru: Yes.

Tukuru: It was the elders who taught us that. Now... it's not my ... [...] ... It's Yaneya who did that. All of us we are ...

Tukuru: The *kwata* too. There are fruits that we eat, then he <the Amerindian who ate the fruit> will become *kwata* and he goes into the forest.

Cássio: Ah, Amerindians who eat certain fruits, they become *kwata* and they go to the forest.

Tukuru: Yes.

Cássio: But why do they do that, why don't they stay Amerindian?

Tukuru: No, it's *Yaneya* who decided for that.

Grenand (1980) argues that man/animal relationships occur at multiple levels. For him, the most obvious of these relationships is at the level of the names of people. He notes that most Wayãpi bear the names of animals and that these names are frequently given because of a physical resemblance often reduced to an element: “one will be called *yakami*¹⁵⁹, because he has the long legs of a grey-winged trumpeter bird, the other will be named *Kĩlu* because she has the big eyes of a frog (*ibid.*, p.41). Grenand argues that the physical or psychological behaviour of a child or even an adult sometimes justifies a name change: “one will be strong like a jaguar (*Yawalu*, big jaguar), the other will be agitated and disordered like a *Ka'i*¹⁶⁰ (*ibid.*, p 41). In the

¹⁵⁹ Grey-winged trumpeter.

¹⁶⁰ Fr: Sapajou fauve. Pt: Macaco-prego. En: capuchin monkey (*Cebus apella*)

case of many groups a physical particularity is attached: “it is said that the *Ka'i imiãwãnge* have ‘a falling butt’, residue of the tail of the female capuchin monkey; the *Mulu imiãwãnge* are as big as the *Mulu* frog, etc” (*ibid.*, p. 67).

Grenand (1980) argues that, for the Wayãpi, this relationship between man and animal goes far beyond appearance to establish a deeper connection. The Wayãpi believe that a part of the animal is deposited in the man and influences either his appearance or his character. This leads me to conclude that although the Wayãpi are predominantly animistic, they are also totemist to some extent. Following Descola (2006), animistic ontologies attribute to nonhumans a humanity, an intentionality and a social life akin to those of humans. In totemism the “main totem” of a human group, commonly an animal or plant, and all the “humans and non-human” that are connected to it, are believed to share a few attributes “of physical conformation, substance, temperament and behavior” (*ibid.*, p. 6). There is a relationship of complementarity between humans and nonhumans, in addition to a similarity of physicality and interiority between the individual and his totem. Tukurú tells me:

Tukurú: *Yaneipi kũ* are our old ones, those are the ones who created life, before. Those are even wild Amerindians too! Yes, those are the wild Amerindians too, *Yaneipi kũ*, those are the elders who created, over there ... it's before us!

[...]

Tukurú: my father is the son of that one (he points to an arrow reed / arrow cane) [...] There are things in it. There are *tapulu* (maggot). Then, the maggot falls dawn and it's like a baby. Then, it becomes like a baby crying. This happens in front of God ... it's him who decided for that. As soon as the reed is rotten, there are things that go into it. Then maggot falls, and he's crying, it's like a baby. Then he grows up.

Cássio: Tamũ Yapalatai he descends from that?

Tukurú: Yes, that's why we are called *Wiwa* ... *Wiwa apã*¹⁶¹.

Cássio: What does *Wiwa* mean?

Tukurú: *Wiwa* means reed. In addition, we (in my family) are not big. We are always like that, we grow up like that <pointing to a reed shaft>. Look at that one, the reed, it is not grown that way <opening his arms to show someone who

¹⁶¹ “unknown wild one”, one who is still living in isolation in the forest.

is fat). He is grown like this <pointing upwards> [...] We are not fat, we are always like that [...].

Cássio: So Tamũ Yapalatai he was born like that? of a maggot that falls on the ground?

Tukuru: No, he is not born like that, those are his old ones <his ancestors>, those were our *Taneipi kū*... before!

Conversely, Grenand observes that the Wayãpi attribute human traits to animals: “we hear that the spider monkeys come to the crop fields to see if the cassava is good to be harvested, or that a cicada warns the men that the iguanas are beginning to lay eggs. Many animals have specific personality traits: the jaguar is intelligent but blinded by its strength; the tortoise is patient and cunning, the tapir is a stupid clumsy, the anaconda is peaceful and invincible”¹⁶² (1980, p. 41). He continues to point out that some specific animals have a human origin. This is the case of the jaguar, the spider monkey, the white-lipped peccary, or the red brocket (*ibid.*, p. 41). Grenand’s findings illustrate clearly Descola’s concept of ‘animism’¹⁶³, as seen in chapter 3. According to Descola (2006), an Achuar Amerindian that treats a monkey as a human (as his brother-in-law), is a typical situation of ‘animism’ (*ibid.*, p. 5). My participant Tukuru also considers the spider-monkey to be ‘his family’:

Tukuru: When I hurt the son of *taytetu*¹⁶⁴, then, when he gets home, his mother cries, “How come you hurt him!” [...] All animals cry. When you shoot the *kwata*¹⁶⁵, he’ll tell you <hiiii>. That means: it hurts! He jumps.... And he speaks ... he speaks ... Then, we... we shoot anyway. When he falls, he is not dead yet. Then “no, no, no!” – I think he’ll say to you. Then we need a piece of wood and we kill him. He’s our family, but we don’t have anything to eat, that’s why! We kill him!

The narratives about the origin of the Wayãpi groups illustrate the way in which the Wayãpi conceive their relations with other worlds of living beings. According to these narratives, the Wayãpi groups descend from various plants or animals. The narratives of origin collected by

¹⁶² Grenand (1980, p. 41) further argues that, at a myth level, “all animals enter the scene alongside men to help or combat them, they speak, become angry or calmed”.

¹⁶³ I have deliberately left out of this dissertation Viveiros de Castro (1996)’s concept of perspectivism, which is a particular case of Animism rather than its “normal epistemic regime”, as demonstrated by Descola (2006, p. 5).

¹⁶⁴ En: Collared peccary. Pt: Caiútu Fr: Pécarí à collier. (*Pecari tajacu*)

¹⁶⁵ En: Red howler monkey. Pt: bugio-vermelho-das-Guianas (*Alouatta Macconnelli*)

Grenand (1980;1982), may be grouped into three cases: in the first, maggots (*tapulu*) become human babies; in the second, Wayãpi men copulate with female animals and, in the third case, Wayãpi women copulate with male animals. I have chosen a few examples to illustrate those three cases. The “modes of identification” used by the Wayãpi in all three cases correspond to what Descola (2013) describes as animism, with some elements of totemism, as I mentioned above.

In the first case, where maggots (*tapulu*) become human babies, the Wayãpi maintain that Yawapoke, one of the heroes who created their people, collected maggots that grew on the dead bodies of various living beings. These putrefying ‘bodies’ include, for example, monkey skins, arrows, tree trunks and snakes. The maggots collected by Yawapoke became babies who then became the ancestors of at least seven Wayãpi subgroups, such as the Kwata¹⁶⁶imiãwãnge¹⁶⁷, the Akiki¹⁶⁸imiãwãnge¹⁶⁹, the Wilapaimiãwãnge¹⁷⁰, the Wili¹⁷¹imiãwãnge¹⁷² and the Kumaka¹⁷³imiãwãnge¹⁷⁴ (Grenand 1980, pp. 320-422). According to the Wayãpi, the descendants of those groups are believed to share a few attributes “of physical conformation, substance, temperament and behavior” with the nonhumans that gave origin to them, a characteristic which is typical of a totemic “mode of identification” (Descola 2006, p. 6). My participant tells me:

Tukuru: my father is the son of that one (he points to an arrow reed / arrow cane) [...] There are things in it. There are *tapulu* (maggot). Then, the maggot falls dawn and it’s like a baby. Then, it becomes like a baby crying (...). As soon as

¹⁶⁶ En: Spider monkey. Pt: Coatá

¹⁶⁷ Yawapoke collected maggots on the skin of a dead Kwata monkey. The maggots gave origin to a boy and a girl who are the ancestors of the Kwataimiãwãnge, also known as Kwatapuluke and Tamokû (Grenand 1980, pp. 320-422).

¹⁶⁸ En: Red howler monkey. Pt: bugio-vermelho-das-Guianas (*Alouatta Macconnelli*)

¹⁶⁹ Yawapoke collected maggots on the skin of a dead Akiki monkey. The maggots gave origin to a boy and a girl who are the ancestors of the Akikiimiãwãnge (Grenand 1980, pp. 320-422).

¹⁷⁰ Yawapoke collected maggots in an arrow that had been abandoned in the forest. The maggots gave origin to a boy and a girl who are the ancestors of the Wilapayalikake (old arrow full of maggots) (Grenand 1980, pp. 320-422).

¹⁷¹ Pt: Marajazeiro (*Bactris elegans*)

¹⁷² Yawapoke collected maggots in the trunk of a Wili palm tree. The maggots gave origin to a boy and a girl who are the ancestors of the Wiliimiãwãnge (Grenand 1980, pp. 320-422).

¹⁷³ En: Ceiba tree. Pt: Samaúma. Fr: Fromager (*Ceiba pentandra*)

¹⁷⁴ Yawapoke collected maggots in the trunk of a Kumaka tree. The maggots gave origin to a boy and a girl who are the ancestors of the Kumaka imiãwãnge, who are fat men and women (Grenand 1980, pp. 320-422).

the reed is rotten, there are things that go into it. Then maggot falls, and he's crying, it's like a baby. Then he grows up.

In the second case, where Wayãpi men copulate with female animals, the narrative says that there were two women: one was 'wearing' the corpse of a *Ka'i*¹⁷⁵ monkey and the other was 'wearing' the corpse of a *Kule*¹⁷⁶ parrot. Wayãpi men married with these two 'animal wives' and thus became ancestors of two subgroups, the *Ka'i imiãwãnge*¹⁷⁷ and the *Kule imiãwãnge* (Grenand 1982, pp. 62-63).

The third case, where Wayãpi women copulate with male animals, encompasses at least three stories. One of those stories says that a woman invites a male *Mulu*¹⁷⁸ frog to come to the village with her. In the evening, the frog copulates with the woman in her hammock. Two months later the woman gives birth to a man who is big and fat. The people that today are big and fat are the descendants of this union – typical of a totemic mode of identification – and they are called *Mulu imiãwãnge* (Grenand 1980, pp. 320-422). In another narrative, two young girls who had their periods broke the interdiction to go to the river and ended up being copulated by a male *Tale'i* fish¹⁷⁹. The first girl had a "normal" baby, but the second girl gave birth to a *Tale'i* fish who went back into the river. The 'normal' baby is the ancestor of the people who are known as *Tale'i imiãwãnge* (*ibid.*, pp. 320-422). And in the last narrative of this third case, an old woman lived alone in a village and often copulated with a dog. She becomes pregnant and gives birth to many dogs. She continues to copulate with the dog, and then gives birth to a boy and a girl. They are the ancestors of the *Yawa imiãwãnge*, also known as *Kaikušian* (*ibid.*, pp. 320-422). In

¹⁷⁵ En: Capicin monkey. Fr: Sapajou fauve. Pt: Macaco-prego (*Cebus apella*)

¹⁷⁶ Fr: Perroquet Amazone. Pt: Papagaio-açu (*Amazona farinosa*)

¹⁷⁷ The word /imiãwãnge/ is itself a compound word:

/miã/ = "to be bound", "to have ties";

/wã / = indicates territoriality: "those of", "people of";

/nge/ = is an associative plural: "the group", "the gathering" (Grenand 1982, pp. 66-67).

¹⁷⁸ Fr: Grenouille-flûte. En: Smoky jungle frog. Pt: rã-defumada-da-selva (*Leptodactylus pentadactylus*)

¹⁷⁹ Fr: Aimara. En: Wolf fish. Pt: Trairão (*Hoplias aimara*)

a typically totemic production of alterity, my participant Yanukura told me that the Kaikušian are the “dog people”.

The Wayãpi’s human/spirit (or Demiurge) relationships:

For the Wayãpi, a demiurge may turn into an animal, and spirits may embody in bodies that are similar to human bodies in typically animic “modes of identification” (Descola 2013).

Tukuru gives me his account of how the Creator transforms into a pecary:

Tukuru: Before, *Yaneya* transforms like *taytetu*. And the *Yaneipi* he comes with an arrow like that ... he thought he was a *taytetu*. He shoots at him, then he kills him.
Cássio: But it was Yaneya who had turned into a *taytetu* ...
Tukuru: Yes. *Yaneipi* finds a big wood, he hits hard on the *taytetu* to finish killing him, but the *taytetu* is not dead. *Yaneipi* went to get the *í* leaves to make a *panakũ*. Meanwhile, *Yaneya* stands up and transforms like Yaneya. Then, he becomes all of a sudden like us. Then he returns home.

There are also accounts of how a nonhuman spirit is embodied in a body similar to that of a human:

Cássio: And in Soã Itu? [...]
Yapalatai: In Soã Itu, if you if you say loud ‘soã’, a spirit will come out of the rock, inside the waterfall. This is where there is a ‘soã’.
Cássio: What is a ‘soã¹⁸⁰?’
Yapalatai: It’s the spirit. [...] It was really a spirit, really red, dressed in a *kaleme*. [...] When you say his name, he will come out and he will kill you [...]. Before, people, saw Soã as they were coming from the Uruary.

Tukuru and Kulipi have their own account of the same spirit:

Tukuru: When you arrive in Soã itu, you must not say ‘Soã itu’.
Cássio: Why?
Tukuru: Because there is spirit there. It’s the waterfall of the spirit. When you say...
[...]
Kulipi: [...] the spirit of the waterfall, the spirit.

¹⁸⁰ According to Grenand (1989, p. 397) soã is a spirit that lives in the waterfalls, and the word is an onomatopoeia that phonetically imitates the sound that this spirit makes. Coudreau (1993) refers to this part of the Oyapock headwaters where the Soã Itu waterfall is located as Souanre.

Tukuru: the spirit of ayã.

Kulipi: Of the waterfall! But he lives under the waterfall.

[...]

Tukuru: But you have not seen ... as it is a spirit ... You have to be a shaman to see ... [...]

The Wayãpi's human/human relationships:

I have analysed how alterity is produced within the Wayãpi extended ethnic group, drawing examples from the Wayãpi's 'human/plant', 'human/animal' and 'human/spirit' relationships. I will now focus on alterity constriction within 'human/human' relationships. I will start from a family or village level, before I move on to analysing alterity constriction outwith the ethnic group.

Perhaps the most immediate alterity production is that in which an individual defines himself in relation to his relatives. Grenand (1982) noted a principle of preferential marriage with classificatory cross-cousins amongst the Wayãpi. Furthermore, he indicates that the Wayãpi rely on a list of 57 words for addressing and referring to a relative. They distinguish between consanguineous and allied 'Others' which are grouped into two basic categories. They use the same term to refer to the father and the brother of the father, the mother and the sister of the mother. They use a different term to refer to the brother of the mother and the sister of the father. Grenand further notes that this distinction has a classificatory lateral extension, since it also applies to siblings of grandparents (*ibid.*, 101). *Ego* therefore distinguishes between two classes of relatives: siblings and potential allies – for a male *ego*: brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law and wives. For a female *ego*: sisters, brothers, sisters-in-law and husbands (*ibid.*, p. 103).

Concerning the descendants in the first degree, for a male *ego*, the children of sisters and of brothers-in-law are nephews and nieces, the children of sisters and of brothers-in-law are nephews and nieces, the children of the potential wives are sons and daughters distinguished from the children of the brothers by the terms ‘my son a little’, ‘my daughter a little’. For a female *ego*, the children of sisters and of potential husbands are not distinguished and are considered *ego*’s children. Besides, a woman does not distinguish between her male and female children. For her, the children of the brothers and of the sisters-in-law are nephews. Therefore, there is no distinction between nephews and nieces except at the alliance level (*ibid.*, p.104). At a second ascending and descending level, the terminology no longer distinguishes between allies and consanguine, and recognises: grandfathers ‘father of my father’ or ‘father of my mother’; grandmothers ‘mother of my mother’ or ‘mother of my father’; and grandchildren ‘child (without distinction of sex) of my son or of my daughter’ (*ibid.*, pp. 104-105).

A Wayãpi person changes names several times throughout his life. In fact, I noticed that many of the Wayãpi who Grenand met in the 1970-1980s are today called by a different name. This is the case, for example, of Kwataka, who today is called Tamũ Yakami. Beaudet (2007) notes that the then young Akala became later known by his French name Jean-Louis and subsequently by his Portuguese nickname Charuto (*ibid.*, p. 17). Beaudet (2017) argues that name changes are a feature of the Wayãpi naming system¹⁸¹. He notes that “in the months following birth, the mother will give a name according to a child's appearance or behaviour, an allusion to the baby's personality [...] This name, which the child will bear during the first years [...], is also the mother's ‘signature’ [...]. Later, a grandmother will choose, amongst the names of her ancestors, a name that will remain largely secret. Later on, there will be successive

¹⁸¹ Wayãpi proper names are private and are never used. Instead, the Wayãpi use ‘relationship terms’ to address someone in public. Nicknames and French or Portuguese given names are sometimes used to get around the private names. Private names are considered shameful if said out loud. Children’s names or nicknames are less private and are sometimes used to address or refer to older relatives in public, e.g.: “Hello, mother of Yamula” (Campbell 1995, pp. 7-9).

nicknames given by friends¹⁸²” (*ibid.* p. 63). My participant Tukuru’s discourse illustrates how name changes may be linked to animal a physical particularity:

Tukuru: [...]. Besides, papa he is *Ka’i Sili* too. [...] It means monkey *miti* (little). Because, in addition, he jumps! That's why they said that for papa too. He jumps!

The way one speaks is also a way of defining otherness. Camargo (2008) points out that in the Guyanas, dialectal variation of the same language could be one of the bases of the subgroups’ constitution. In fact, the Wayãpi maintain that even today in the villages of the Upper Oyapock River the group of Amerindians that came from the Kuu River – referred to as Kuu Wã Kũ – have a different way of talking, and that they need to adapt their speech when talking to the younger ones. For Camargo, the so-called ‘ethnic’ identification of groups is linked to the paternal affiliation attributed to the language, as well as to the identification with a territory of origin of the paternal ascendants. To illustrate, Camargo found that the Wayana – as well as other Guyanese Amerindian groups – often identify themselves according to a geographical location, which can be expressed by the formula ‘X is from Y’. This is indeed also the case of the Wayãpi in general. All of their subgroups are named after a geographical location, mainly a river, as in the case of the Kuu Wã Kũ that I met and the many subgroups living in the TIW such as the Inipuku Wã Kũ, the Pirawiri Wã Kũ, *etc.*

Thus far, I have analysed alterity production at an intra-ethnic level, perhaps with the exception of the above-mentioned case of the Kaikušian. In the next two paragraphs, my analysis will move out with the ethnic group to describe how the Wayãpi construct alterity vis-à-vis other humans in general. In this case, they resort primarily to the differences resulting from two distinct processes of creation of the various human peoples (Gallois 2007). The first process

¹⁸² Beaudet notes that some of these old nicknames have become surnames for the French general register office. The surnames for French register were attributed and fixed by the Camopi police in the 1960s and 1970s, in a very confusing way (Beaudet 2017, p. 61).

concerns the creation of the Wayãpi proper: the Wayãpi (*yane*), believe that they were born before all other peoples, by the initiative of *Yaneya*¹⁸³, the creator. According to Gallois, the Wayãpi maintain that only they (and some other people who can be classified as *Yanekwer*) are the descendants of the first men who were born out of the flute played by creator *Yaneya* when he decided that he needed company, because he felt alone (*ibid.*, pp. 57-58). The second process concerns the creation of all other human peoples, who emerged later, being created by the first humans, or the first Wayãpi. Thus, according to the narratives collected by Gallois, all these other peoples are the creation of the Wayãpi. Those ‘Others’ grew out of processes of transformation of other beings – animals or inanimate – regardless of *Yaneya*’s will but involving the intervention of the first humans (*ibid.*, p. 57).

To illustrate the second process *i.e.*, the creation of all other human peoples, Gallois mentions a Wayãpi narrative according to which girls went out to have dates secretly, saying that they would clean their gardens; in fact, they were presenting their lovers with the meat of the game their brothers had hunted. Intrigued by the disappearance of the meat and of their sisters, the brothers followed the girls in secret and caught them dating “handsome boys, adorned with body paintings and large necklaces of beads”. The brothers decided to kill the lovers. As they fell dead, the lovers become “monstrous snakes”. Glad to have got rid of their sisters’ lovers, the brothers continued to hunt to feed their own. One day, they find the dead snake again and realised that on the corpse of the snake there were “maggots that were giving life to babies”. The boys took these babies to the village, where everyone contributed to raising them. This was all in vain, because ‘these people’ are “arrogant and violent and do not behave as expected”. Therefore, at the request of their creators, those who were born of the Anaconda putrefaction were finally pushed out by the group, leaving to live very far away. The Wayãpi continued to

¹⁸³ Gallois uses the Brazilian Wayãpi spelling *Janejar* instead of *Yaneya*.

live in peace. Once distanced, ‘these people’ become *apã*¹⁸⁴, enemies that “sometimes return, fighting, attacking, stealing and killing” (*ibid.*, pp. 58-59).

The ‘ways of living’ are also features that the Wayãpi use in order to produce alterity vis-à-vis other non-Wayãpi humans. Gallois argues that, in their experience of encounters with other Amerindians, the Wayãpi establish distinctions that focus on “ways of living, qualities of the habitat, etc., in order to ascertain whether it is possible, or not, to live with different people” (*ibid.*, p. 65). She explains that it is according to these criteria that the Wayãpi categorise other people as being *Yaneanã*, “a word used to designate people with whom the Wayãpi already lived or with whom they consider that they could live, in sum, all those to whom it is possible to become closer, without risk. All those who share a know-how with the Wayãpi, such as building a hut in the woods, putting up a wooden structure to cook the meat, tying hammocks, warming themselves by the fire, are called *Janeanã*” (*ibid.*, pp. 65-66). Gallois further notes that this is how the Zo'é¹⁸⁵ were treated on the occasion of the hunting and fishing expedition during which the Wayãpi and their guests the Zo'é shared the same fire and the same food in camps which they built together. She also writes that this feeling of sharing of customs did not occur in an experience the Wayãpi had with the Yanomami¹⁸⁶, when a young Wayãpi spent some nights in a Yanomami village and, upon returning, reported on “the difference in the comfort of the huts, the way they tie their hammocks, put a pot in the fire, etc.” (*ibid.*, pp. 65-66). It is based on the same criteria that my participant Kulipi affirms that the people that are supposedly living on the Yalupi are the same as the Wayãpi:

Kulipi: There are also Amerindians on the Yalupi too.
Cássio: Really?

¹⁸⁴ Gallois often associates the word *apã* with “enemy”. My experience with the Wayãpi, however, leads me to conclude that, at least on the Upper Oyapock, *apã* must not be confounded with “enemy”. The Wayãpi clearly use the word *apã* to refer to an ‘unknown wild one’, one who is still living in isolation in the forest, not necessarily hostile. The enemy is called *tapiy* (or *tapy'yi* in Brazil) not only by the Wayãpi but also by many other Tupian-speaker groups.

¹⁸⁵ A Tupian group of recent contact, living on the Cuminapanema river, in the Brazilian state of Pará.

¹⁸⁶ An Amerindian group composed of at least four subgroups that speak languages of the same family (Yanomae, Yanomami, Sanima and Ninam), living on the border between Brazil and Venezuela.

Kulipi: Yes, like us, they wear *kaleme*¹⁸⁷ too. The name of their chief was Asĩnga'u.

Cássio: Are they Amerindians like you?

Kulipi: Yes, like us but ... they are very afraid of ... helicopter and boat engines too.

Having analysed how the Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River produce alterity in general, I will now analyse how they produce alterity in relation to the isolated or unknown Amerindians living near them.

The Wayãpi's relationships with the isolated groups

When producing alterity in general, the Wayãpi resort predominately to animism as a mode of identification. Descola highlights that although there may be “the prevalence of a relational schema” (2013, p. 497) in a collective, this predominance is never absolute, since it is all relationships added up that will make up the various methods available to humans for forming their interactions with others. For instance, animism has not been predominant when alterity production concerns the unknown Amerindian groups living near them. Although this seems an obvious conclusion – since, after all, the isolated peoples should be humans at least in our naturalist ontology – the isolated or unknown Amerindians are not considered ‘only’ as humans like them by the Wayãpi. In fact, some elements of animism were identified in the Wayãpi alterity production concerning the isolated Amerindians, as I will discuss in the next paragraphs. For the purpose of this analysis, the Wayãpi will occupy the position of the ‘self’, whereas the position of the ‘other’ will be occupied by the unknown or isolated Amerindian, as the very condition of one who is ‘isolated’ or unknown dictates.

¹⁸⁷ Men's red cotton clothing for daily use.

Before proceeding to my analysis, it is first necessary to understand the meaning of the word *apã*. Françoise Grenand gives three definitions to *apã*: “I. Group that gave origin to the Wayãpi; II. Tribe, ethnic group; III. Foreigners (Amerindians only, whites and blacks are excluded)” (1989, p. 141). Gallois (2007) associates the term *apã* with ‘enemy’¹⁸⁸. She argues that the Wayãpi resort to “foundations expressed in mythical narratives” to distinguish those who behave as possible relatives from “people from whom one must keep distance, as did the ancestors with the successive groups that had been declared enemies, or *apã*” (*ibid.*, p. 68). For Grenand (1982) the *apã*, sometimes also called *ka’apo*, ‘those of the forest’, were the descendants of animal or plant ancestors. Grenand argues that the *apã* would be the ancestors of the current groups and that the origins of those *apã* – and of their respective groups – may be found in one the cases seen above, *i.e.*, maggots turning into human babies, copulation of Wayãpi men with female animals, and copulation of Wayãpi women with male animals¹⁸⁹. In my exchanges with the Wayãpi, it became clear that the word *apã* is currently used in the Upper Oyapock River with a meaning of “unknown wild one”, one who is still living in isolation in the forest, not necessarily a hostile person. The word used to refer to ‘enemy’ is *tapiĩy* (*tapy’yi* or *tapuia* in Brazi). My argument rests upon what three of my participants told me about the *apã*:

Cássio: And what is the difference between an *apã* and a *ka’apo*?

Tukuru: *Ka’apo* is an *apã* too, it's the same. *Ka’apo* [...] is wild too. *Apã*, *ka’apo* means you're still in the forest, you're not in the village, you're still in the forest. They are wild. [...]

Tukuru: [...] *apã* is a wild one.

¹⁸⁸ According to Gallois (2007) the Wayãpi explain the appearance of the *apã* as being those that they were born of the putrefaction of the Anaconda, and that had been taken by the Wayãpi to live with them in their villages. However, these people, for not behaving well, were distanced by the main Wayãpi community and had to leave to live far away. According to Gallois, the Wayãpi affirm that, “once distanced, ‘these people’ become *apã*, enemies that sometimes come back, fighting, attacking, robbing and killing” (Gallois 2007, 59). Gallois further argues that, according to the Wayãpi, there are many other people who, even though they were born out of the transformation of dead animals, they did not become *apã*, because they did not spring from putrefaction of an anaconda, but, rather, “arose from maggots born of the putrefaction of less horrendous animals” (Gallois 2007, 60).

¹⁸⁹ Grenand highlights that, although many became extinct, various families living on the Oyapock and the Kuu rivers are attached to many of those groups (Grenand 1982, pp. 62-64). Grenand (1982) noticed a permanent willingness of the Wayãpi to match the *apã* and parentage groups to a territory of origin. He supports his argument with an example taken from his genealogical investigations with Grandmother Aitu. To Grenand’s question: / *moma’e apã ?* /, “Which group did this *apã* belong to?”, Grandmother Aitu answered: / *Mapali-wã te, Akikiimiãwãnge* /, “he was a guy from the river Mapali, of the group of the *Akiki* monkey” (Grenand 1982, p. 66).

Alawala: [...] He was killed over there. We don't know if it was an *apã* or someone like us¹⁹⁰ <who killed him>.

Yanukura: *Apã* are wild Amerindians.

In this study I claim that I the Wayãpi resort to animism and naturalism (Descola 2013) in their processes of alterity production vis-à-vis the unknown or isolated Amerindians. A few words need to be said about Naturalism and Animism before I move on to my analysis.

Although the Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock preserve many elements of their own Amerindian cosmology and their own 'modes of identification' – as the reader will find in this study – they have been in contact with Western society for long enough to be able to rely on some elements of naturalism, especially when addressing a Westerner like myself. As Descola himself indicates, "the modes of identification (...) that I come up with are not intended to account for all the cultural and social particularities that could have been brought in by ethnography and history" (Descola 2006b, p. 230). By having seen in the Other a similar 'physicality', and also perceived the presence of elements such as mind, soul, subjectivity, moral conscience, language, etc., some of my research participants considered the isolated Amerindian, "at a specific time and place" (Descola 2006, p. 8), a human like him, he put the Other together with him on the culture side of the 'nature vs culture' dichotomy. I am referring to specific discourses presented here where the research participant considered the unknown Amerindian to be a human like himself, maybe with a different behaviour, because he is in the forest. The research participant would, in that case, just consider the Other to be an Amerindian of an unknown group, *i.e.*, man like him! Considering what the research participant told me, I have no element to justify describing that specific discourse as something other than what Descola calls naturalism.

¹⁹⁰ This distinction Alawala makes between the *apã* and 'us' is behavioural only. He still considers the *apã* to be a human like himself, but with a different behaviour, because he is in the forest. He would just be an Amerindian of another group.

As previously said, when producing alterity in general – not vis-à-vis the isolated Amerindians – the Wayãpi resort predominantly to animism as a mode of identification. However, animism has not been predominant when alterity production concerns the unknown Amerindian groups living near them. I have identified in their discourse three different cases in which, at a given place and time, the Wayãpi conferred ‘social attributes’ – what would fulfil the ‘similar interiorities’ condition of animism – to entities that are considered nonhuman. The fact that those entities are nonhuman satisfies the ‘different physicalities’ condition of Descola’s animism (2013). The first case of a nonhuman entity is that of a bad spirit, that the Wayapi call *ãyã*. In the second case the nonhuman entity is not a bad spirit but simply a ‘spirit’ or a ‘spirit of the mountain’. In the third case the nonhuman entity is a body with the ability to magically disappear.

I will now analyse, based on the Wayãpi’s discourse, the foundational elements present in their alterity production process concerning the isolated groups in the Upper Oyapock River region. I have identified six categories of elements the Wayãpi resort to when producing alterity vis-à-vis the isolated Amerindians: distinctions of physicality, distinctions in the ability to disappear, distinctions of behaviour, distinctions of dress and weapons, distinctions of height and, finally, ‘absence of difference’.

The Wayãpi resort to **distinctions of physicality** in their alterity production process concerning the isolated Amerindians. The distinctions of physicality that the Waypi mentioned may be classed in three different cases. In the first, the isolated Amerindian has a body similar

to that of humans, but he is an *ãyã*¹⁹¹, in a typically “animic” (Descola 2013) mode of identification:

Kaluanã: Yes. He is afraid ... He hides at the foot of the trees, he goes slowly, gently, he follows the agouti ... but he is only one.

Cássio: There is only one what?

Kaluanã: *Ãyã*.

The second and third cases of ‘distinctions of physicality’ fit into either naturalism or animism (*ibid.*), as the research participant himself hesitates when trying to classify the Other as either human or nonhuman. In the second case, the isolated Amerindian is considered to be either ‘like them’ by the Wayãpi – in which case we are talking about naturalism¹⁹² as ontology – or, **maybe**, he is an *ãyã* – and we would be looking at a case of animism:

Kaluanã: [...] I think it was *ãyã*, I don’t know what ... maybe a wild Amerindian ... What I saw was ... he shot the toucan with an arrow ...

In the third case of ‘distinctions of physicality’, likewise, the research participant himself hesitates when trying to classify the Other as either human or nonhuman. According to him, the unknown Amerindian is ‘like him’ (if the Other is an *apã*), or, **maybe**, he **is** a ‘spirit’ or a ‘spirit of the mountain’. Again, if the unknown Amerindian is considered to be ‘like them’ by the Wayãpi we are talking about naturalism as ontology. If he is a ‘spirit of the mountain’ the ontology is animism:

Yanukura: [...] those are not Wayãpi from here, those are Wayãpi that already existed a long time ago in the forest.

Cássio: And how do we call them [...].

Yanukura: They say Akuriú, or spirits of the mountain.

Yanukura: It’s not just spirits. Not necessarily like the spirits. It’s like us, already, you see? The same feet.

Cássio: Okay. And how do you call them?

Yanukura: *apã*, that’s all.

¹⁹¹ A spirit or supra natural being, often a ‘bad’ one.

¹⁹² Both the research participant and the unknown Amerindian stay on the “culture” side of the ‘culture vs. nature’ dichotomy.

Kaluanã: Maybe it's spirit ... [...] Maybe it's the spirit ... or they are afraid of us, then they settled in another place, they left.

In some instances, the Wayãpi resort to the 'ability to disappear' when producing alterity vis-à-vis the isolated Amerindians. The unknown Amerindian would have a body similar to that of humans but has the ability to disappear. The ontology here is animism:

Yapalatai: They look a little like us, but not totally. You see them for a while, then they disappear. You see it in *kaleme*, very red... well crowned ... all of a sudden you don't see them anymore ... they will disappear before your eyes.

The Wayãpi will, in other instances, resort to distinctions of behaviour in their alterity production process concerning the isolated Amerindians. In those cases, the Wayapi have considered that isolated Amerindians are like them but have a different behaviour because they are in the forest (he is apã¹⁹³/ka'apo¹⁹⁴). It is naturalism that prevails as ontology:

Kulipi: [...] They chase men, they kill, they don't like. They ... they live in the forest.

Distinctions of dress and of weapons that are being used are also elements that the Wayãpi will resort to in their alterity production process concerning the isolated Amerindians. Here, both the research participant and the unknown Amerindian stay on the "culture" side of the 'culture vs. nature' dichotomy, and naturalism prevails as ontology:

Kulipi: [...] they will kill you (on the Ipišî) because they are not like us. They are like us but ... we are not in the forest, you see. We have t-shirts and all that, guns ... And they don't have t-shirts and all that, they only have bows.

Muricy: [...] maybe he's afraid of us too [...]. We don't see them because they, they are ... they are used to living in the forest, to live in the forest, hunt and all that, so they don't move leaves or trees like that, to leave [...] (they don't make noise as they walk in the forest, as we do).

¹⁹³ "Unknown wild one", one who is still living in isolation in the forest.

¹⁹⁴ Men of (or who live in) a part of the forest which is, in general, not well known to or frequented by the Wayãpi.

In a few cases, the Wayãpi resort to the ‘distinctions of height’ when producing alterity vis-à-vis the isolated Amerindians. This is also a case of naturalism, for the same reasons mentioned above. As Kulipi and Kaluanã told me, the unknown Amerindian is like them, maybe of a different ethnic group. He is just smaller:

Kulipi: [...] it's Kalanã¹⁹⁵ [...]
Cássio: The Kalanã are Amerindians shorter than you?
Kulipi: Yes.

Kaluanã: They are smaller [...] That's why we think it's Kalana kũ

Finally, and in most parts of our conversations, the Wayãpi will rely on the ‘absence of difference’, when detecting differences and similarities between himself and the isolated Amerindians, to highlight that the unknown Amerindian is exactly like them, be it in a dream or in real. They both stay on the the “culture” side of the ‘culture vs. nature’ dichotomy (Descola 2013), and naturalism again prevails as ontology. Remembering a dream he had had shortly before, and during which he had visited Soã Itu, Yanukura tells me:

Cássio: How was this Amerindian, tamũ, [...] how did you see him in your dream?
Yanukura: This Amerindian, he was like us [...] he spoke the same language as me. [...]

Yanukura: [...] those are Amerindians like us because they also break branches to leave (to walk, to mark their way).

For Muricy and Wilaupi, the isolated Amerindians are Wayãpi that hadn't followed the others in their migrations to the Upper Oyapock:

Muricy: that's [...] the *tamũ kũ*¹⁹⁶ [...], my father told me that maybe it's the people there. Maybe they didn't come down to get here [...]

Wilaupi: They are Wayãpi.

¹⁹⁵ An Amerindian group considered extinct in the region.

¹⁹⁶ Tamũ kũ = grandfathers (/tamũ/ = grandfather, old man; /kũ/ = plural)

For Alawayela and Yapalatai, the the isolated Amerindians are the family of the Brazilian Wayãpi:

Alawayela: They may be *Kamala kũ* Amerindians. They are families of *Kamala kũ*¹⁹⁷.

Yapalatai: They must be Amapari wã kũ¹⁹⁸. Or rather Taweá, warriors [...].

And Tukurú tells me that people should have with the isolated Amerindians the same attitude they had had with his father:

Tukurú: You have to attract them to talk to him [...]. If you have mirrors, knives, rifles, everything [...] It was like that before, with us too.

As such, when detecting differences and similarities between themselves and the isolated (Amerindians) ‘others’, the Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River more often place the isolated Amerindians together with themselves on ‘culture’ side of the ‘culture *vs.* nature’ dichotomy, in an alterity production process that happens predominantly within naturalism. In sum, despite a few distinctions that occur within an animic ontology, the isolated Amerindian is more often considered to be ‘like us’ by the Wayãpi. Appendix B presents a summary of the categories the Wayãpi resort to when producing alterity vis-à-vis the unknown or isolated Amerindians. In the third column, I indicate in which of Descola’s ontologies each case fits.

¹⁹⁷ This is how the Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River refer to the Brazilian Wayãpi (/kamala/ = comrade; /kũ/ = plural)

¹⁹⁸ A subgroup of the Brazilian Wayãpi.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

As a first outcome, this study identifies the zones around the Wayãpi settlements, where unknown or isolated Amerindians are believed to live. Before establishing how the Wayãpi produce alterity vis-à-vis those groups, I identified how the Wayãpi produce alterity in general. The extant literature and my own findings allow me to argue that the Wayãpi present characteristics that allow them to be described as animists, totemists and naturalists. Often, their identification process, which is a mechanism of discrimination, imputes an “interiority” identical to that which they attribute to themselves¹⁹⁹ and a “physicality” different from their own. This leads them to be described as being animists. At the same time, their identification process imputes an “interiority” different from that which they attribute to themselves and a “physicality” similar to their own. Thus, they can be regarded as being naturalists. In some occasions, their identification process imputes both a “physicality” and an “interiority” similar to that which they attribute to themselves. This allows me to identify them as being totemists.

Concerning their narratives of origin, when they speak of representations on the relationship between humans and nonhumans – and where the Wayãpi groups descend from various plants or animals – the Wayãpi are predominantly animists. Animistic ontologies attribute to nonhumans a humanity, an intentionality and a social life akin to those of humans. Concerning the narratives of origin and the Wayãpi naming system, the Wayãpi believe that a part of the

¹⁹⁹ Descola (2013, pp. 175-176) defines as *interiority* “a range of properties recognized by all human beings and partially covers what we generally call the mind, the soul, or consciousness: intentionality, subjectivity, reflexivity, feelings, and the ability to express oneself and to dream”. Descola argues that *physicality*, in contrast, “concerns external form, substance, the physiological, perceptive and sensorimotor processes, even a being’s constitution and way of acting in the world, insofar as these reflect the influence brought to bear on behaviour patterns and a habitus by corporeal, diets, anatomical characteristics, and particular modes of reproduction”.

animal is deposited in the man and influences either his appearance or his character. This leads me to conclude that, although the Wayãpi are predominantly animistic, they are also totemist to some extent. As I have mentioned in Chapter 3, in totemism there is a mythological relationship of complementarity between humans and nonhumans, in addition to a similarity of physicality and interiority between the individual and his totem.

Other than the narratives of origin, animism is also present in the relationships the Wayãpi have with nonhumans – animals, spirits and plants – in their daily lives. According to Descola (2006, p. 4), the common subjectivity in animism allows one to assume that animals and spirits have “social characteristics”: they inhabit villages, follow certain rules of kinship and ethic codes, perform ritual activities and exchange objects. Animism was particularly present in the Wayãpi’s discourses on the following cases: ‘animal transforms itself and makes love to an Amerindian woman’, ‘nonhuman spirit is embodied in a body similar to that of an Amerindian’, ‘nonhuman spirit is embodied in a body similar to that of an Amerindian’, ‘human turns into an animal’, ‘demiurge turns into an animal’, ‘animal behaves like a human’, and ‘tree behaves like humans’.

Concerning the unknown or isolated Amerindians, I conclude that alterity production occurs predominantly within naturalism, with only a few cases of animism. The Wayãpi resort to six categories when producing alterity vis-à-vis the isolated groups: ‘distinctions of physicality’, ‘distinctions in the ability to disappear’, ‘distinctions of dress and weapons’, ‘distinctions of behaviour’, ‘distinctions of height’, and ‘absence of differences’.

The few cases where the alterity production vis-à-vis the isolated Amerindians happened within an animistic ontology were: ‘the unknown Amerindian has a body similar to that of humans but has the ability to disappear’, ‘the unknown Amerindian is maybe, a spirit or a spirit of the

mountain’, and ‘the unknown Amerindian has a body similar to that of humans, but he is an *âyâ²⁰⁰*’.

All the other cases of alterity production vis-à-vis the isolated Amerindians took place within the paradigm of naturalism. This means that the Wayãpi predominantly believe that the unknown or isolated Amerindians are people like them. In this more common identification process, the other is ‘human like me’ all the rest is ‘Nature’. It is true that Descola’s naturalism presupposes similar ‘physicalities’ and different ‘interiorities’. However, this difference in ‘interiorities’, that Descola highlights in naturalism, happens in the case of a ‘culture *vs.* nature’ dichotomy. In naturalism, given that what there is continuity in physicalities, it will be “the mind, the soul, subjectivity, a moral conscience, language and so forth” (Descola 2006, p. 8) what will distinguish humans from nonhumans, just as “human groups are distinguished from one another by a collective internal disposition” which we call ‘culture’ (*ibid.*, p. 8). In the case of the isolated Amerindians, the Wayãpi predominantly see the ‘other’ as a human being like them. They both stay on the ‘culture’ side of the dichotomy. There is therefore no reason to envisage this alterity construction in an ontology other than that of naturalism.

In a broader sense, this study contributes to a better understanding, not only of sociality in general, but also of sociocosmological patterns in Lowland South America. Although not the object of this study, these findings may, from an ‘applied anthropology’ viewpoint, contribute to further determining how the constructed alterity by the Wayãpi vis-à-vis the isolated groups might work to maintain, rather than disturb the right of self-determination of those unknown Amerindians (*i.e.*, their right to remain isolated). This is made possible by a better understanding of the types of relationships the sedentary Wayãpi might potentially want to develop with the

²⁰⁰ A spirit or supra natural being, often a ‘bad’ one.

isolated groups as and when the inevitable contact comes. It is now known that the Wayãpi predominantly believe that the unknown or isolated Amerindians are people like them, and in some cases, even members of their families. Ascertaining how the sedentary Wayãpi see the isolated groups and how this alterity is constructed helps to determine whether the legal right of the isolated group to remain isolated (right of self-determination) is in danger.



Figure 6 – The Itu Wasu rapids, Upper Oyapock River.

Appendix A

Summary of the literature and the Wayãpi's discourse on isolated Amerindians living near the Franco-Brazilian Border

| Zone 1 | igarapé Ipišĩ (FR) | igarapé Yalupi (FR) |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| Contemporary literature | <p>"part of the Kauié-Posisi community remained [...] in the igarapé Ipišĩ region, where their descendants currently live, refusing contact with other Wayãpi groups" (Grenand 1982, pp. 336-337).</p> <p>The French Wayãpi maintain that an isolated group of the Maracupi Amerindians inhabits the igarapé Ipišĩ (Gallois 1986, pp. 296-297).</p> | <p>Tarpi Amerindians were reported by 18th century writers as living on igarapé Yalupi (Grenand 1980, p. 88).</p> <p>"Currently an uncontacted Wayãpi group still lives in the headwaters of the Yalupi" (Grenand 1982, p.88).</p> <p>The French Wayãpi maintain that an isolated group of the Maracupi Amerindians inhabits the Yalupi headwaters (Gallois 1986, pp. 296-297).</p> |
| Wayãpi accounts | <p>Alwayçla maintains that the descendants of Posisi still live in the Ipišĩ area.</p> <p>Yapalatai says that the Amerindians living on the Ipišĩ are part of Grandmother Paye's family, the wife of Grandfather Ašingã'u.</p> <p>Kalanã is convinced that the Amerindians living on the Ipišĩ are the same people as those living on the Yalupi, and that they are descendants of Grandfather Ašingã'u. He saw people running and their foot-prints.</p> <p>Yankura also thinks that the people that are supposedly living on the Ipišĩ are the descendants of Ašingã'u. They would, more the same people who live on the Yalupi.</p> <p>Kalanã heard unknown Amerindians running, as well as whistles on the Ipišĩ.</p> <p>Kenawali heard them whistling, talking to each other.</p> <p>Kuiipi reports that unknown Amerindians ran after Kalanã and Antonio. He also saw footprints of the Amerindians on the Ipišĩ.</p> <p>Tukuru heard "wild Amerindians" talking an incomprehensible language, and also their whistles. According to him, there is hardly any <i>mutua</i>, <i>aytatu</i> or <i>so'o</i> there because the unknown Amerindians have killed most of them.</p> <p>Tukuru reckons that the unknown Amerindians living on the Ipišĩ are members of his family who have regained the forest to live in isolation, and who now avoid contact due to fear.</p> <p>Kalanã argues that Whites had interacted with Amerindians on the Ipišĩ they had no kalene and had a disease that affected their genitalia.</p> | <p>Kuiipi also thinks that the people that are supposedly living on the Yalupi are the descendants of Ašingã'u.</p> <p>Yapalatai also thinks that the people that are supposedly living on the Yalupi are the descendants of Ašingã'u.</p> <p>Yawepuka also thinks that the people that are supposedly living on the Yalupi are the descendants of Ašingã'u. They would, more precisely, be the descendants of Grandfather Akšipã'u.</p> <p>Yankura also thinks that the people that are supposedly living on the Yalupi are the descendants of Ašingã'u. They would, more precisely, be the descendants of Grandfather Kanã.</p> <p>Alwayçla in his own turn, reckons that the people that are allegedly living on the Yalupi are Kusari Amerindians, former settlements of chief Waninika.</p> <p>Kenawali argues that on the Yalupi here is <i>akãka</i>, sugar cane and pineapple, a sign of previous occupation.</p> <p>Wãlupi says that Brazilians were shot by the arrows of unknown Amerindians on the Yalupi.</p> |

| Zone 2 | Igarapé Walaputú (BK) | Igarapé Kakaikwa (BK) | Igarapé Mutura (BK) | Igarapé Yengalali (BK) | Northeast of the TIW (BK) |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|---|---|
| <p>Contemporary literature</p> | | | <p>Rangel (2013) reports on an isolated group living around the Igarapé Mutura</p> <p>Rodrigues (2014) mentions another group, the "Isolados da Terra Indígena Wajáipi", are located on the Mutura river region and in the Terra Indígena Wajáipi (TIW).</p> | <p>Grenand (1982, p. 133) mentions that Yawalakale, brother to chief Wannika, settles on the village of chief Ai, on the Igarapé Yengalali, after 1824. At that same time, a third brother, Palanampã, creates a village on the Yalupi.</p> <p>I accompanied the Wayáipi in a hunting expedition to the Sikaliti on the Yengalali in 2017. Near a flat rock of considerable size, one can see the remains of sugar-cane and manioc crops, abandoned many years ago.</p> | <p>Funai's reference n° 36 (Isolados do Rio Mapani), also known as the Impaku River, are located on the borders of the Parque Indígena do Tumucumaque (Fundação Nacional do Índio, 2011).</p> <p>Funai's reference n° 37 (Isolados do Alto Amapani), are located on the headwaters of the Amapani River (Fundação Nacional do Índio, 2011).</p> <p>Funai's reference n° 65 (Isolados do Jari), are located on the Jari River (Fundação Nacional do Índio, 2011).</p> <p>For Gallois (1997), the Isolados do Alto Amapani are a subgroup of the Wayáipi.</p> <p>Grenand (1982, 344) argues that until the 1940s, the Wayáipi-puku lived totally isolated.</p> <p>Grenand (1982, 349) argues that only in 1973 that the Wayáipi-puku of the Amapani, officially were contacted by Funai.</p> <p>Gallois (1986, p. 44) mentions that the group of chief Popindo had an attitude of refusal of contact in the 1970s and lived in the plateau the region on the watershed which divides the Jari River and Amapani River basins.</p> <p>Grenand (1982, p. 294) argues that it is likely that several isolated Kusari villages survived in the headwaters of the Amapani-Araguari</p> |
| <p>Wayáipi accounts</p> | <p>Kaluanã reports having seen an unknown Amerindian on the Igarapé Walaputú, with his body completely painted with <i>ulika</i>, who had shot a macaw. At another occasion he saw again a red-painted</p> | <p>unknown Amerindians live on the Igarapé Kakaikwa. For him, they would either be <i>gã</i> or the Tukura Amerindians (reported on the Walaputú).</p> <p>Kaluanã reports that an</p> | <p>Kaluanã spoke about a group of Brazilians that would have been caught by unknown Amerindians of the Mutura, taken to their village therein and then set free again.</p> | <p>Wilaiupi spoke about a group of isolated Amerindians that lived on the Yengalali in the past, but who were contacted by chief Kaleia and told to settle on the Oyapok.</p> | <p>Upon clearing the path that delimits the boundaries of the TIW, towards the northwest of Okakã, Brazilian Wayáipi saw the feathers of a dead <i>manari</i>'s tail which had been purposefully left in a particular place, by an unknown Amerindian.</p> |

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| <p>Amerindian who had shot a toucan with his arrow. He also reported that it was the unknown Amerindians of the Wálapuluti who had killed chief Maipuri.</p> <p>Kenawali confirms that it was the unknown Amerindians of the Wálapuluti who had killed chief Maipuri. He also says that grandfather Moipetá had seen an unknown Amerindian climb a palm tree to collect his arrow that had been stuck there. He also talks about a friend whose knife disappeared there. Besides, he saw foot-prints of those unknown Amerindians and heard them whistling.</p> <p>Kulipi confirms that chief Maipuri was killed on the Wálapuluti by unknown Amerindians.</p> <p>Wilapi reports on his grandfather having seen foot-prints and having heard unknown Amerindians whistling on the Wálapuluti. He also reports on someone having seen a recently abandoned hut.</p> <p>Yawapuku talks about a knife that disappeared on the Wálapuluti, and about an arrow that had been found there.</p> <p>Yankura confirms that it was the unknown Amerindians of the Wálapuluti that killed chief Maipuri and argues that they</p> | <p>unknown Amerindian was seen trying to kill an agouti with an arrow.</p> | <p>Wilapi says that Brazilians drank <i>caçiri</i> with unknown Amerindians on the Maturá.</p> <p>For Yopalatai, the unknown Amerindians of the Maturá belong to the family of Grandfather Asingá'u's.</p> <p>For Yankura, the unknown Amerindians of the Maturá and of the Wálapuluti are the same group.</p> <p>For Alawayeha, the unknown Amerindians of the Maturá belong to the family of Grandfather Kalamuru.</p> | <p>In 2016 Brazilian Wayápi saw the feathers of a dead <i>mutum</i>'s tail which had been propiously left near Nagari.</p> <p>On the headwaters of the igarapé Pakwarã, when the Brazilian Wayápi were clearing the path that delimits the boundaries of the TWI, they saw the tail of a <i>mutum</i> that had been taken off and left as usual.</p> <p>On the igarapé Pakwarã, they saw a trunk of a tree that had been beaten to extract <i>emita</i>, according to the Brazilian Wayápi.</p> <p>In the Pakwarã region that a jaguar was found, shot dead in the chest by an arrow, according to the Brazilian Wayápi.</p> <p>According to the Brazilian Wayápi one of their grandfathers would have seen an unknown Amerindian killing a macaw in the Aruwayi.</p> <p>In the Aruwayi, the Brazilian Wayápi have spotted a family of unknown Amerindians who were sunbathing on a rock.</p> <p>In the Aruwayi, the Brazilian Wayápi have seen red-stained <i>Bacabeira</i> palm trees, resulting from the friction of the body of the Amerindians painted with <i>ulúku</i> on palm trees, when they climb to pick up the <i>baçaba</i> fruit.</p> <p>In the Aruwayi region, Brazilian Wayápi <i>have seen mutum</i> tails that had been pulled out and left at the place where the <i>mutum</i> was killed, as well as the existence of hand-broken branches marking hunting paths.</p> <p>The Brazilian Wayápi argue that the unknown Amerindians living in the Aruwayi area would be the family of an Amerindian named Teú, of the Amapari Wã clan.</p> <p>In the area of Aruwayi, when a certain Tameri, a Brazilian Wayápi would have seen some wandering unknown Amerindians.</p> <p>The Wayápi of Brazil reported to me that, at around 1996, on the headwaters of the</p> |
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| | <p>would be the Akuri Amerindians.</p> <p>For Alawayela, the Amerindias of the Walapuluhi would be the Southern Wayäpi, or simply unknown hostile warriors (äpä). He reports on an arrowhead which had been found there, and which is different from their own arrowheads.</p> <p>For Yapalatai, the unknown Amerindians of the Walapuluhi would be Alaku Äpä and Tukara Amerindians.</p> | | | <p>Amappari River; they found a <i>pitaca</i> that an isolated Amerindian would have used to climb on the wasey palm tree.</p> <p>Kurapüá, a Brazilian Wayäpi, would have found the village of isolated Amerindians in the 70's on the headwaters of the Amappari River.</p> <p>A Brazilian Wayäpi told me that the grandfather of his wife belonged an isolated in the headwaters of the Amappari River.</p> <p>The Brazilian Wayäpi report that a certain Sissiwá's father, would have taken refuge in the headwaters of Amappari, and that his group remains there until today.</p> |
| <p>Zone 3</p> | <p>Soá Iru and the headwaters of the Oyapock River (BR)</p> | <p>igarapé Pirawiri (BR) igarapé Curuapí (BR) Kuu River Culari River (BR) Upper Ipitünga River (BR)</p> | <p>Taripi Amerindians were reported by 18th century writers as living on the Kuu River (Grenand 1972, p. 80)</p> <p>Taripi Amerindians was identified living isolated on the Culari River area (Gallois 1986, pp. 299-300).</p> <p>Gallois (1986, pp. 299-300) points out that according to the Tirió Amerindians, Taripi Amerindians still live isolated, and are called Kakui by the Tirió.</p> <p>According to Gallois (1986, pp. 289-290), the Brazilian Wayäpi maintain that an isolated group of the Apamã Amerindians (also known as Apamarigues, Apama'y or Äpä - reckoned to be a Tupian group) inhabited the area of the Upper Jari River (Rio Apamarý) and at the confluence of the Inipuka River</p> <p>Funaí's reference 44 or "Isolados do Alto Rio Ipitünga", are reckoned to be living on the headwaters of the Ipitünga river Gallois (1997).</p> | |
| <p>Contemporary literature</p> | | | | |

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| <p>Wayãpi accounts</p> | <p>Near the confluence of the igarapés Malwa and Tapelele, the Northern Wayãpi found an arrowhead containing <i>íet</i> under the skin of a caiman's tail. According to them, the arrowhead had not been made by members of their group.</p> <p>Near Soã Itu, the Northern Wayãpi identified a path with hand-broken branches and others cut with a machete.</p> <p>Kahuanã argues that the Amerindians that could be living near Soã Itu are members of the groups that did not migrate with the others to French Guiana, as his father said some stayed near Soã Itu.</p> <p>Kenawali also thinks that the unknown Amerindians that supposedly live near Soã Itu are the descendants of groups that did not migrate to French Guiana with the others.</p> <p>Yankura attributes to the <i>q̃pã</i> <i>the</i> branches that we had seen near Soã Itu that had been recently cut with a machete.</p> | <p>Funã's reference n° 35 (Trombetas Mapuera), are located in the Trombetas-Mapuera Indigenous Land (Fundação Nacional do Índio, 2011).</p> |
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Appendix B

The categories the Wayãpi resort to when producing alterity vis-à-vis the unknown or isolated Amerindians

| Category | Case | Extracts of discourses | Ontology |
|----------------------------------|--|---|------------|
| Distinction of physicality | The unknown Amerindian has a body similar to that of humans, but he is an <i>ãwã</i> ²⁰¹ . | Kahanaã: Yes. He is afraid ... He hides at the foot of the trees, he goes slowly, gently, he follows the agouti ... but he is only one. Cássio: There is only one what? Kahanaã: <i>ãwã</i> . | Animism |
| | | Kahanaã: [...] I think it was <i>ãwã</i> , I don't know what ... maybe a wild Amerindian ... What I saw was ... he shot the toucan with an arrow ... Yankura: [...] those are not Wayãpi from here, those are Wayãpi that already existed a long time ago in the forest. Cássio: And how do we call them [...]? Yankura: They say Akurú, or spirits of the mountain. Yankura: It's not just spirits. Not necessarily like the spirits. It's like us, already, you see? The same feet. Cássio: Okay. And how do you call them? Yankura: <i>ãwã</i> , that's all. --- Kahanaã: Maybe it's spirit ... [...] Maybe it's the spirit ... or they are afraid of us, then they settled in another place, they left. Yapalarí: They look a little like us, but not totally. You see them for a while, then they disappear. You see it in <i>kalmé</i> , very red... well crowned ... all of a sudden you don't see them anymore ... they will disappear before your eyes. | |
| Distinction of behaviour | The unknown Amerindian is like us, but he has a different behaviour because he is in the forest (he is <i>apã</i> ²⁰² / <i>Ká'apo</i> ²⁰³). | Kulpi: [...] They chase men, they kill, they don't like. They ... they live in the forest. | Naturalism |
| | | Kulpi: [...] they will kill you (on the <i>psj</i>) because they are not like us. They are like us but ... we are not in the forest, you see. We have t-shirts and all that, guns ... And they don't have t-shirts and all that, they only have bows. --- Municy: [...] maybe he's afraid of us too. [...] We don't see them because they, they are ... they are used to living in the forest, to live in the forest, hunt and all that, so they don't move leaves or trees like that, to leave [...] (they don't make noise as they walk in the forest, as we do). Kulpi: [...] it's Kalaná [...] Cássio: The Kalaná are Amerindians shorter than you? | |
| Distinction of dress and weapons | The unknown Amerindian is like us, but he has different dress and weapons | | Naturalism |
| Distinction of height | The unknown Amerindian is like us. He is just smaller. | | Naturalism |

²⁰¹ A spirit or supra natural being, often a 'bad' one.

²⁰² Both the research participant and the unknown Amerindian stay on the 'culture' side of the 'culture vs. nature' dichotomy.

²⁰³ 'Unknown wild one', one who is still living in isolation in the forest.

²⁰⁴ Men of (or who live in) a part of the forest which is, in general, not well known to or frequented by the Wayãpi.

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| Absence of difference | The unknown Amerindian is exactly like us, in a dream or in real | <p>Kulipi: Yes.</p> <p>Kahana: They are smaller [...] That's why we think it's Kalana kũ</p> <p>Cássio: How was this Amerindian, tannu, [...] how did you see him in your dream?</p> <p>Yanukura: This Amerindian, he was like us [...] he spoke the same language as me. [...]</p> <p>---</p> <p>Cássio: But what are the <i>ahã</i>?</p> <p>Yanukura: <i>Ahã</i> are wild Amerindians.</p> <p>---</p> <p>Yanukura: [...] those are Amerindians like us because they also break branches to leave (to walk, to mark their way).</p> <p>---</p> <p>Cássio: But do they whistle like you when you are hunting?</p> <p>Muriçy: Yes. [...] The same whistles [...] Here, for example, if we whistle: <pin pin pin pin> like that, this means 'we attack, we attack.</p> <p>---</p> <p>Muriçy: [...] Perhaps those are wild Amerindians, there are Amerindians that just crossed half (of them, to this side of the river).</p> <p>---</p> <p>Muriçy: [...] maybe the wild Amerindian who comes and says: Have you fished something? It's the wild one that spoke to my father. [...] Then my father turned his head: there is no one there. Maybe he was hiding.</p> <p>---</p> <p>Muriçy: that's [...] the <i>tannu kã</i>²⁰⁵ [...], my father told me that maybe it's the people there. Maybe they didn't come down to get here [...] (didn't migrate with the others to the Upper Oyapock).</p> <p>---</p> <p>Wilauri: They are Wayãpi.</p> <p>---</p> <p>Yawapuku: If you see him first, we call him, to see if he understands [...] maybe it's the same language! [...]</p> <p>---</p> <p>Yapalari: They must be Amapari wã kũ²⁰⁶. Or rather Tawéá, warriors [...].</p> <p>---</p> <p>Alawayela: They may be <i>Kamala kã</i> Amerindians. They are families of <i>Kamala kã</i>²⁰⁷.</p> <p>---</p> <p>Tukurú: You have to attract them to talk to him [...]. If you have mirrors, knives, rifles, everything [...] It was like that before, with us too.</p> <p>---</p> <p>Tukurú: [...] Those are family. It's not my family but it's someone's family.</p> |
|-----------------------|--|--|

²⁰⁵ Tannũ kũ = grandfathers (/tannũ/ = grandfather, old man; /kũ/ = plural)

²⁰⁶ A subgroup of the Brazilian Wayãpi.

²⁰⁷ This is how the Wayãpi of the Upper Oyapock River refer to the Brazilian Wayãpi (/kamala/ = comrade; /kũ/ = plural)

Appendix C

Lexicon of Amerindian words

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| Akaya | A fruit. <i>Spondias mombin</i> . |
| Akiki | En: Red howler monkey. Pt: bugio-vermelho-das-Guianas (<i>Alouatta Macconnelli</i>) |
| Amapari | The Amapari is a Brazilian river that bathes the state of Amapá. It has its source in the east of the Uassipein Hills and flows into the Araguari River. |
| Apã | “unknown wild one”, one who is still living in isolation in the forest. |
| Aparai | A Cariban-speaking Amerindian group. |
| Ara | Macaw bird |
| Aruwaity | Toponym in the Terra Indígena Wajãpi, Brazil |
| Asingaulemimoay | A tree. <i>Ficus paraensis</i> . |
| Ãyã | A spirit or supra natural being, often a ‘bad’ one (Anhã). |
| Banaré | Panari, Panali or Banaré is how the Wayãpi refer to the Wayana-Aparai Amerindians. |
| Cauim | Also known as kasili or kasiri, is a traditional manioc beer made by the Amerindians since pre-Columbian times. |
| Culari | A river. Also known as Kuiari, Cuyari, Couyari or Couyary, in the area of the Kuu-Jari rivers |
| Curuapi | Left margin affluent of the Cuc River. Also spelt Kuluapi. |
| Igarapé | An Amazonian waterway of first, second or third order, constituted by a long arm of river or channel. |
| Inipuku | Also known as Mapari River. Not to be confounded with Amapari River. |
| Ipitinga | An igarapé located in the Paru D'Este region. |
| Ialupa | Place where one leaves the canoes; navigation limit. |
| Ípisi | A left margin affluent of the Oyapock River. Also known as Eureupousigne |
| Ípisiḗ | A small tributary of the igarapé Ípisi. |
| Itu | Waterfall or rapid |
| Itu Wasu | The great rapid. Name of a Wayapi village in the Upper Oyapock River. There is also a Brazilian Wayãpi village of the same name, spelt Ytuwasu. |
| Iwi | Latex of the Balata tree (<i>Manilkara bidentata</i>) |
| Jiquitaia | A right margin tributary of the Amapari River. |
| Ka’apo | Men of (or who live in) a part of the forest which is, in general, not well known to or frequented by the Wayãpi. |
| Ka’i | Fr: Sapajou fauve. Pt: Macaco-prego. En: capuchin monkey (<i>Cebus apella</i>) |
| Kaisu | A tree. <i>Cedrela odorata</i> . |
| Kalai’wai | This is how the Wayãpi call the Brazilian side of the frontier. |
| Kalai’kwa | A right margin affluent of the Oyapock River. |
| Kaleme | Men's red cotton clothing for daily use. |

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| Kamalakũ | Kamalakũ means comrades. This is how the French Wayapi refer to the Brazilian ones nowadays. |
| Kapalu | Wooden war club or mace. |
| Karapanaty | A tributary of the Lower Inipuku River |
| Kasili | Also known as cauim, is a traditional manioc beer made by the Amerindians since pre-Columbian times. |
| Ku'i | The igarapé Ku'i is a left bank tributary of Pirawiri. |
| Kuu | Cuu, Cuc or Kouc River. A left margin tributary of the Jari River. Located in the Brazilian state of Amapá. |
| Kule | En : Parrot. Fr: Perroquet Amazone. Pt: Papagaio-açu (<i>Amazona farinosa</i>) |
| Kulumuli | Bamboo |
| Kumaka | En: Ceiba tree. Pt: Samaúma. Fr: Fromager (<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>) |
| Kusari | A Tupian-speaking Amerindian group. Coussari. |
| Kwata | Spider monkey |
| Leima | Any domestic animal. |
| Maracupi | Also known as Macupi, Warakupi or Onacoupis - reckoned to be a Tupian-speaking group. |
| Marai | Spelt Malay in the Upper Oyapock. En: Marail Guan; Fr: Pénélope marail ; Pt: Jacú (Penelope marail) |
| Maraké | The ceremony of “maraké” marks the transition from childhood to adulthood. A girl who is ‘maraké’ is a girl who is on her period. |
| Mayamayali | One of the twin sons of the Creator |
| Miti | Little, small. |
| Mítake | Mutaquere, a right margin affluent of the Oyapock River. The word means old scaffolding for hunting. Mbutá/mita, is a kind of scaffolding where the Amerindians wait for their preys on the tree tops. |
| Mitũ | Fr: Hocco, En: Curassow, Pt: <i>Mutum</i> . (<i>Crax Alector</i>) |
| Mitũla | Also spelt Mutula or Mutura. A right margin affluent of the Oyapock River. |
| Moloko Pata | Also known as Moloko-Pota or Molokopote. Moloko Pata or Molocopote, which now houses the huts of a few illegal gold prospectors, was once the Amerindian village of chief Moroko - from whom comes the name Molokopota. In 1969-1970, the Brazilian Air Force (FAB) built an airstrip there. The airstrip was deactivated and destroyed by the Brazilian police in 2006. |
| Moyu | Anaconda. |
| Mulu | Fr: Grenouille-flûte. En: Smoky jungle frog. Pt: rã-defumada-da-selva (<i>Leptodactylus pentadactylus</i>) |
| Najaty | Toponym in the Terra Indígena Wajãpi, Brazil |
| Okakai | Toponym in the Terra Indígena Wajãpi, Brazil |
| Pakwarã | Igarapé Pakwarã is a left margin tributary of the Inipuku river. |
| Panakũ | Carrier basket |
| Panari | Panari, Panali or Banaré is how the Wayãpi refer to the Wayana-Aparai Amerindians. |
| Pirawiri | Left margin affluent of the Cuc River. Also spelt Pilawili. |

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|------------|--|
| Pikwũ | Pt: Pecunha. A kind of braided rope made of wood fibres or straw, which is attached to the feet to give greater firmness to climb on palm trees. |
| Soã | Spirit that lives in the waterfalls. |
| So'õ | Deer. |
| Soã Itu | Also called Souanré Itu. The Wayãpi consider Souanre as the actual source of the Oyapock River (Coudreau 1893, p. 41). |
| Tale'ï | <i>Hoplias aimara</i> . En: giant trahiras or wolf fish. Pt: Trairão |
| Tamũ | Grandfather, old man |
| Tapeleli | The Wayãpi call Tapeleli the Oyapock headwaters narrow waterway where the abandoned village of Kwamãtã is located. |
| Tapĩy | Also spelt <i>Tapy'yi</i> , <i>tapã'ain</i> or <i>tapuim</i> . Enemy. |
| Tapulu | Maggot. |
| Taripi | Amerindians were also known as Taroupis, Tazipis or Toutoupis (Grenand 1972, p. 80). |
| Tawali | Tree of the Couratari genus, in the Lecythidaceae family. The Wayãpi use the beaten bark of this tree to roll up tobacco cigarettes. |
| Taytetu | Collared peccary. |
| Teko | Also known as Emerillon. A Tupian-speaking Amerindian group. |
| Ulualì | Left margin affluent of the Curuapi. Also spelt Uruary. |
| Uluku | Urucum, Urucu or roucou. Bixa Orellana. A red seed that Amerindians use to make red body paint. |
| Waĩwĩ'kwa | 'The hole of women'. A hole in the river where women fall. |
| Walapululì | A right margin affluent of the Oyapock River. Walapulu means cacao. |
| Wasey | Also spelt <i>açaí</i> . A palm tree native to the Amazon, which produces the fruit called <i>açaí</i> , (<i>Euterpe oleracea</i>). |
| Wayana | A Cariban-speaking Amerindian group. |
| Wayãpi | Often spelt Wajãpi, Waiãpi or Wayampi. A Tupian-speaking Amerindian group. |
| Wayapuku | Wayapuku is how the Wayapi call the Oyapock River. |
| Wilapemu | Sapopema tree. |
| Wilasapa | A trunk forming a bridge. |
| Wilaya | Master of the tree |
| Wiwa | Reed. |
| Yakami | Grey-winged trumpeter. |
| Yalupi | A left margin affluent of the Oyapock River. |
| Yaneipi kũ | Ancestors; those who created life. |
| Yaneya | Our master, the Creator. |
| Yawa | Jaguar. |
| Yengalali | A right margin affluent of the Oyapock River. Also referred to as Yengarari or Tangararé. Means igarapé of the songs. |

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